

भारतीयाविशासनसंरक्षकतायां प्रकाशितम्

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THE
SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ
OF
BHATTOJĪ DĪKSITA

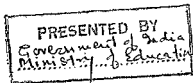
EDITED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LATE ŚRĪŚA CHANDRA VASU

VOL. I

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ग्रन्थोऽयं भारतीयाधिशसनविनियोजितावश्यकालभ्यसंस्कृतग्रन्थ-
पुनर्मुद्रणयोजनायां प्रकाशितः ।

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FOREWORD

The Siddhānta Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, with English translation by Shri S. C. Vasu, has long been out-of-print. It is true that other English translations of the book are still available in the market but there is no doubt that this translation commands a unique position in the world of scholarship. As it is not readily available now, scholars of Sanskrit both in India and abroad have been experiencing considerable hardship and the Ministry of Education have, therefore, sponsored the re-printing of this book under their scheme of "Re-printing of Important Out-of-Print Sanskrit Works."

Pāṇini is universally acknowledged as the first and foremost descriptive grammarian of the world. And Siddhānta Kaumudī provides an admirable prelude to a study of the great grammarian's work and is rightly held in high esteem amongst scholars. I am confident that this re-print of its translation would be widely welcomed.

I would also like to take this opportunity of commending the efforts of Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass in bringing out the book under our scheme.

R. P. NAIK

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
NEW DELHI.

INSCRIBED

TO THE

MEMORY OF MY FATHER

BABU ŚYĀMĀ CHARANA VASU

ONE OF

THE FIRST ORGANISERS OF

EDUCATION IN THE

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THE SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ.



मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाष्य च ।

वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरच्यते ॥ १ ॥

Having saluted the Three Sages, and reflected over their sayings, this Light of the Truth of Grammarians is composed *by me*.

Note:—The three sages or founders and expounders of Grammar are Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Their sayings or works are respectively known as the Sūtras, the Vārtikas, and the Bhāṣya. The word "Kaumudī" means Light, or the Revealer; and "Siddhānta" (settled-end) means the Truth established after full investigation or discussion. The word "Siddhānta Kaumudī" therefore, means the book that reveals to mankind the truths of Grammar as proved or demonstrated by the great Grammarians.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

संज्ञा प्रकरणम् ।

^१ अक्षरम् । ^२ ऋलृश्च । ^३ एमोङ् । ^४ ऐऔच् । ^५ ह्यवरद् । ^६ ण ।
^७ असङ्गणनम् । ^८ कसञ् । ^९ षडध्प । ^{१०} जवगड्दस् । ^{११} अकण्ठ्यचदंतक् ।
^{१२} कपय् । ^{१३} शमस्त् । ^{१४} हल् ॥

इति माहेश्वराणि सूत्राण्यणादिसंज्ञार्थाणि ॥ एषामन्ता इतः ॥ सप्तसूत्रेकार्ष ॥ इत्यादिप्रकारेण
स्मरणार्थम् ॥

^१ a i ū (ṇ); ^२ ṛ ! (k); ^३ e o (ṇ); ^४ ai au (ch); ^५ ha ya va ra (t);
^६ la (ṇ) or l (aṇ); ^७ śa ma śa na na (m); ^८ jha bha (ṇ); ^९ gha dha dha
(śh); ^{१०} ja ba ga ḍa ḍa (ṣ); ^{११} kha pha chha ṭha tha cha ṭa ta (v); ^{१२} ka
pa (y); ^{१३} śa śha sa (r); ^{१४} ha (l).

S. 2325. The second इ in the last sūtra, is for the purpose of including it in the Pratyāhāras, इत्, इत्, इत् and इत् ॥ As स्वपिदि, इपिदि, here इत् is added before इ by VII. 2. 35. S. 2184. स्निहिया or स्नेहिया, here the इ is optionally changed into ए by I. 2. 26. S. 2617. अदाग्धाम here स is elided by VIII. 2. 26. S. 2281. अलिङ्गत् here the aorist is formed with the affix क्त after the root ending in इ, by III. 1. 45. S. 2336.

Note:—The अ in लृण् is made इत्, for the sake of forming the Pratyāhāra र, so that र, may denote not only the single letter र, but the two letters र and ल ॥ This is useful in sūtra I. 1. 51. S. 70, by which the Guṇa and Vriddhi of लृ becomes लृत् and लात् ॥

१। हलन्त्यम् । १। ३। ३ ॥

हलित्ति नृपेऽन्त्यविस्वान् ॥

1. In the (or of the) sūtra हल् (14th sūtra in the above) let the final letter (i. e. ल्) be इत् ॥

Note:—The sūtra has been explained in two different ways by the author. First: "In the (or of the) sūtra हल् (14 sūtra of the alphabet), the final consonant (i. e. ल्) is इत् ॥" The second explanation, and the authoritative one is that which is given later on in the text, i. e. "In upadeśa or technical formulae and terms of grammar, the final consonant is non-efficient."

२। आदिरन्त्येन सहैता । १। १। ७१ ॥

अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्मध्यगानां स्वस्य च संज्ञा स्वान् । इति हलसंज्ञायाश्च ॥

2. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

Applying this sūtra to the technical term हल्; (i. e. to the word हल् taken as a संज्ञा or technical term denoting all the consonants beginning with ह् of sūtra 5, and ending with ल् of the last sūtra, and not as the sūtra 14th, of the above alphabets; we come to the second interpretation of the sūtra हल् अन्त्यम् ॥

२। हलन्त्यम् । १। ३। ३ ॥

उपदेशेऽन्त्य इत् इत् स्यात् । उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम् । ततो अण् अच् इत्यादि संज्ञासिद्धौ ॥

2 a. In an Upadeśa, let the final hal or consonant be called इत् ॥

Upadeśa means the first enunciation of a term in Grammar. (Really it is the name of those technical terms of grammar which are formed for this purpose of instruction only, but which are not the current words of the language). Thus we get the sanjñās or terms like अण्, and अच् &c.

All the final consonants of roots affixes &c. are indicative. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ र ण्; here ण् is इत् ॥ क् ल क्; here क् is इत् ॥ ए

बोद्ध; here **ह** is इत् ॥ ऐ औच्; here **च्** is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeśa, that a final consonant is इत् ॥ Not therefore, in अग्निपितृ or सोमसुत्, which are complete words.

Note:—This sūtra आदिरग्येन सहैना explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāras अक् means those letters, whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क् ॥

Why do we say with the 'final indicatory letter?' Because a pratyāhāra, like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final ऐ of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial इ of दा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत् ॥

३ । उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् । १ । ३ । २ ॥

उपदेशेऽजनुनासिकोऽजिस्त्वङ् । स्यात् ॥ प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः प्राणिनीयाः ॥ लङ् लृच् चस्थावर्णेन सङ्गोच्चार्यमाणौ रेफो रलयोः संज्ञा । प्रत्याहारविधौ न प्रहणम् । अनुनासिक इत्यादिनिर्वेद्यात् । नृद्यर्च ककारे परेऽप्युक्तार्थे दृश्यते । आदिरग्येनैवेतत्सूत्रेण कृताः संज्ञाः प्रत्याहाराद्येन व्यवहियन्ते ॥

3. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa, or original enunciation.

(The followers (or knowers of) Pāṇini's Grammar say that the Anunāsika words in the sūtra should be inferred by the way in which it is treated by Pāṇini.) Thus the अ of the sūtra लङ् (6th alphabet sūtra), is considered as anunāsika, and therefore, it is इत्; the result of which is that we can form a Pratyāhāra इ with the इ of the sūtra इयश्च् and the अ of the sūtra लङ्; and thus this Pratyāhāra इ Ra denotes the two letters इ and ल् ॥ (This gives the reason why अ of लङ् was said to be इत् in the 1st page.)

(In counting the letters denoted by a Pratyāhāra the इत् letters should not be counted.) Thus अच् denotes all the vowels only; the इत् letters ण् क्, इ and ऋ, are not included. For letters ण्, क्, इ are not vowels, by Pāṇini himself treating them as consonants; as the word अनुनासिक in this very sūtra shows. For had क् been a vowel, then the इ of anunāsika would have been changed to इ before क् ॥ Similarly in other places also Pāṇini has shown that क् is not a vowel.

Note:—From this sūtra up to sūtra 9 of the third Pāda of the 1st Adhyāya of Pāṇini there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत्
 “In Pāṇini’s Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini’s explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal.” An upadeśa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (agama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root वृध् ‘to increase,’ the final य is indicatory, the real root is वृध् ॥ So also the final अ of स्पर्श is वृध् ॥

Note:—If the word is not an upadeśa, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥
 As अन्नं अन् अपः ॥ A word may be an upadeśa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74 S. 3418 (आतो मनिन् क्वनिन् वनिपञ्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadeśa that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras VII. 2. 16. S. 3036 (आहितश्च &c.).

४ । ऊकालोऽङ्गुस्वदीर्घप्लुतः । १ । २ । २७ ॥

इत् कश्च उश्च षः । वां काल इव काले यस्य सोऽयं क्कान् इत्स्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञा स्यात् । स मत्वेकद्वयत्वादिभेदेन विधा ॥

4. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ā* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

उ+क+उश्च=वः; that is, the वः is the plural of व, (as साधवः is the plural of साधु) ॥ (This वः denotes the three kinds of व ॥ The genitive plural will be वान् meaning “of u’s”). (Let the vowels whose time is like the three व s, get respectively the name of *hrasva*, *dirgha* and *pluta*.) Each one of these again will be of three sorts, according as it is *udatta*, *anudatta* *svarita*.

The व *u* having one *mātrā* or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is *pluta*. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mātrā*. (The letter ऊ *ā* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase इत्स्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a *Samāhāra* *Dvandva* compound, in the singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17 S. 821.)

(The word *Kāla*, means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.)

As अदि ‘curd’ मधु ‘honey’ here इ and उ are short. ऊकाली, दीर्घी, here ई is long. देवदत्तः अन्वते Devadatta! Here अ *a* is *pluta* or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I. 2. 47 S. 318. VII. 4. 25. S. 2298 VIII. 2. 82 S. 93.

५ । उच्चैरुदात्तः । १ । २ । २६ ॥

सास्त्रादिषु समागेषु स्थानेषुर्ध्वभागे निष्पन्नोऽनुदात्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । आ ये ॥

5. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

Let that vowel be called udātta which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation such as throat &c. as औ; ऐ ॥ Here आ being an indeclinable is udātta by the rule that declares all Nipātas are acutely accented on the first (निपाता आद्युदात्ताः) ॥ ऐ is the nom. Plural of यत् 'who' यैत् is acute on the final, being a substantive; for all किट् (Prātipadikas) are antodātta by the rule किटोऽन्त उदात्तः (Phit Sūtra I. 1.). यत् + जत् Here जत् being a सुप् termination is anudātta by III. 1. 4 S. 3709. Then त् of यत् is replaced by ज; the affix जत् is replaced by सी (VII. 1. 17 S. 214.), and we have यै + ई = यै, the ए the single substitute for यै + ई is udātta by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udātta or acute accent. The udātta is not marked in writing in Sanskrit. We have followed the German system, by putting a small ३ above the vowel. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c. if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent.

६ । नीचैरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३० ॥

सप्तमः । धर्वाह ॥

6. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudātta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As धर्वाह ॥ This is a compound of the noun धर्म् with the verb अह्य (अह्ययधति) ॥ The word धर्म् is formed from the root ऋ 'to go' with the affix णिप्, there is guṇa of ऋ and we have धर्म् ॥ The affix णिप् is anudātta, being a णिप् affix, (III. 1. 4 S. 3709); and ऋ being a dhātu is udātta (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671.)

and so the word अर्धन् is also *adyudatta*. The अ of अर्ध is also *udatta*, because it is a *dhātu* (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671). Then by II. 2. 19. S. 782 (उपवृत्तिश्च) we compound the upapada अर्धन् with अर्धच्, and add the affix लिप् by III. 2. 59. S. 373 (कृत्विच् &c.). Then by *samāsa* accent (VI. 1. 223. and 3734) or by *kṛit* accent (VI. 2. 139 S. 3873) the word अर्धच् retains its accent, while the first member of the compound loses its accent. Then the न् of अर्धन् is elided, and we have अर्धे + अर्धच् = अर्धोर्ध्. The loss of accent takes place by VI. 1. 158 S. 3650. The vowel accent known as *grave* or *anudatta* is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the *anudatta* is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the *grave* accent.]

In pronouncing an *anudatta* vowel, there is *slackening* of the organs, and *mildness*, as well as *softness* and *sweetness* of tone: while there is *expansion* and *widening* of the larynx.

७। समाहारः स्वरितः । १ । २ । ३१ ॥

उवाचाबुशक्षत्वे वर्णधर्मो वनाद्विधेते वसिन्तोऽच् स्वरितवत्तः स्यात् ॥

7. The vowel that has the combination of *Udatta* and *Anudatta* tones is said to be *svarita* or *circumflexly* accented.

The word "vowel" of I. 2. 28 S. 35 is understood here also. The *svarita* or *circumflexed* accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.]

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185 S. 3729. "The affixes having an indicative न् have *svarita* accent." As कन्या kanyâ शिष्यम् śiṣyām, क्वे kve.

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an *udatta* vowel with an *anudatta* vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.]

८। तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धेऽर्धस्वम् । १ । २ । ३२ ॥

इत्थमर्थमतन्त्रम् । स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धधुशक्तं बोध्यम् । उदात्तार्धे तु परितोदात्तधुशक्तम् । तस्य चोदात्तस्वरितपरत्वे अर्धधुशक्तं स्पष्टम् । अन्यच्च तूदात्तधुशक्तिः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रतिपन्ना । कवरं बोधोः । रथोऽर्धं न मेः । राः । शतचक्रं श्रेष्ठं श्रेष्ठः ॥ इत्यादिष्वुदात्तः । अग्निगतिं इत्यादुदात्तधुशक्तिः । त नवाधेधोऽपि प्रत्येक-मनुनासिकानुनासिकत्वार्था दिधा ॥

8. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udatta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

The word *hrasva* in the Sūtra is redundant. In a *Svarita* accent, the first half portion is to be understood to have the *udatta* accent. The remaining

half, will consequently be anudatta. If an udatta or another svarita follows it then this anudatta portion of the accent is distinctly heard. Otherwise, according to Prātisākhya, the udatta portion is only heard. In the following, the anudatta is heard: वयस्योऽस्माः; येषां न ये ईऽस्माः; वृत्तं यो ईऽस्माः ॥ While in the following the udatta is heard: अग्निर्माने पुरोहिताम् ॥

Thus each vowel has nine forms, as it is hrasva, dīrgha or pluta, as it is udatta; anudatta or svarita. Every one of these nine, has two more forms: nasal and not nasal: as is taught in the next sūtra.

Note:—According to Siddhānta, the word इत्य is useless. According to Kāśikā, it is important, as given below.

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udatta and anudatta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svārita*, its mātṛā being one, half will be *udatta* and the other half *anudatta*. If a long vowel, whose mātṛās are two, be *svārita*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udatta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudatta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svārita*, then first half measure will be *udatta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudatta*. In short, the udatta portion of a *svārita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in सिक्क्यम् *ṣikyaṃ* the *a* is *svārita*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony; in कण्य *kanyā*, the long *ā* is *svārita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave; in मानवा *manavā*, here *a* prolated is *svārita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

In the above examples, वय ईऽस्मा &c., the accents are thus formed. The word वय is the Locative form of वित्, formed by adding the affix वत् (V. 3. 12. S. 1959) and substituting वय (VII. 2. 105. S. 1969). The word वय is therefore *svārita*-accented, because formed by the वित् affix वत् (VI. 1. 185. S. 8729). The word वः becomes *anudatta* by VIII. 1. 18. S. 493. अयः is *Adyudatta*, because it is derived from the root अय with the affix अयित्; the affix being वित् makes the word *Adyudatta* (VI. 2. 197. S. 3686). Now वः + अयः = वयः, the *anudatta* combining with *udatta* becomes *udatta* (VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658); therefore वय of वय becomes *udatta*. The *svārita* वय being followed by the *udatta* वः, causes the latter half of the *anudatta* half of the *svārita* to be heard. This is indicated by $\frac{1}{2}$ namely *svārita* above and *anudatta* below. This is a short *svārita*.

In the example येषां न ये ईऽस्मा, the *svārita* is a long vowel. The word ई is *udatta* by *Phit* accent, as shown above (S. 5). येषां is also finally *udatta* by *Phit* accent. The *udatta* ई of ये combining with the *anudatta* वः of वयः,

becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659), ये; this svarita followed by udātta यो of योः, is heard in its anudātta portion ये ॥

In the third example सत्त्वकं छो ॥ ५३५, the svarita is followed by another svarita, and in this case also, the anudātta portion of the svarita is heard. The word ये is antodātta by Phīṭ accent (See S. 5); the visarga is changed to व, and ये+व=वो by guṇa, and this वो becomes udātta, the resultant of udātta plus anudātta is udātta. In अह्य the final अ is svarita, the first अ is therefore anudātta. The anudātta अ of अह्य combining with the udātta वो of वो, becomes all svarita (VIII. 2. 6, S. 3659) i.e. वोऽ; this-svarita वो is followed by the svarita अ of अह्य, and hence the anudātta portion of svarita वो is heard here also. The word अह्यः is svarita ending because it is formed by adding the लिङ् affix ण्यन् to the root अह् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The अ of अह् does not take Vṛiddhi substitution, because of the

Paribhāṣā II.—संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरदिश्यान् ॥

A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term.

In the last example अग्निमीले पुरोहितं, the ई of ईले is svarita, the ले has eka-ṣruti accent by the rule प्रचक्षपदयोश्च एकश्रुतिः ॥

Hence here the svarita being followed by anudātta, the udātta half of the svarita is heard.

९ मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः । १ । १ । ८ ॥

मुखसहितनासिकयोश्चार्थनामो वर्णोऽनुनासिकसंतः स्यात् । तदित्यम् । अ इ ए ओ एपां वर्णानां प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः ॥ ऋवर्णस्य द्वादश । तस्य दीर्घाभावान् ॥ एषादवि द्वादश । तेषां ह्रस्वाभावान् ॥

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

Let a letter which is uttered by the mouth in combination with the nose be called *anunāsika*.

⟨The result of the six sūtras given above, is this: The vowels अ, इ, ए, and क have each eighteen forms. The vowel ऋ has twelve forms, because it has no long form. The diphthongs ए, ऐ, औ and औ have also twelve forms, because they have no short forms. Thus there are altogether one hundred and thirty two vowels in Sanskrit.⟩

१० तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् । १ । १ । ९ ॥

सत्यादिस्थानमाभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्चेत्येकस्य यस्य येन तुल्यं तन्निधः सवर्णसंतं स्यात् ॥ अकुट्टितसंज्ञी यानां कण्ठः । इधुयशानां तालु । कट्टुपाणां मूर्धा । लघुलसानां दन्ताः । वपुष्पाणां कानां मोक्षे । प्रकृतयानां नासिका च । एतेऽऽः कण्ठतालु । ओदीप्तोः कण्ठोष्ठम् । वक्त्रादेह वन्तोष्ठम् । जिह्वाश्लेषस्य जिह्वाश्लेषम् ।

नासिकादु स्वास्त्र ॥ इति स्थानानि ॥ यत्रो द्विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यम् ॥ आद्यभतुर्था । स्पृष्टेपस्पृष्टविवृ-
त्संवृतमेवात् ॥ तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयतनं स्वर्णानाम् । ईयस्पृष्टगन्तस्थानाम् । विवृतसूक्ष्मणो स्वराणां च । इत्यस्योप-
पत्त्यं प्रयोगे संवृतम् । प्रक्रियावशायां तु विवृतमेव । एतच्च सूत्रकारेण ज्ञापितम् । तथा हि ॥

10. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarṇa or homogeneous letters.

Let those letters be called savarṇa, which have with each other a common place of utterance, such as throat, palate &c., as well as a common ābhyantara prayatna. That is, when the place and prayatna are the same, then the letters are savarṇa.

1. The letters ञ, क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, ण, have throat as their place and are gutturals or Kanṭha.
2. The letters इ, च, छ, ज, झ, म, य, ष, have the palate and are palatals or Tālavya.
3. The letters कू, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, र, व, have the ^{मूर्धना} murdhā, and are cerebrals or Murdhanya.
4. The letters त्, थ, द, ध, न, ल, स्, have the teeth and are dentals or Dantya.
5. The letters व, प, फ, ब, भ, म, * व, have the lips and are labials or Oshṭhya.
- a. The letters ङ, म, ञ, न, म, have also the nose, and are *also* nasal.
6. The letters ए, ऐ, have the throat and palate, and are Kanṭha—tālavya i. e. gutturo—palatals.
- c. The letters ओ, औ, have the throat and the lips, and are Kanṭha—oshṭhya i. e. gutturo-labials.
- d. The letter व has the teeth and the lips, and is dant-oshṭhya i. e. dento-labial.
- e. The letter * क is Jihvā-mūlya or root of the tongue.
- f. The letter * म anusvāra is pure nasal.

The above are the stādna or places of utterance of the letters.

The Prayatna is of two sorts, the inner called ābhyantara, and the external called bāhya. The first or ābhyantara is of four kinds, namely, sprishṭa, īśhat sprishṭa, vivṛita and samvṛita.

1. The Sparka letters have sprishṭa prayatna.
2. The antastha letters have īśhat-sprishṭa prayatna.
3. The ushma letters and the vowels have vivṛita prayatna.

4. <The short अ is samvrita in usage (prayoga) but in Grammar, as a formative element, it is always treated as vivrita.> (This fact is indicated by Pāṇini himself in the last sūtra of his Grammar, *i. e.* in the sūtra अअ (VIII.4.68 S. 11), which means that the letter अ which has been all along treated in Grammar as vivrita, is now made samvrita.) (See the following sūtra).

११ अ अ इति । ८ । ४ । ६८ ॥

विवृतमनूय संवृतोऽनेनविधीयते । अस्य आद्याध्यायी संपूर्णोऽयमसिद्धत्वाद्याज्ज्ञात्वा विवृतमनूय संवृत । तथा च सूत्रम् ॥

11. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open ; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*; but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9. S. 10. would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred.) In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, this infringed throughout the Ashtādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ; which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise.' (Dr. Ballantyne).

The present sūtra occurs in the second division of Ashtādhyāyī, *i. e.* the last three Padas. The whole Ashtādhyāyī has 32 padas; they are divided into two parts—the first 29 Padas forming one group, the last three, the second group. For the purposes of the application of a rule in the first set (7½ Adhyaya) the rules in the second set are considered as non-existent. (Therefore though the अ is made samvrita by this rule, it does not interfere with the अ being considered as vivrita throughout the rest of the Grammar.) The sūtra which declares the rules in the last 3 padas (Tripādī), as non-existent for the purposes of the rules in the 29 padas (7½ Adhyaya) is the following.

१२ पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् । ८ । २ । १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । तेन स्यादसत्ताध्यायी भलि विवाद्यसिद्धा विवाद्यमपि पूर्वं अति परं शास्त्रमसिद्धं स्यात् ॥ आहमयत्रस्वेकारवशात् ॥ विचारः संवारः आसौ नाहौ योपोऽयोपोऽन्यमाणौ महामात्र वशात्तोऽनु-
वाचः स्वरितमेति ॥ त्रयो यन्तः सयः ऋक्वी विसर्गः शर एव च । एते आसत्तादुपहाना अपोवाचम विदुषते ।

कण्ठमध्ये तु वोपाः स्युः संवृता नावभागिनः । अगुम्भा वर्णयन्मा यणमास्पासवः स्मृताः ॥ वर्णव्याघानां
 यतुर्थे पञ्चमे परे मध्ये यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धः । पलिक्रुतीः । चख्यननुः ।
 अगुम्भिः । छलन्तीत्यत्र क्रमेण कस्यमधीः परे तत्सदृशा एव यमाः । तत्र वर्णानां प्रथमद्वितीयाः स्वयस्तथा
 तेषामेव यमाः जिह्वामूलीयोपधानीयौ विसर्गः शपसाभेतेतेषां विवारः श्वासोऽपोषश्च । अन्येषां तु संवारे
 नापो पोषश्च । वर्णानां प्रथमद्वितीयपञ्चमः प्रथमद्वितीययोः यल्लवाभास्पाशानाः । अन्ये महाप्राणा इत्यर्थः ।
 ब्राह्मप्रयत्नाच्च यद्यपि सवर्णसंज्ञायां ननु पयुक्तास्तथाप्यान्तरत्नमपरीक्षाया उपयोक्ष्यन्त इति बोध्यम् ॥ कावयो
 मायसानाः स्वर्णाः । यल्लवा अन्तस्थाः । शपसहा ऊष्माणः । अचः स्वराः । अक्षः प्रायति कपाभ्यां प्रागर्थ-
 विसर्गसदृशौ जिह्वामूलीयोपधानीयौ । अं अः इत्यच्चः परावतुस्वारविसर्गौ ॥ इति स्थानप्रसङ्गविवेकः ॥
 * कल्वर्णयोगेभ्यः सावर्ण्ये वाच्यम्* ॥ अकारहकारयोः रिकारश्चकारोर्लकारश्चकारयोर्लकारसकारयोश्च नियः
 सावर्ण्ये प्राप्ते ॥

12. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. Therefore the Tripādi rules are asiddha with regard to the 7¼ Adhyāyī rules. Even in the Tripādi, a previous rule is asiddha with regard to the subsequent.

Thus the letter अ is samvṛita really, though treated as vivṛita.

As regards the Bāhya-prayatna, we have eleven modifications: namely 1 vivāra, 2 samvāra, 3 śvāsa, 4 nāda, 5 ghosha, 6 a-ghosha 7 alpa-prāṇa, 8 mahāprāṇa, 9 udātta, 10 anudātta, 11 svarita.

Verse:—The double of khay (ख, फ, छ, ठ, थ, ष, ट, त्त, क, प) letters, the khay letters themselves, the अक्ष and अप, the visarga, the शर letters (श, ष, स) are svāsa, aghosha, and expand the throat, ई, ए, are of vivāra prayatna. The other letters (ई, ए, the हण्, letters, the yamas of हण् letters and the anusvāra) are ghosha, samvāra, and nāda prayanta. The odd letters of the vargas, the doubles of first and third, and ण् letters are alpa-prāṇa.

Explanation:—The word ण् is a Prātisākhya term. It is the name of the letter when doubled, on account of any one of the first four letters of the varga being followed by the fifth i.e. by a nasal. Thus पलिक्रुद्धोः, पल्लवपुद्गुः, पगुम्भिः, पप्रन्ति, here the doubled letters क्, ख्, ण् and प् are yama i.e. only those letters which have the same form i.e. the second क्, ख्, &c. are called yama. The लृह् letters are the first and second letters of the varga; the ten letters क प, ष, छ &c. The yamas of these लृह् letters, so also the Jihvāmūliya, Upadhmanīya, the visarga and the sibilants are vivāra, svāsa, and aghosha.

The other letters are samvāra nāda, and ghosha. The first, third and the fifth letters of a varga, the yamas of first and third, and ए, ए, ण् and प are alpa-prāṇa. The others i.e. the second and fourth letters of the varga, and ख, प, छ, ह are mahā-prāṇa.

Though the Bâhya-prayatna is of no use in determining the savarna-hood of letters, yet they are of use in finding out the *nearest* equivalent to letters to be replaced &c.

The 25 letters क to ञ are sparsa. The four letters अ, इ, उ, ए are antastha. The four letters ऋ, ॠ, ॡ, ॢ are Ushma. The vowels are Svara. The × क and × व are called Jivamûlîya and Upadhmanîya. (They represent the lost sibilants of क varga, and व varga).

अं ऋ अः ह these are anusvâra and visarga. Here ends the determination of sthâna (organ of utterance) and prayatna (effort).

१. *vart* :—The letters क and ह should be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

From the explanations in the above two sūtras (10 and 12), the letter.

क becomes homogeneous with ह

इ " " वा

ऊ " " ऋ

ए " " अ

To prevent this incongruity, we have the following sūtra which declares that there can be no homogeneity between a vowel and a consonant.

Note:—The following lines summarise the above, the vowels are vivâra, svaen, and aghosha. The ह्रस्व letters are samvâra, nâda, and ghosha. The first, third, fifth letters of the varga, and अण् letters are alpa-prâna. The second and the fourth letters of the varga, and ऋण् letters are mahâ-prâna.

१३ नाऽऽज्जलौ । १ । २ । २० ॥

आकाशहितोऽच् आच् स च ह्रस्व चेहेतौ द्विधा स्वर्णौ न स्तः । तेन दधीत्यस्य इति शीतलं षष्ठं सान्द्रमित्येतेषु षष्ठेयु यणादिकं न । अन्यथा दीर्घादीनामिव ह्रस्वादीनामपि महणकशास्त्रबलादर्थं स्यात् । तथा हि ॥

13. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

The words of this sūtra are न, आच्, हलौ ॥ The word आच् is a compound of आ+अच्; and means "a vowel along with आ" ॥ There is no homogeneity between the आच् letters and the consonants. Therefore in इधि+इरात the इ of इधि is not changed to ए before ह, nor in इधि+शीतलं the इ is lengthened before स; nor in इधि+षष्ठं, and इधि+सान्द्रं any change takes place. But for this sūtra, the letters ए &c. would have been treated as vowels, just as long and pluta letters are also vowels.

१४ । अणुवित्सव्यास्ये चाऽप्रत्ययः । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

प्रतीयेते विधीयत इति प्रत्ययः । अविधीयमानाऽणु इति च सर्वत्र संज्ञा स्यात् । अत्राणु परेण णकारेण ॥ कु चु ङु तु पु एतं वदितः ॥ नदेवम् अ इयद्वाद्यानां संज्ञा । तथेकारोकारे । ऋकारोस्त्रयः । एवं लृकारोऽपि । एषो इयद्वाद्यानाम् ॥ एदेतरेषां तौ न मियः सावर्ण्येव । ऐर्वाजिति सूचरम्भसामर्थ्यात् । तेनैव अनुविधानेः संज्ञाः स्फुरिति मावावनीयम् ॥ नाऽऽज्ञाविति निषेधा यथाप्याक्षरतन्मात्राधिकारानिव तपावि हकारस्याऽऽकारो न संरणः । तपाऽऽकारस्यापि प्राम्लष्टत्वात् । तेन विभवाभिरित्यत्र होत्र इति दत्वं न भवति ॥ अनुनासिकाननुनासिकोर्भेदेन यत्ना द्विधा । त्वाननुनासिकास्त द्वयोर्द्वयोः संज्ञा ॥

14. The letters of the Pratyāhāra अणु i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, (except when they are used as pratyāyās or affixes or) except when specifically so ordained.

The pratyāhāra अणु in this sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अणु pratyāhāra refers to the second ण of लण्. The letters included in अणु, and the letters having an indicatory उ refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ङु, तु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. S. 195. Similarly ञ includes short, long and protracted ञ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra णादृगुणः (VI. 1. 87 S. 69), 'when a vowel comes after ञ, गुण is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short ञ, we take the long ञ also. Thus not only नर + ईश = नरेशः ; but मर + ईश = मरेशः । So also in sūtra ञस्य ऋ (VII. 4. 32 S. 2118), 'there is long ई in the room of ञ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50 S. 2117) follows.' Here long ञा is also included; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or ञ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and ञा also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168. S. 3148, says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āsana and bhiksha, there is ङ.' Here ङ is an affix and therefore does not include long ङ. Thus भिगुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, S. 1379, the short ञ only is to be taken and not the long one.

◊The word ञप्रत्ययः in the sūtra means "that which is not ordained (pratyate = vidhiyate)." That is unless where a letter is specifically ordained, it always includes its homogeneous letters, in certain cases. (The sūtra means "The अणु letters (vowels and semi-vowels) when not specifically so pronounced by name, as well as the letters having an indicatory उ denote their savarna letters also." The अणु here is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण of लण्. The words कु, चु, ङु, तु, पु, are formed by उ and are वदित् ॥

The result of this is, that अ denotes 18 letters ; so also इ and उ . The ए denotes 30 letters, and so also ऋ . The diphthongs ए ऐ, ओ औ denote 12 letters.

2. *Vart.*—The letter ए is not to be considered homogeneous with ऐ nor ओ with औ ॥ For had ऐ been included in ए, and ओ in औ, then where was the necessity of the sūtra ऐ औच् ? These letters need not have been taught separately. Therefore, the diphthongs do not denote 24 letters each, but 12 letters only.

Though the prohibition of the sūtra नाञ् हलौ (I. 1. 10 S. 13) applies, according to the literal interpretation of the sūtra, to the अच् letters only, namely, to the nine letters specifically taught in the Maheshvara sūtras, and not to the letter आ which is not so taught there, yet there is no homogeneity between आ and इ ॥ For according to our interpretation of the sūtra, the letter आ is specifically mentioned in it. For we do not analyse it as न अच् हलौ, but as न आ-अच्, हलौ, and we translate it as "There is no homogeneity between a hal letter and आ and ach letters." Therefore in विश्वामिः the letter आ is not changed to इ by VIII. 2. 31 S. 3579. (इ is substituted for इ before a jhal letter and at the end of a word). The word akshara-samāmnāya means the sūtras teaching the alphabets i. e. the 14 Maheshvara sūtras.

The letters अ, इ, उ are of two kinds according as they are nasalised or not nasalised. Therefore, a non nasalised अ, इ, उ will denote also the nasalised letter : i. e. the simple letter अ, इ, उ include the nasalised ऐँ औँ ॥

(The sense of this sūtra अणुद्दि &c therefore is that the अणु letters, namely the fourteen letters taught in the Māheshvara sūtras, they *alone* denote their homogeneous letters also. But इ and उ though included in अणु pratyāhāra, denote their single forms only, for they have no other letter homogeneous to them.)

१५ । तपरस्तत्कालस्य । १ । १ । ७० ॥

तः परी यस्मात्त च तात्पर्योच्चार्यमाणसमकालस्यैव संज्ञा स्यात् । त्वेन अन् इत् उत् इत्यादयः पण्णां पण्णां संज्ञा । अदिति शब्दानाम् ॥

15, The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the last sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. (This is done by placing a त् either after or before the

letter. Thus अन् means the very letter अं and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly इन् means short इ only and not long or protracted इ.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. (Tapaṛaḥ means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time). According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अन् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अं and not the long and protracted form, in all 6 forms.)

This sūtra declares an injunction. (The anuvṛitti of अन् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अन् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अन् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.)

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 S. 203. अतोभिस एस्. 'After words ending in अन् (i. e. short अ), एस् takes the place of भिस्' Thus वृक्षः ॥ But in खड्ग which ends in long अ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खड्गाभिः ॥

Therefore अन्, इन्, उन् denote six letters each, namely अ, ई, अं, ईं, उ, ऊ ॥ अन् denotes twelve letters.

१६ । वृद्धिरादेस् । १ । १ । १ ॥

आत् ऐश् वृद्धिरंतः स्वात् ॥

16, आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi.

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, At and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra aich, and the pratyāhāra ऐस् means the letters ऐ and औ.)

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपरः (I. 1. 70 S. 15.) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a rule of तर्पण or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, अ

महा + भाषयः = महाभाषयः ॥ Here हा has two matras and not four. So also in खर्द्वैड्यः the vowel ऐ the resultant of वा + ए has only two, not four, mât-râs.

१७ । अदेङ् गुणः । १ । १ । २ ॥

अन् एङ् च गुणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

17. अ, ए and ओ are called guṇa.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guṇa letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अङि, "he moves"; एङि "he comes", ओङि "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots अङ्, एङ्, and ओङ् have been respectively gunated into अङ्, एङ्, and ओङ् before the third person singular termination णि ॥

The term Guṇa occurs in sūtras like मित्र्युणः (VII. 3. 82 S. 2346). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root मिद् 'to melt.'";

१८ । भूवाद्यो धातवः । १ । ३ । १ ॥

भियावाभिनो भारयो धातुसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhātu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhātu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit Grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Kri. 10. Chur.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + भावि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Tatvabodhinī considers that वा is a separate root. According to it the sūtra should be analysed thus भू + वा = भूवी, भूवो आवी येषां भूमतेत्या वा सङ्घाः "word Bhû &c., and like वा denoting action are called Dhātu." वा "to blow." >

१९ । प्राग्निश्चराक्षिपाताः । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

19. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirīśvare (I.4.97 S. 644), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word प्राग् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word चा of I. 4. 55 S. 2575; (namely, it makes the words Gatī, upasarga and karmapra-vachniya take two names, i. e., their own name as well as the name Nipāta.

The letter *ṛ* in प्राप्तीश्चरात् is to remove doubt, *i. e.*, aphorism I.4. 97 S. 644. should be taken as the limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 S. 3440. which has the word *isvare* also.

२० । चादयो ऽसन्वे ॥ ५७ ॥

अत्रन्यायाभादयो निपातसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

20. <The word *cha* 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.>

२१ । प्रादयः । १ । ४ । ५८ ॥

अत्रन्यायाः प्रादयस्तथा ॥

21. <The words *pra*. &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions.' प्र, परा, अप, सम्, भद्र, भव, निर, हुस्, वि, आह्, नि, अधि, अपि, शु, उक्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

<The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the *pra* &c., words two names, nameiy, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, *i. e.*, when they are in composition with verbs.> Not so, however, the *chā* &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signify substances they are not Nipātas. As परा अयति सेना "the excellent army conquers". Here the word परा is not a Nipāta.

२२ । उपसर्गोः क्रियायोगे । १ । ४ । ५९ ॥

22. <The words *pra* &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र + नयति = प्रनयति. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायकः, परिणायकः ॥

२३ । गतिश्च । १ । १ ॥ ६० ॥

प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसंज्ञा गतिसंज्ञाश्च स्युः ॥ प्र परा अप सम् भद्र भव निर निर हुस् हुस् वि आह् नि अधि अपि अति शु उक् अभि प्रति परि उप । एते प्रादयः ॥

23. <The words *pra* &c., are called also Gati (as well as upasarga) when in composition with a verb.>

२४ । न चेति विभाषा । १ । १ । ४४ ॥

विधेयविकल्पदोर्विभाषा संज्ञा स्यात् ॥

24. “May or may not” is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ :—prâpta-vibhâshâ aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two. This sūtra specially applies to the last class.

(Thus the root भि ‘to swell,’ by virtue of the rule विभाषा द्वे (V. 1. 30. S. 1695) forms its perfect tense, either by śamprasāraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either ब्रुवत् or बिभ्रवत् ॥)

२४ । स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । १ । १ । ६८ ॥

शब्दस्य स्वं रूपं संज्ञि शब्दशब्दे वा संज्ञा वा विना ॥

{ 25. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

(This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means ‘one’s own’ denotes ‘the meaning,’ and the word रूपं denotes ‘the individual form of a word’. The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूपं, viz., its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with अग्नि, such as, पावकः, क्वलनः &c.)

२५ । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य । १ । १ । ७२ ॥

विशेषणं तदन्तस्य संज्ञा स्यात् स्वं रूपं च रूपस्य ॥ समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधा ॥ उगिहूर्णं महणवर्जम् ॥

26. {An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन ‘by what (attribute),’ विधि ‘rule,’ तदन्तस्य ‘having that (attribute) at its end.’

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97, S. 2842.) declaring “let there be the affix इत् after the vowels.” Here the phrase “after the vowels” means

and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चयत्. (Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words *ending* in those forms.)

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III. 3. 56, S. 3231.) 'after इ there is एच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ ॥ Thus इ + अच् = अय, चि + अच् = चय ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, S. 686. declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टं + भितः = कष्टभितः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्ट + परमभितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99, S. 1101, declares "that the words नञ् &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नञ् + फक् = नाढायनः । But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनञ्, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनञ् will be called सूत्रनादिः and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes that have an indicator इक् (इ, फ, ल्), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I 1. 26, S. 3012) has an indicator इ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6, S. 455) the feminine of sukritavat will be sukritavati. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 अत इच् says "after अ there is the affix इच्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus इत् + इच् = इक्षिः the son of Daksha. >

२७ । विरामो ऽवसानम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

वर्णानामभाषोऽवसानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

27. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3. 15. S. 76 &c

२८ परः संनिर्गमः संहिता, । १ । ४ । १०९ ॥

वर्णानामनिर्वाचितः संनिधिः संहितासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

28, The closest proximity of letters, (*there being the intervention of half a mātrā or prosodial length between them*) is called contact or sanhitā.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As कृत्वा = कृ + वा.

२९ सुसिद्धन्तं पदम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

सुसन्तं सिद्धन्तं च पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

29. That which ends in sup (case-affix IV. 1. 2. S. 183) or in tin (III. 4. 78 S. 2154 tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

३० हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः । १ । १ । ७ ॥

अन्तिमव्यवहिता हलः संज्ञाः स्युः ॥

30. Consonants unseparated by vowels are called conjunct consonants.

३१ ह्रस्वं लघु । १ । ४ । १० ॥

31. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

३२ संयोगे गुरु । १ । ४ । ११ ॥

संयोगे परे ह्रस्वं गुरुसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

32. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

३३ दीर्घश्च । १ । ४ । १२ ॥

33. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).

अथ परिभाषा प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER II.

PARIBHĀSHĀS OR RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

३४ । इको गुणवृद्धी । १ । १ । ३ ॥

गुणवृद्धिवाच्यार्थां यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयते तत्रैक इति पदग्रन्थं पदग्रपतिष्ठते ॥

34. In the absence of any special *sthāni*, whenever *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is enjoined about any expression by using the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, it is to be understood to come in the room of the *ik* vowels only (*i*, *u*, *ri*, and *ā* long and short,) of that expression.

(Wherever in any rule in this Grammar, *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is ordained by employing the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, there the word "*ikah*" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of *ik*," is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular *sthāni* or the letter to be replaced.

Thus *sūtra* VII. 3. 84 S. 2164 declares:—"when a *sārvadhātuka* or an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows there is *guṇa* of the base." Here the *sthāni* or the letter which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "*ikah*" must be read into the *sūtra*. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is *guṇa* of the *ik* vowels of the base." The *guṇa* of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is ऋ, of ॡ is ॡ; and their *Vṛiddhi* is ऐ, औ, गार्, and गार् respectively. Thus नी + भक्ति = ने + नति = नयति "he leads."

३५ । अचक्ष । १ । २ । २८ ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंक्षेपार्थमाजिधीयते तत्रापि इति पदग्रन्थं पदग्रपतिष्ठते ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

When in this book, short 'long' or 'prolated' is taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dirgha* or *pluta*, there the word *achakṣ*, in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of the vowel" is to be supplied to complete the sense.

As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47. S. 318 "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'in the place of the vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:— the *hrasva* is substituted in the place of the *vowel* of the crude-form. As *रे* is shortened to *रि* in forming the compound with *अति* in *अतिरि*, नौ to *अतिदु*, पा to *अपह* ॥

३६ । आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

टिङ्कितौ यद्योक्तौ तस्य क्रमादाद्यन्तावयवौ स्तः ॥

36. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory ट् or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

(This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters ट् and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is ट् that augment is to be placed *before* the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a क् augment is to be added *after* the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35 S. 2184) which says "ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except य, have इट्". The question may arise where is this इट् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ārdhadhātuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory ट् shows, that it is to be placed before the ārdhadhātuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यात्ति, is an ārdhadhātuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इट्. Thus भू + इट् + स्यात्ति = भविष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly लटिषा 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. S. 2595 the root भी takes the augment पुक् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी + पुक् + लिङ् + ते = भीषयते 'he frightens.'

३७ । मिदृजोऽन्यात्परः । १ । १ । ४७ ॥

अथ इति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । अथां मध्ये योज्यस्तस्मात्परस्तत्त्वैवान्तावयवौ निरस्यान् ॥

37. The augment that has an indicatory ष् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final portion of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory ष्. The augments having an indicatory ष्, technically called मिदृज् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called दुष्, in which ष् and ष् are इट्, and the actual augment is ष्. When, therefore, it is said "let दुष् be added to the word," the letter ष् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस्

+ नुम् + ई (VII. 1. 72 S. 314) = पयान्ति (VI. 4. 8 S. 250). Here ई is added between य and न् *i. e.* after the य of य, which is the final vowel of the word : and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly हुञ् + य + ति (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) = हुञ् + नुम् + य + ति (VI. 1. 59 S. 2402) = हुञ्चति । Similarly विरुणद्धि ।

⟨The word अयः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 S. 38 and III. 1. 2, S. 181 by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

३८ । षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

अनिर्धारितसंबन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा बोध्या । स्थानं च प्रसङ्गः ॥

38. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

⟨This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śaśthī denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 34. the word इक् is in the genitive case ; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.'

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence इर्वाणां स्थाने स्तेः प्रसरति घनम्, the word स्थाने, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras वस्तेर्भूः (II. 4. 52 S. 2470), or हुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53 S. 2453), the words 'asti,' and 'brū' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of ब्रू ; so also, वच्ता, वक्तुम्, and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of वच्.

⟨The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 24 and 35), and it qualifies the

word *shash(bi)*. The compound means *स्थाने यो गोऽस्ते*, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word *sthāna*.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound ; on the analogy of compounds like *कण्ठकालः* &c. Or *स्थान* *यो गोऽस्ते* अस्ति, the *ए* in *sthāne* is anomalous.

३६ । स्थानेऽन्तरतमः । १ । १ । ५० ॥

मन्त्रे सति सदृशतम आदेशः स्यात् ॥ यथानेकविधनान्तये तत्र स्थानत आन्तर्ये बलीयः ॥

39. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likeliest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or *स्थान* (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.) ; (2) nearness in meaning or *अर्थ* (such as, singular terminations to *o* used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or *प्रमाण* (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or *गुण* (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, S. 85 "when a homogeneous vowel follows *ak*, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present *sūtra* for finding the proper vowel. Thus—*इण्ड* + *अयं* = *इण्डायं* ; here the substitution of the long *आ*, for the two short *अ*'s, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both *अ* and *आ* are gutturals.

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the *guṇa* substitutes of *इ* and *उ* out of the three *guṇa* letters *अ*, *ए* and *ओ*, we find that *अ* is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.* *अ* and *इ* and *उ* have all one *mātrā* ; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get *ए* and *ओ* ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first ; as, *चेता* *स्तोत्रा*.

४० । तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तरणान्वयवहितस्य पूर्वस्य बीज्यम् ॥

40. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these *sūtras*, the operation directed, is to be understood

as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be performed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77. S. 47) the word यणचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए followed by a vowel (यण्) are changed into ए, ऊ, रु, लृ (यण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—'Of इक् there is यण् in यण्.' The force of 'in' or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus वधि + उहकम् = वधुहकम्; so माधिवम्, पचलोहम् ॥

४१। तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य । १। १। ६७ ॥

पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणान्यवहितस्य परस्य ज्ञेयम् ॥

41. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61, S. 118 declares that 'after उद्, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.' Thus उद् + स्थानम्. Here the word उद् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter उ must be substituted in the place of sthā, and by I. 1. 54, S. 44 this dental takes the place of स् we have उद् + स्थानम् = उत्प-थानम्.

४२। अक्षोन्त्यस्य । १। १। ५२ ॥

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टाऽन्यस्यादिशः स्यात् ॥

42. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, S. 265 it is declared स्थासनीयम्: "in the place of स्तद् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word स्तद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of स्तद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

४३ । डिच्च । १ । १ । ५३ ॥

अयमप्यन्यस्यैव स्यात् । सर्वस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

43. And the substitute which has an indicatory ड (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra I. 1. 55, S. 45. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3. 25, S. 921) by which it is declared:—'In the place of words ending in क there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.' Now the substitute आनङ् is a डित् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz.* the क of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also द्वेतापोतापो.

४४ । आदेः परस्य । १ । १ । ५४ ॥

परस्य बह्विहिते तत्तस्यदिर्बोध्यम् । अलोऽन्यस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

44. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

(When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such *subsequent* word. This is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42. (अलोऽन्यस्य) To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97, S. 941) by which it is declared: "In the place of अच् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई." This rule may be stated in other words as:—'In the place of अच् there is ई when अच् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.' Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अच् but only one. By sūtra 42 that letter would have been the last letter of अच्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, (simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word.) Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अच् and we have द्वि + अच् = द्वीच् (the final च is added by V. 4. 74, S. 940) 'an island,' अन्तरीच् 'promontory.'

४५ । अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य । १ । १ । ५५ ॥

स्वल्प । अलोऽन्यस्येत्यापवादः । अष्टाभ्य ओऽशित्तास्यदिः परस्येत्येतदपि परत्वाद्नेन बाध्यते ॥

45. A substitute consisting of more than one letter,

and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42 by which it was declared that an ādeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an ādeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an ādeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra ह्रस्वो वच् (II. 4. 53, S. 2453) which means 'in the place of ह्र let there be वच्.' Here the ādeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ह्र and not only the last letter ऊ. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ह्र is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ह्र is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

Thus in the sūtra षष्ठाभ्य औष् (VII. 1. 21, S. 372) "after the stem of षष्ठा औष् is substituted for the ending of the Nominative and Accusative plural." The substitute औष् is a शित् substitute and therefore it replaces the whole of the affixes षत् and जत् not only their initials as would have been otherwise required by the preceding rule ऋदिः परस्य. For by that rule the initials only of the affixes जत् and षत् would have been replaced by औ. This sūtra is in fact an exception to the last sūtra.

४६ । स्वस्तिनाधिकारः । १ । ३ । ११ ॥

स्वस्तिनाद्युक्तं शब्दस्वरूपनिर्दिष्टं बोध्यम् ॥ परस्मैपदान्तरङ्गापवादनादुत्तरं तमीयः ॥ तस्मिन्
बहिर्गमनपरः ॥ अकृतशुद्धाः पाणिनीयाः ॥ निमित्तं विनाशोन्मुखं दृष्ट्वा सध्वयुक्तं कार्यं न कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

46. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; मस्यः (III. 1. 1. S. 180.) पातोः (III. 1. 91 S. 2829), गङ्गस्य (VI 4. 1 S. 200). भव्य (VI. 4. 129 S. 233).

Paribhāṣā. Of (these four kinds of rules,—viz.) a subsequent (rule,) a nitya (rule) an antaraṅga (rule), and an apavāda (rule), each following

rule possesses greater force than any one of, or all, the rules mentioned before it.

Note:—By I. 4. 2, S. 175. we are taught that a subsequent (पर) rule supersedes a rule which precedes (पूर्व). This Paribhāṣa farther expands the same.

An *anītya* rule is stronger than a *Para* (पर) rule. As तुदादिभ्यः ण् (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) तुदादिः रुदादिभ्यः ण् (III. 1. 78, S. 2543) as रुदादि, Here the *nītya* affixes ण and ण् debar even the पर rule of Guna of the light penultimate vowel of VII. 3. 86. S. 2189. Similarly चिन्वाच and चिन्वाच Here the augment आच् by III 4. 92. S. 2204 being a *nītya* rule supersedes even the subsequent (पर) rule VI. 4. 107 S. 2333 which required the elision of the च of चित् before the affixes च and न ॥

Thus तुद् + तिच् VII. 1. 77 S. 3576. Vikaranaच् before Sarvadhātuka; (*nītya*).

VII. 3. 86 S. 2189. Guna for च (para but *anītya*). III. 1. 77 S. 2534. applies before the substitution of guṇa for च and it would apply also if guṇa were substituted for च, and if तुद् were changed to सोद् ॥ On the other hand VII. 3. 86 applies before च is added to तुद्, but after the addition of च to तुद् guṇa could not by VII. 3. 86 be substituted for च, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate. Accordingly III. 1. 77 is *nītya* and VII. 3. 86 is *anītya*; III. 1. 77 takes, therefore, effect first and we have तुद् + ति, and subsequently VII. 3. 86 is no longer applicable. (A *nītya* is thus defined:—A rule which would apply if another rule that applies simultaneously were to have taken effect, and which applies when that other rule does not take effect, is *nītya*, a rule with which such is not the case, is not *nītya*.)

(An *antaranga* rule possesses greater force than even a *nītya* rule. *Antaranga* is a rule the causes of the application of which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a *bahiranga* rule; in like manner that rule the causes of the application of which lie without or beyond the sum of the causes of that *antaranga* rule is *bahiranga*.) In the formation of चान्विनी nom. dual of the neuter noun चान्वी, we have two rules, first VII. 1. 73. S. 320. by which न्, is added before the dual case affix वी; and I. 2. 47 S. 318. which requires the shortening of the stem चान्वी to चान्वि ॥ (Though the न् augment is *nītya*, it is for the time being suspended in favour of the *antaranga* rule causing shortening and when the stem is shortened then the न् is added. For had न् been added first, then चान्वीन् would end in a consonant and the rule of shortening I. 2. 47 S. 318 would not have applied, as the stem was not vowel-ending.)

(An *apavāda* possesses greater force even than an *antaranga* rule. A rule which is given in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which or to all of which another rule can not but apply, or in other words

which all fall already under some other rule, supersedes the latter. Thus ऐत्यारिः श्रीशः ॥ ऐत्य + अरि or श्री + ईश, here the *antaranga* rules आद्गुणः and इकोवर्णच would supersede even the पर rule of *saṃvara-dīrgha*, and अ + अ would be अ ई + ई would be श्री ॥ But *saṃvara-dīrgha* rule being an *apavāda* rule supersedes the *antaranga* *guṇa* and *yaṇ-ādesā*.

Paribhāṣā. (That which is *bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). Thus, in the formation of स्त्रीच, from सिच् + च, ऊ is substituted for the इ of सिच् by VI. 4. 19 S. 2561. we obtain thus सिक् + च. Here two rules apply simultaneously, viz. VI. 1. 77 S. 47. which teaches the substitution of च् for इ before ऊ and VII. 3. 86 by which *guṇa* should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix च, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect? The substitution of च् for इ is caused by ऊ, that of *guṇa* for इ by च; as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of च् lies within or before the cause च of the substitution of *guṇa*, and, on the other hand, the cause च of the substitution of *guṇa* without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of च्,—the substitution of च् for इ and the rule VI. 1. 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*; and the substitution of *guṇa* for इ and the rule VII. 3. 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accordingly VI. 1. 77 must take effect, because VII. 3. 86, so far as the taking effect of VI. 1. 77 is concerned, does not exist.

Paribhāṣā. The followers of Pāṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

In other words, 'an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (operation) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation).

अचसंधि प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER III.

ON VOWEL—SANDHIS.

४७ । इको यणचि ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

इयः स्थाने यश्च स्यादचि संहितायां विषये । सुधी उपास्य इति स्थिते । स्थानस्य आन्तर्यामीका-
रस्य प्रकारः । सुधी उपास्य इति जाते ॥

47. The semivowels य, व, इ, ए, are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1. 101, S. 85 namely, the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding, for the application of this rule. Thus सुधी+उपास्यः Here the long ई of सुधी is replaced by य which is the nearest substitute, having regard to sthāna or organ of utterance.

Thus we get सुय्य+उपास्य ॥

This gives occasion to the application of the following rule requiring reduplication :—

४८ । अनचि च ॥ ८ । ४ । ७७ ॥

अचः परस्य यो हे या स्तो न त्वचि ॥ इति धकारस्य द्वित्वम् ॥

48. When a vowel does not follow, there is optionally reduplication of य (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

Therefore, the letter य is doubled, and we have :—

सु य्य य्य + उपास्य

Now, a doubt arises as to the applicability of this rule of doubling by the following consideration :—

४९ । स्थानिवदादेशोऽनलिवधौ ॥ १ । १ । ९६ ॥

आदेशः स्थानिवत्स्थानं तु स्थान्यन्ताश्रयविधौ । अनेनेह यकारस्य स्थानिवत्तद्विनाश्रयनाश्रित्यान-
विधेति द्वित्वनिषेधो न लङ्गोऽनलिवधाविति तन्निषेधात् ॥

49. A substitute (ādeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the ope-

ration of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

Now the substitute य should be considered as ई which it has replaced; and as ई is a vowel, this य should be considered as a vowel. That being so, य is not followed by a consonant, but by a vowel, and so अनाधिप्य does not apply, and य should not be reduplicated.

This doubt, however, is set at rest by the next half of this sūtra itself, which says अनाधिविधौ—“not when a rule of letter is to be applied.” The य is like ई, but not for the purposes of the application of the Letter—rule like अनाधिप्य च ॥ The य therefore is properly doubled.

But is not this अनाधिविधौ exception set aside by the following sūtra ?

५० । अन्तः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५७ ॥

अन्तर्ध्वनितम् । परस्मिन्तोऽन्तर्ध्वनितः स्थानितस्तथात् स्थानितस्तथात् पूर्वत्वेन दृष्टस्य विधौ कर्तव्ये ॥ इति स्थानितशब्देन ॥

50. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes, when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:—अन्तः genitive of the pratyāhāra अन्तर्ध्वनितम् meaning ‘of a vowel,’ and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is ‘parasmin’ loc. sing. of ‘para’ meaning ‘in the subsequent.’ The locative has the force of ‘on account of or by reason of.’ The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning ‘a rule applicable to a preceding thing.’ The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Therefore य would be स्थानितम् to ई because it is a vowel substitute caused by something which follows namely य of उपस्थ and the rule of doubling is to be applied to य a letter which precedes य ॥

To this we answer “No”, because of the following sūtra.

५१ । न पदान्तद्विधौ च न यरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णान्नुस्वारदीर्घजश्चर्चिधिषु ॥ १ । १ । ५८ ॥

पदान्त उपस्थायके द्विधौ यनादी च कर्तव्ये परस्मिन्तोऽन्तर्ध्वनितो न स्थानितम् । इति स्थानितशब्देन विधौ ॥

51. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvāra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an ādeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthānivat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel ādeśa is not sthānivat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.'

2. द्विर्बन्धनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of सुधी + वपास्य we have सुधुर्ध्व + वपास्य Here ई is changed into धृ. If this धृ were sthānivat to ई, then the rule by which धृ could be doubled before र्ध्व would be inapplicable. But धृ is not equivalent to ई, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of धृ and get the form सुधुध्वपास्य Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the ādeśa is not equivalent to the sthāni.

3. वृत्तिविधिः, 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.'

4. यक्षोपविधिः 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.'

5. स्वराविधिः 'a rule relating to accent.'

6. सवर्णविधिः 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.'

7. अनुस्वारविधिः 'a rule relating to anusvāra.'

8. दीर्घविधिः 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.'

9. जम्बिधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyāhāra जम्बु, in the place of hard consonants.'

10. चरविधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर pratyāhāra instead of other consonants.

५२ । अलां जश्शशि ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

एवम् । इति प्रकारस्य प्रकारः ॥

52, In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus
जश्धृ + वपास्य = जुधृधृ + वपास्य ॥

At this stage, the sūtra after the following turns up for application.

५३ । अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ १ । १ । ६० ॥ ~

मसक्तस्यादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

53. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision.

५४ । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ ८ । २ । २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं यत्पक्षं तदन्तस्य लोपः स्यात् । इति खल्वेति प्राप्तिः ॥ यजः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ यजो यथा ऐ योऽप्ये * ॥ मय इति पञ्चमी यज इति षष्ठीति पक्षे यकारस्यापि द्वित्वम् । तद्विधु धकारयकारयो-
र्द्वित्वविकल्पाद्यस्वार्थि रूपानि ॥ एकध्वमेकयम् । द्विध्वं द्वियम् । द्विध्वमेकयम् । एकध्वं द्वियम् । सुदुपुषास्यः ।
मसक्तिः । धातुशः । लङ्गतिः ॥

54. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

Therefore in सुदुपुष+उपास्य, the final letter of the conjunct consonant, namely the letter य् should be elided. But this mishap to the letter य् is prevented by the following *Vartika*. यजः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः "Prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of semivowels." Therefore the य् is not elided.

But then appears the following *Vartika* which requires the doubling of य् also, यजोयजोदेवाप्ये "The letters of the यज् class are reduplicated after letters of the यज् class."

Thus we have four forms with the doubling of य् and य् optionally.

1. One य् and one य् as सुदुपुषास्यः ।
2. Two य्स and two य्स as सुदुपुषास्यः ।
3. Two य्स and one य् as सुदुपुषास्यः ।
4. One य् and two य्स as सुदुपुषास्यः ।

So also मसु + मसक्तिः = मसक्तिः ; धातुशः, लङ्गतिः ।

५५ । नादिन्यामोरो पुत्रस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ४८ ॥

पुत्रस्यस्य न दे स्त आदिन्यामोरो पत्रे आदिन्यामोरो मय्यमोरो । पुत्रस्यस्यी मय्यमि पत्रे । आदिन्यामो-
रिपि । मय्यमोरो द्विपत्रं मय्यमोरो । पुत्रस्यस्यी मय्यमि ॥ मय्यमोरो * ॥ पुत्रपुत्रस्यस्यी मय्यमि पत्रे ॥ वा
द्विपत्रमोरो * ॥ पुत्रस्यस्यी । पुत्रस्यस्यी । पुत्रस्यस्यी ॥

55. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādini follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by sūtra 48. Thus पुत्रस्यस्यी

स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुष्पादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or अपाश्लेष, the reduplication necessarily takes place. Thus पुष्पादिनी सर्पिणी 'a kind of serpent, that eats up her young ones'.

Vart :—So also when पुञ्च is followed by पुष्पादिनी ॥ As पुञ्चपुष्पादिनी स्वमसि-पापे ॥ So also पुञ्चपौष्पादिनी ॥

Vart :—Optionally so when the words हत and जघ follow. As पुञ्चहती or पुञ्चजती, पुञ्चजग्धी or पुञ्चजग्धी ॥

५६ । त्रिमभृत्तिष्ठ शाकटायनस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५० ॥

ज्यासिषु यणेषु संसृक्तेषु वा द्वित्वम् । इन्द्रः । इन्द्रः । राहूद्वम् । राहूद्वम् ॥

56. According to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः इन्द्रः, राहूद्वम्, राहूद्वम् ॥

५७ । सर्वज्ञ शाकटयस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५१ ॥

द्वित्वं न । सर्कः । ब्रह्मा ॥

57. According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As सर्कः, ब्रह्मा ॥

५८ । दीर्घाद्याचार्याणाम् ॥ ८ । ४ । ५२ ॥

द्वित्वं न । सावम् । पावम् ॥

58. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As सावम्, पावम्,

५९ । अचो रहाश्यां द्वे ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

अचः पताभ्यां रेकहकाराभ्यां परस्व यतो द्वे वा स्तः । इन्द्रं नुमदः ॥ नहृष्यद्वित् ॥

59. There is reduplication of यद्, i. e. all the consonants except ह्, after the letters र् and ह् following a vowel.

The word यद् of VIII. 4. 45 S. 116. is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus इन्द्रं नुमदः, न हृष्यद्वित् ॥

६० । हलो यमां यमि लोपः । ८ । ४ ॥ ६४ ॥

हलः परस्य यमां लोपः स्याद्वा यमि । इति लोपपक्षे द्वित्वाभावपक्षे चैकयं रूपं तुल्यम् । लोपारम्भकत्वे तु आदिहो देवताऽस्त्येतादित्यं हविरित्याहौ ॥ यमां यमीति यपासंख्यविज्ञानाच्चेह ॥ माहात्म्यम् ॥

60. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it.

In the case of elision (as required by this rule) as well as in the case of want of reduplication, (for the reduplication is after all *optional*), there would be one common form. Why then teach this lopa rule at all? This lopa rule is particularly applicable in cases like आदित्यं हविः To the word आदित्य is added the affix य (प्रत्यय) by IV. 1. 85, S. 10 77. and we have आदित्ये; now this य not having been obtained by *doubling*, would not have disappeared by any one of the preceding rules. Hence this lopa-rule. Thus āditya + ya (IV. 1. 85) = ādity + ya (the *a* is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 3 11.) = ādityya. Then by applying the present rule we have āditya with one *y* only.

There are nine letters in यम् pratyāhāra, i. e. य, व, र, ल, म, न, ङ, ञ and ष; when यम् follows another यम्; here the substitute and sthāni contain equal number of letters, therefore the rule of yathā sankhya I. 3. 10., S. 128 applies. Namely य must be followed by य, व by व, र by र and so on : and not य followed by व, or र etc. Therefore there is no elision of य in माहात्म्यम् though य a yam letter is followed by य another yam letter.

६१ । एचोऽयवायावः ॥ ६ । १ । ७८ ॥

एचः कमादय् वाय् आय् एते ह्युपये ॥

61. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, आय्, एय् and औय् when a vowel follows.

62. Of this, (namely of what which has been called इत्), there is elision.

There is no elision of the final इ, and इ in अइ, अइ, आइ and आइ, because these letters are not इत् or indicatory. Why are they not indicatory? Because the very fact of their being expressly so taught shows it: otherwise the substitutes would have been अ and आ only: in fact, the इ and इ do not get the designation इत् at all here.

Now applying this rule of diphthong sandhi, we have: इरे + ए = इरये; विष्णो + ए = विष्णवे, ने + अकः = नायकः; पी + अकः = पायकः ॥

६३ । चान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

यकारादौ प्रत्यये परे ओङितोरप्य आइ एतौ स्तः । गोर्विकारो गव्यम् । गोपयस्योर्विति यत् । नावा सायं गव्यम् । गोपयोधर्मेत्यादिना यत् ॥ गोर्वितौ उन्वत्पुपसंज्ञानम् ० ॥ गव्यपरिमाणे च * ॥ गव्युतिः । कृतिश्रुतीत्यादिना यृतिशब्दो निपातितः ॥ चान्त इत्यत्र वकाराद्गोर्वित्तावित्यत्र छकाराद्गोर्विभागे लोपोऽङ्गोर्विति लोपेन वकारः प्रलिख्यते । तेन श्रूयमाणवकारान्त्र आदेशः स्यात् । वकारो न लुप्यत इति यावत् ॥

63. The substitution of अइ and आइ for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The चान्त are those which end in इ viz अइ and आइ. Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in इ (viz. अइ and आइ) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ. Thus गो + य = गव्य + य = गव्ये milk. By sūtra IV-3-160S 1538 the affix यत् is added to गो and पयस् in the sense of modification. Similarly गो + य = गव्यम् (what can be crossed by a boat). Here also यत् is added by IV-4-91 S. 1643 in the sense of "to be crossed," the word so formed meaning 'a river' &c.

Vart:—The word गो is changed before यृति in the Vedas. As गो + यृति = गव्युति as आनो निजा वरुणा धृतेर्गव्युतिमुक्तम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयृतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place in secular literature even, when referring to the measure of a road:—as, गव्युति मात्रमष्टानं यतः ॥ गव्युति meaning गोययुगम् ॥ The word यृति is an irregularly formed word so taught in sūtra III. 3. 97. S. 3274.

Now a doubt arises in the case of गव्युति; should not the इ be elided by VIII. 3. 22. S. 171 or by VIII. 3. 19. S. 67. No. For the sūtra चान्तो यि प्रत्यये has really a इ in latency before it; the real sūtra being चान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ This इ is invisible by the rule लोपो व्योर्विति VI. 1. 66 S 873. So also in the vārtika गोयृते उन्वत्पुपसंज्ञानम्, there is this invisible इ before छ ॥ Therefore the ādeśa is अइ with the इ, that is, the इ is not elided.

Why the व् is not liable to elision in गच्छ् and नाच्छ् by the application of VIII. 3. 19 or 22, and why should it be so liable in गच्छति only? The rules VIII. 3. 19 & 22 apply to pada bases only. Now सो before वृत्ति is a Pada; while सो or नो before वृत् is not a Pada but a Bha base, by I. 4. 18. S. 231.

६४ । धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ६ । १ । ८० ॥

यत्तौ प्रत्यये परे धातोरेचयेष्टान्तविशस्तर्हि तन्निमित्तस्यैव नान्यस्य । लब्धम् । अवश्यतात्पर्यम् । तन्निमित्तस्यैवेति किम् ॥ ज्ञायते । ज्ञायत ॥

54. For the final diphthongs औ and औ of a root, are substituted ज्व् and झ्व् respectively, before an affix beginning with व्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एचः, यान्तोपि प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word तन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i.e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with व् ॥ Thus वृ forms its Future Passive Participle by वृत् (III. 1. 97 S. 284 2.) this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: S. 2168. Thus वृ + व = लो + व, which according to the present sūtra becomes लब्धम् ॥ So also वृ—पो + व = पब्धम् ॥ वृ + ण्यत् (III. 1. 125 S. 3304.) = लो + व = जवद्य लब्धम् and अवश्य पाब्धम् ॥ Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga णा is णा + वे + वृत् + ते ॥ Hereby Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15 S. 2409), वे becomes व, as णा + व + वृत् + ते; now by sandhi णा + व = णो VI. 1. 87 S. 69, we have णो + वृत्ते = ज्ञायते ॥ Since णो is not caused by व, there is no ज्व् substitution. So also ज्ञायत, ज्ञायन्ति, ज्ञायन्ति (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). The word एच in the aphorism has force of limitation, with regard to roots. (In the case of roots, औ and औ before व् are changed then only to ज्व् and झ्व् when व् has caused the production of औ; औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the व् has caused the production of औ and औ or not.)

६५ । क्षय्यज्ययौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८१ ॥

यान्तविधिविधानार्थविदम् ॥ शक्यं शक्यं शक्यम् । अतुं शक्यं शक्यम् । शक्यार्थे किम् । शक्यं शक्यं शक्यं शक्यं शक्यं ॥

65. In क्षय्य and ज्यय there is substitution of ज्व् for व् only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix वृत् (III. 1. 97 S. 2842), assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As एचत् शक्यं शक्यं (क्षि + व = शे + वृत्); so also ज्यय ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe शक्यं शक्यं, शक्यं शक्यं ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

६६। कथ्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ६। १। ८२ ॥

सस्मै प्रकृत्यर्थयितुं तदर्थम् । किंत्तः कीणीपुरिति बुद्ध्या आपणे प्रसारितं कथ्यम् । किंप्रत्ययः ।
कथ्यणार्हमित्यर्थः ॥

66. In कथ्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word कथ्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix क्त; the गुण ए being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थम् means 'for the purpose of that' i. e., for the purpose of being bought by the purchasers. As कथ्य क्री, कथ्यः कथ्यतः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe कथ्यं नो भाव्यं न चास्ति कथ्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

६७। लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८। ३। १२ ॥

अपर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्ध्वयोर्वा लोपोऽपि परे ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति श्लेषशास्त्रस्यासिद्धत्वात् स्वर-
संधिः । हर एति । हरयेहि । विष्ण इह । विष्णविह । श्रिया उद्यतः श्रियायुद्यतः । सुर उक्तः । सुराउक्तः ॥
कानि सन्ति की स्त इत्यन्तरेणोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वेन यणावदेशौ प्राप्ते न पदान्तोत्तिसूत्रेण पदान्तविधौ
सन्निविधान् स्तः ॥

67. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अय् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

When this *lopa* once takes place, there is no further combination of vowels; because the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् of VIII. 2. 1. S. 12. intervenes and makes this *lopa* as if non-existent. Thus, we have हरे + एहि = हरएहि or हरयेहि (O Hari; come). so also विष्णो + इह = विष्ण इह or विष्णविह । and श्रिये + उद्यतः = श्रियाउद्यतः or श्रियायुद्यतः; सुरे + उक्तः = सुराउक्तः or सुराउक्तः ॥

In the following examples कानि + सन्ति and की + स्तः the rule VI. 1. 77 S. 47 and this rule would have applied respectively because सन्ति is really कान्सन्ति and स्तः is really अस्तः the अ being elided. An ādeśa is equal to the स्थानि as we have been taught in Sūtra I. 1. 56 S. 49. Therefore we ought to have forms like कान्सन्ति and कास्तः. But this is prevented by Sūtra I. 1. 58 S. 51. for an ādeśa is not equal to a स्थानि when a Padānta rule is to be applied. Now the substitution of semivowels by sūtra VI. 1. 77 S. 47 or the *lopa* of this Sūtra is a Padānta rule and hence the ādeśa is not equal to a स्थानि.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकवास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, आपण or ह्य आपण, असावाविल्यः or असा आदिल्यः ॥

६८। एकः पूर्वपरयोः । ६। १। ८३ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

68. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted"

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. In every *sūtra* upto VI. 1. 112 S. 255. (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekādśa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c.

६६ । आदूगुणः ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

अवर्णाक्षि परे पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणविशः स्यात्संहितायाम् । उपेन्द्रः । रेमेधः । गङ्गादकम् ॥

69. The *guṇa* is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ + a vowel = *guṇa*).

The word *अक्षि* is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these vowels, there is the single substitute, namely, *guṇa*. Thus उप + इन्द्रः = उपेन्द्रः ; रमा + ईश = रेमेधः ; गङ्गा + अकम् = गङ्गादकम् ॥

७० । उरण् रपरः ॥ १ । १ । ५१ ॥

ऊ इति विधत्त संश्लेषुक्तम् । तत्स्थाने योऽण् स रपरः संश्लेषः प्रयत्ते । तथास्तत्स्थान्याऽण् अक्षि-
रित्यपाऽ । तत्स्थान् इत्यपाऽम् । अथो रदाभ्यामिति पक्षे द्वित्वम् ॥

70. When a letter of *अण् pratyāhāra* comes as a substitute for ऊ it is always followed by a र्.

This *sūtra* consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऊ and means literally 'of ऊ' or 'in the place of ऊ'; the second word is अण्, a *pratyāhāra* denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This *sūtra* is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऊ. Thus, there are only three *guṇa* vowels अ, इ and उ. Of these what is the proper *guṇa* for ऊ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the *guṇa* of ऊ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the *guṇa* of ऊ, the actual substitute is अर् ॥

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a *pratyāhāra* formed by the letter र् and अ of अर्; and thus it includes the letters र् and अ. In that case the *sūtra* would mean that अण् substitutes of ऊ and उ are always followed by र् and अ respectively. Thus the *guṇa* of र् = अ, of ल् = अ.

It has already been taught that क् is the name of 30 letters. *Viz.*—18 forms of क् and 12 forms of ल्. In the place of these 30 Vowels, whenever an अ and इ or उ is substituted, it must always be followed by a र्. Therefore कृण्व + क्वादिः = कृण्वदिः. Here अ is followed by र् as the nearest substitute of क्. Similarly तव + त्कारः = तवत्कारः. Here अ is followed by त् as the nearest substitute of ल्. Similarly there is doubling when the rule अन्तो रहाभ्याम् (VIII. 4. 46 S. 59) is applied.

७१। हरोद्धरि सवर्णे। ८। ४। ६५॥

हलः परस्य हरो लोपो वा स्यात्सवर्णे ह्रदि। द्वित्वाभावे लोपे सत्येकधम्। असति सेपि द्वित्वलोप योर्वा द्विधम्। सति द्वित्वं लोपे चासति त्रिधम्। कृण्वदिः। कृण्वदिः। कृण्वद्दिः॥ यण इति षड्धनी मय इति षष्ठीति पक्षे ककारस्य द्वित्वम्। तस्य स्वर्नाच्च येति। तेन तवत्कार इत्यत्र रूपचतुष्टयम्। Verse: द्वित्वं लक्ष्यैव कर्तव्यं नोभयोद्धमयोरपि। तवत्कारादपि तु बुधैर्विध्यं रूपचतुष्टयम्॥

71. A mute or Sibilant (क्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

When there is not doubling and there is *lopa* under this rule, then we have only one घ्. But when there is no *lopa* or when there is doubling, then we have two घ्स. Thirdly, when there is doubling, but there is no *lopa*, then we have three घ्स. Thus Kṛishṇardhiḥ; or Kṛishṇarddhiḥ or Kṛishṇarddddhiḥ.

By the Vārtika यणो मयो देवाच्चे (See Sūtra 54), when यणः is taken in the ablative case and मयः in the genitive case; namely, when the Vārtika is translated as "after a यण letter, there is doubling of the मय letters," in that alternative the क् is also doubled in तवत्कारः. The त् here also will be doubled by the rule of अन्तचिच्च (VII. 4. 47. S. 48). Therefore तवत्कारः will have 4 forms as given in the verse above mentioned. As Tavalkārah; Tavalkkārah; Tavalkkārāḥ; Tavalkkkārāḥ.

७२। वृद्धिरेचि। ६। १। ८८॥

अन्तिचि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात्। गुणापवादः। कृण्वैकत्वम्। गङ्गोपः। देवैश्वर्यम्। कृण्वोऽकृण्वम्॥

72. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-t-diphthong=vṛiddhi).

The word अन्तु is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz, the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the sūtra 69. Thus Kṛishṇa + Ekātvaṁ = Kṛishṇai katvaṁ; Gaṅgā + oghaḥ = Gaṅgaughaḥ, Deva + aiśvaryaṁ = devaiśvaryaṁ. Kṛishṇa + autkaṇṭhyam = Kṛishṇaut kaṇṭhyam.

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by कृ, ख, कदि, एष, एष्य; as प्रीहः, प्रीकः, प्रीदिः, प्रेषः, प्रेष्यः ॥ But by the maxim नानर्थक्येन ग्रहणम्, a maxim which we infer from the sūtra VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 where the word भ्राज is taken separately from राज, the rule applies only to ऊह and not to ऊहवान्. Therefore we have प्रोहवान् and not प्रीहवान्. The word एष is derived from the root हृष् 'to wish' (Tud. 59), हृ 'to go' (Div. 18), and हृ 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ्, and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding घञ् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused परस्परः ॥ While the roots हृ 'to glean', and हृ 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form हृषः and हृष्यः with the above affixes, and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound: as सुलेन क्तः = सुखात् ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परस्परः ॥

Vart:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word ह्य follows the following:—प्र, वसतः, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वसतर्णम् 'the debt of a steer'.

Vart:—So also when the words ह्य and ह्य are followed by क्तः—as, ह्यार्णम् and ह्यार्णम् ॥ The word ह्यार्णम् means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country. The word ह्य means inaccessible place as well as water, in addition to its well-known meaning of debt

७४ । उपसर्गादिति धातौ । ६ । १ । ९१ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादुक्तापत्तौ पातौ परे वृद्धिरुक्तविधः स्यात् । प्रार्णति । वसार्णति ॥

74. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upsarga) is followed by the short अ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with क्, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent क् ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. S. 69. Thus अ + कृच्छति = अक्छति, आच्छति ॥

७५ । अन्तादिवच । ६ । १ । ९२ ॥

शेऽन्तेकविधः स पूर्वस्यान्तवत्परस्यदिवचस्यात् । इति रेकस्य पदान्तत्वे ॥

75. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in VI. 1. 84 S. 68 is considered in the

light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An ādeśa is like the sthāni, but in an ekādeśa, the sthāni is indeterminate, or rather the sthāni is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra.

Therefore the र् is Padanta in वपाच्छति &c, and being considered as final, the next rule applies :—

७६ । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

एषि ष्वसन्ति च परे रेकस्य विसर्जनीयः स्यात्पदान्ते । इति विसर्गे प्रति । अन्तश्चक्षणेन पदान्त-
रेकस्य न विसर्गः । उभयपक्षं कर्तारि चर्दिद्वयत्वादिनिर्देशात् ॥ उदसर्गेणैव धातोस्तस्यैव सिद्धे धाता-
दिति योगविभागेन पुनरुद्धिविधानार्थम् । तेन ऋच्यक इति पातिकादपि प्रकृतिभावोऽत्र न भवति ॥

76. The Visarjaniya is substituted for र् before a
खर consonant or when there is a Pause, provided this र् is
final in a pada.

The word र् is understood. The visarga is the substitute of र् final
in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause.

Therefore the र् of वपाच्छति should be changed into visarga; but this
is not so; because Pāṇini himself in his Sūtras उभयपक्षं (VIII. 3. 8, S. 3630)
and कर्तरिण्यपिदेशतयोः (III. 2. 186, S. 3167) has not changed the र् into visarga.

The word upsarga itself denotes its correlative dhātu, as the word
father denotes the correlative word son.

The repetition of the word dhātu in the sūtra VI. 1. 91 S. 74 is used
in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129, S. 92 which causes
सृष्टिमात्र or non-sandhi of क्. The optional non-sandhi is even prohibited
with regard to this क्.

७७ । या सुप्तापिचलेः । ८ । १ । ६२ ॥

यार्धर्षमादुपमर्षादवतर्षी सुप्तापि चो वृद्धिर्वा स्यात् । अविचलितपक्षे वृत्त्यर्थम् । यार्धर्षीयति ।
यर्धर्षीयति । यार्धर्षमादुपमर्षादवतर्षी च वृत्तिर्वा स्यात् । अविचलितपक्षे वृत्त्यर्थम् । यार्धर्षीयति ।
यर्धर्षीयति । यार्धर्षमादुपमर्षादवतर्षी च वृत्तिर्वा स्यात् । अविचलितपक्षे वृत्त्यर्थम् । यार्धर्षीयति ।

77 According to the opinion of Āpiśali, the Vri-
ddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of
a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning
with स्त ॥

Thus यार्धर्षयति or यर्धर्षयति, यार्धर्षीयति or यर्धर्षयति ॥ The क् and स्त are
considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word क् in the last sūtra
includes स्त also. The name of the Grammarian Āpiśali is mentioned for the
sake of respect; the अ itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

The short ऋ and short ॠ are only to be taken, because the letter क in the sūtra has a त after it. Therefore the rule would not apply to long ऋ. Therefore we have only one form in उप + ककारियति = उपकर्णीयति.

७८ । यङि पररूपम् । ६ । १ । २४ ॥

आहुपसर्गाद्व्याहरी धातौ परे पररूपमेकविशः स्वात् । प्रेजति । उपोषति । इह वा सुधीत्यनुपसर्गवाक्य-
भेदेन व्याख्येयम् ॥ तेन एदासी सुधाती वा ॥ उपेक्षकीयति । उपैक्षकीयति । प्रोषीयति । प्रौषीयति ॥
एवे चानियोगे ॥ नियोगोऽवधारणम् । क्वेय मोक्षयेत् । अनश्नस्सन्नाविवशाद् । अनिरोगे किम् । तदैव ॥

78. For the अ or आ of the Preposition + ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

(The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्व्याहरी are understood here.) In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूपम् ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. 1. 88 S. 72. Thus 'प्रेजति; उपोषति ॥ (Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. 1. 92, S. 77 according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेक्षकीयति or उपैक्षकीयति, प्रोषीयति or प्रौषीयति.)

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word and the sense is not that of 'appointment.' Thus क्वेयमोक्षयेत् (where will you eat) meaning there is no room for you to sit and eat or I do not think that you will get food to eat. Here the sense of एव is that of uncertainty. When the sense is that of नियोग the Vṛiddhi takes place: as तदैव, (Thy alone.)

७९ । अचोऽन्त्यादि दि । १ । १ । ६४ ॥

अर्था मन्वे योऽन्त्यः स आदिर्ध्वस्य तद्विषये स्यात् ॥ शक्यन्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ० तद-
दि ॥ शक्यन्तुः ॥ कर्कन्तुः । कुलया । सीमन्तः । केशवेसे । सीमान्तोऽन्त्यः । मनीषा । इनीषा । लाङ्गलीषा ।
पञ्चजालिः ॥ सारङ्गः पशुपतिर्गोः । सारङ्गोऽन्त्यः ॥ आकृतिगणोऽन्त्यः । मर्तिण्डः । ओत्थोष्ठयोः समासे
वा ॥ स्तूलाहुः । स्तूलौहुः । विन्मोहः । विन्मोहः । समासे किम् । तदैव ॥

79. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called दि .

This sūtra defines दि . It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निमिह् the portion इह् is दि ; so also in सोमसुह् the portion सुह् .

The word अचः in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification ; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

This sūtra is used here in order to make it applicable to the following Vārtikas.

Vārti:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः etc. It takes place in the हि portion of these words and not merely of the letter अ, though the anuvritti of अन् is understood here. Had the Para-rūpa been only of अ, we could not have got the forms like मनीषा which is formed by मनस्ईषा. The following is the list of Sakandhwādi words—1. शकन्धुः—the well of the Sakās (शक + अन्धु well). 2. कर्कन्धुः—the well of the Karkās. 3. कुन्दः—unchaste woman (कुल + अन्ध). 4. सीमन्तः—सीम + अन्तः (hair parting when not meaning 'hair parting, the form is सीमान्त the boundary limit). 5. मनीषा—the lord of the mind. 6. हरीषा—हृति + ईषा (Here ईषा means plough stick). 7. लाङ्गलीषा. 8. वतञ्जलिः—वतन्तः + अञ्जली (one to whom handfuls of offering are made i. e. an honored man). So also 9. सारङ्गः when meaning a variegated beast or a bird, otherwise the form is सारङ्गः—सार + अङ्गः (the chief member of a body).

The Śakandhwādi is an Ākṛitigaṇa, i. e. no complete list of this class is given anywhere, but whenever we find a compound word, in which a para-rūpa substitution has taken place, to the exclusion of the ordinary rules of Sandhi, we may safely place that word in this class. Thus वृत् + अण्डः = वृत्तण्डः from which we have the secondary derivative form मारुतण्डः. We have the regular form मारुतण्डः also.

Vast:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word: as स्थूल ओतुः = स्थूलोतुः or स्थूलोत्तुः, also दिम्बांती or दिम्बोती. When not a compound the Vriddhi is compulsory: as मधेयः.

८० । ओमाटोश्च । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

ओति षादि आम्भे परस्परमेकादशः स्यात् । शिवाद्येवम् ॥ शिश् एहि । तिदिहि ॥

80. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओत, or + the vowel of the Preposition षाद्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The षाद् is understood here. Thus शिवाय + ओत्तु गतः = शिवाद्यो गतः. Similarly शिश् + आ + इति = शिश् + शिहि = तिदिहि ॥

Question:—In the last example the form could have been obtained by the regular rules of Sandhi also, as शिश् + आ + इति = शिश्वा + इति = शिश्वि. Where is then the necessity of this rule?

८१ । अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इति । ६ । १ । ९८ ॥

ध्वनिरनुकरणस्य योऽच्छब्दस्तस्मादिति परं परस्परमेकविधः स्यात् । पदम् इति पठिति ॥ एकाच्चेन म ॥ अति ॥

81. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) + इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त ; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पदम् + इति = पठिति ॥

*Vārtik:—*This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—अत् + इति = अति ॥

८२ । नाम्नेदितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा । ६ । १ । ९९ ॥

नाम्नेदितस्य प्रागुक्तं न स्यादन्तरस्य तु तकारस्याचस्य वा स्यात् ॥ डाचि बहुलं हे भवत इति पङ्क्तवचनाद्विषयम् ॥

82. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final व् + इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

*Vārtik:—*There is diversely the repetition of the word when the affix डाच् follows.

The doubling takes place by this *Vārtika*. The word *āmreḍita* is defined in the next sūtra.

८३ । तस्य परमाग्नेदितम् । ८ । १ । १०० ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य परं रूपमाग्नेदितसंज्ञं स्यात् । पदम्पठेति ॥

83. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called *āmreḍita* (repeated).

Thus पदम् पदम् + इति = पदम्पठे + इ + ति = पदम्पठेति. Now, this para-rūpa rule is optional. The regular form therefore, will be without the elision of the final अत् as पदम् + पदम् + इति = पदम् पठेति. The त् is changed to इ by the next sūtra.

८४ । झलां जशोऽन्ते । ८ । २ । १०१ ॥

पशन्ति झलां जशः स्युः । परस्परवृत्तिः ॥

84. A corresponding ज, य, र, ल or ळ is substituted

for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाच् अच्, अलिङ् अच्, अग्निचिद् अच्, जिह्व अच् ॥

८५ । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः । ६ । १ । १०१ ॥

अकः सवर्णेऽपि परे दीर्घे एकादेशः स्यात् । वैत्यारिः । श्रीशः । विष्णुदयः । अपि किम् । कुमारी शेते । नाञ्जलाविति सावर्ण्यनिषेधस्तु न दीर्घशकारयोः । महणकशास्त्रस्य सावर्ण्यविधिनिषेधाभ्यां प्रागनियमैः । अकः किम् । हरये ॥ “ अकोऽपि दीर्घ इत्येव सुवचम् ॥ ” अति सवर्णे क वा ॥ होतृकारः । होतृकारः ॥ अति सवर्णे ल वा ॥ होतृकारः । पक्षे ककारः सावर्ण्यात् । होतृकारः । अति क वा अति ल वेत्युभयत्रापि विधेये वर्णद्वयं द्विमाधम् । आद्यस्य मध्ये हो रेको तयोरेका नाच् । अभितोऽभक्तोरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु मध्ये हो लकारि । शर्पे मांस्वत् । इक्षोभयत्रापि कृत्यक इति पाक्षिकं प्रकृतिभावां यक्ष्यते ॥

85. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus वैद्य + अरिः = वैत्यारिः ; श्री + ईशः = श्रीशः ; विष्णु + उदयः = विष्णुदयः । Why do we say “when a vowel follows”? Observe कुमारी शेते The word अपि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अपि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10: S. 13 for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अक्षरिस्त्वर्णस्य नामस्थयः (I. 1. 69 S. 14) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ्जलौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाञ्जलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9 S. 10) and then comes the महणकवाक्यं (I. 1. 68 S. 25). Therefore in नाञ्जलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which, I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short इ and ए are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10: the long ई and ए would be savarṇa. The sūtra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः would have been more clear if stated as अकोऽपि दीर्घः । Why do we say ‘an अच् or simple vowel?’ Observe हरे + ए = हरये. Why do we say ‘by a homogenous vowel?’ Observe अग्नि + अच् = अग्निचिद् ॥

Vārt :—When ए short is followed by क short, the long substitution is optional : so also with ल ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two क् or ल्—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is 1½ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (अकार &c).

Or 3rdly (and this is the opinion of Bhattoji Dikshita) the single substitute short **क्व** or short **ख** (which comes in the place of **क्व+क्व** or **क्व+ख**) is *really* long consisting of two mātrās, in this way :—**होत्+क्वकारः=होत् इ** **इ+क्वकारः** ॥ These two **इ**'s are not visible in writing, but are there. They constitute one mātrā, for each consonant has half a mātrā. Thus one mātrā of two **इ**'s and one mātrā of **क्व** make two mātrās really and though apparently short **क्व** is retained, it is practically long. Similarly in the case of **ख** there are two **इ**'s. In other words, the short **क्व** (that comes in the place of two **क्व**'s) contains latent in it two **इ**'s, of one mātrā and its own self of one mātrā. Similarly the single substitute **ख** contains merged in it two **इ**'s (of one mātrā) and its own self of one mātrā.

Thus **होत्+क्वकारः=होत्क्वकारः** or **होत्क्वकारः**, so also **होत्+खकारः** ॥ **होत्क्वकारः** or **होत्क्वकारः** ॥ The **दीर्घ** of **ख** is **क्व** ॥

Moreover, by the rule of **क्वयक** VI. 1. 128. S. 92 the Sandhi is optional.

८६ । एङः पदान्तादिति । ६ । १ । १०९ ॥

पदान्तादित्येति परे पूर्वपदमेकादेशः स्यात् । धरेऽन । विष्णोऽन ॥

86. In the room of **ए** or **ओ** final in a Pada, and the short **अ**, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (**ए** or **ओ**) ॥

Thus **हरे+अन=हरेऽन**, **विष्णो+अन=विष्णोऽन** ॥ This supersedes the substitutes **अन** and **अन** ॥

८७ । सर्वत्र चिमाया गोः । ६ । १ । १२२ ॥

लोके च वेदेऽहन्तस्य गौरति वा प्रकृतिभावः स्यात्त्वहन्ते । गौगमम् । गोऽगमम् । एहन्तस्य किम् विप्रश्नम् । पदान्ते किम् । गोः ॥

87. After **गो** (when it retains the form **गो** and is final in a pada) the subsequent **अ** may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus **गाम्** or **गो गमम्** ॥ Why do we say ending in an **एङ्** vowel? Observe **चिदगु+अगम्=चिदगमम्**. Here **गो** does not end in **गो** but has assumed the form **गु** and so the rule does not apply.

Why do we say at the end of a pada? Observe **गो** :

८८ । अवङ् स्फोटोदायनेत्य । ६ । १ । १२३ ॥

अतीति निवृत्तम् । अथि परे पदान्ते गौरवम् वा स्यात् । गामम् । पदान्ते किम् । अति । अथिः पदान्तेऽपि भावः स्यात् ॥

88. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of आदि manifests itself. Thus गो+अम=गवाम्, so also गवाजितम्, गवोदयम्, गवोद्वम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽमम्, गोऽजितम्, गवोदयम्, गवोद्वम् ॥ The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गवि. This is a vyavasthita vibhāṣhā, hence in गवाङ् the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

८९ । इन्द्रे ख । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

गौरवङ् स्यादिन्द्रे । गवेन्द्रः ॥

89. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥

Note:—The Pāṇini reads this sūtra as इन्द्रेण नित्यम् ॥ Bhattoji has read the word nityam, in the next sūtra, instead of this.

अथ प्रकृतिभावः ॥

CHAPTER IV.

NON-SANDHI.

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९० । श्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

श्लुताः प्रगृह्याश्च वक्ष्यन्ते तेषां नित्यं प्रकृत्या स्युः । एहि कृष्ण ३ अत्र गौचरति । हरी एतौ ॥
नित्यमिति किम् । हरी एता वित्यादावयवौ प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यादिकोऽसवर्ण इति इत्यसमुचितो मासू ॥

90. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc. S. 93) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc. S. 100.) vowels always remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus एहि कृष्ण ३ अत्र गौचरति, हरी एतौ ॥ The force of the word *nitya* is that these pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given below.

Thus in हरी ईशौ "The two Haris (Hari and Har) are Lords," the present sūtra applies fully; for the long ई of हरी being Pragrihya, because it is the ई of the dual number, retains its form. The subsequent rule does not apply, because ई is followed by a savarna letter, i. e. ई. In अक्षी + अत्र = अक्षि अत्र "The chakrin is here", the ई of अक्षी is neither Pluta nor Pragrihya, because it is Nom. Singular, and therefore the subsequent rule of shortening fully applies to it, there being no scope for the application of any other rule.

But in हरी + एतौ both the present sūtra and the subsequent sūtra find scope, and the subsequent sūtra would make it हरि एतौ ॥ But the word *nitya* prevents this, and we have हरी एतौ ॥

६१ । इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च । ६ । १ । १२७ ॥

पदान्ता इकोऽसवर्णेऽपि परे प्रकृत्या स्युर्ह्रस्वश्च वा । अत्र इत्यविचिन्तागर्थादेव प्रकृतिभावे सिद्धे तदनुकर्षणार्थे अकारो न कर्तव्य इति भाष्ये स्थितम् । अक्षि अत्र । अक्षयम् । पदान्ता इति किम् । गौर्यो ॥ न समासे * ॥ वाच्यम् ॥ सिति अ * ॥ पार्थम् ॥

91. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, (when followed by a non-homogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.)

Thus अक्षी + अत्र = अक्षि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have अक्षयम् ॥

The name of Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation. According to Mahābhāṣya, the च in the sūtra is redundant. If it be said that च is necessary to draw the anuvritti of Prakṛiti-bhāva, that is not the case. For the mere fact of making the long vowel short, shows that there is Prakṛiti bhāva. For if there were to take place Sandhi after shortening, as चकी + भव = चक्रिभव = चक्ष्व, then where is the good of shortening, for the last form could have been obtained without shortening. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe चौर्ये ॥

Two Vārt.—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa) and of words formed by an affix having an indicatory सूः—Thus अयं ते योनिःकृत्विद्यः, प्रजां विदामः कृत्विद्याम् The word कृत्विद्य is formed by a सिद् affix, namely by कृत् (V. 1. 106 S. 3495), added to कृत् and therefore the व is changed to य ॥ Before a सिद् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16). Of nitya-compounds are वैद्याकरणः, सौवन्धः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2. 18 S. 761. Thus दास्यन्धः is an example of compound; and पार्थिव् formed by the affix जन् see I. 4. 16, S. 1252.

९२ । ऋत्यकः । ६ । १ । १२८ ॥

अति पौडस्तः प्राग्बन् । अत्रा मतिः । अत्रादिः । पदान्ता इत्येव । आच्छन्त् । समासेऽन्यथं प्रवृत्तिभय । समकृदीनाम् । समर्पिणाम् ॥

92. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus अत्रा + कृत् = अत्राकृत् or अत्रादिः ॥ The इक् vowels must be final in a Pada here also, otherwise we have Sandhi as आ + कृच्छन्त् = आच्छन्त् ॥ Even in compound this non-modification is observed, thus सप्त + कृदीनाम् सप्तकृदीनाम् or समर्पिणाम् ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, एदुम्भ ॥ Why do we say "the simple vowels (अक)"? Observe वृषावृद्धयः (वृषी + कृद्धय) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

९३ । नाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः । ८ । २ । ५२ ॥

अतिप्रथमः ॥

(ङि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pada. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (ङि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent.

६४ । प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशूद्रे । ८ । २ । ८३ ॥

अशूद्रविषये प्रत्यभिवादे यद्वाक्ये तस्य देः प्लुतः स्यात् स पौरात्तः । अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽशूद्रः । भो आयुष्मन्निधि देवदत्तः ॥ स्त्रियो न ॥ अभिवादे गार्ग्यदेह । भो आयुष्मन्ती भव गार्गी ॥ नाम यौचं वा यत्र प्रत्यभिवादावकाशान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्रैव प्लुत इत्येत । नेह । आयुष्मन्निधि ॥ भो राजन्स्यविश्वं वदति वाचम्य ॥ आयुष्मन्निधि भोऽः । आयुष्मन्नि धीन्द्रवर्म इव । आयुष्मन्निधीन्द्रपालितः ॥

94. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2. touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation." The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽः "I do salute you, I am devadatta". is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तौ ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived"

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादे गार्ग्यदेह is said by Gārgī. To this the Guru replies:—भो आयुष्मन्ती भवगार्गी ॥

Ikṣti:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c. with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशत्वतिः देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vart:—The prolation is optional, when भो follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽः ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवादे इन्द्रवर्माह भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मान् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मान् ॥ Vaishya: अभिवादे इन्द्रपालितोऽः भोः ॥ Guru: आयुष्मन्निधि इन्द्रपालितः ३ or आयुष्मन्निधि इन्द्रपालितः ॥

९५ । दूराशूते च । ८ । २ । ८४ ॥

दूरास्थेनोपने यद्वाक्ये तस्य देः प्लुतः स्यात् । सक्नुमिष्य देवदत्तः ३ ॥

95. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in (calling a person from a distance.)

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here सक्तूर्त्वि देवदत्ता ३ Ō devadatta! drink the gruel".

६६ । हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः । ८ । २ । ८५ ॥

एतयोः प्रयोगे कुराद्धते यदाक्यं तत्र हैहयोरेव प्लुतः स्यात् । हे ३ एत । एत हे ३ ॥

96. When the words है and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे ३ एत, or एत हे ३ ॥

९७ । गुरोरनुतो नन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् । ८ । २ । ८६ ॥

कुराद्धते यदाक्यं तस्य क्वद्विलस्याप्तस्यानन्त्यस्यापि गुरोर्वा प्लुतः स्यात् । हे ३ वच । देव ३ च । देवदत्ता ३ । गुरोः किम् । वकाराभ्यास्याकारस्य ना भूत । अनुतः किम् । कृष्ण ३ । एकैकमद्वयं पर्यायार्थम् । इह प्राचापिति योगो विभज्यते । तेन सर्वः प्लुतो भिक्तव्यते ॥

97. In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (of two previous Sūtras,) in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by the two previous Sūtras. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus हे ३ एतत् or हे ३ एतत् or हे ३ एतत् ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the ऋ of ए in Devadatta may not be prolated, for this ऋ is short.

Why do we say अनुतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्ण ३ ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time; not देवदत्ता ३ ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation at all.

१८। अप्लुतवदुपसिते । ६ । १ । १२६ ॥

उपसितोऽनार्थ इति वाच्यस्तस्मिन्परे प्लुतोऽप्लुतवद्वचति । अप्लुतकार्यं यथाविकं करोतीत्यर्थः । सुद्लोको ३ इति । सुद्लोकोक्ति । यत्किम् । अप्लुत इत्युक्तेऽप्लुत एव विधीयत प्लुतश्च निदिध्यत । तथा च प्रगृह्याभये प्रकृतिभावे प्लुतस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् । अग्री ३ इति ॥

98. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपसित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts; i. e. (when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added). That is in Padapāṭha, the pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुद्लोकोऽप्लुत इति = सुद्लोकोक्ति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् "like as"; instead of saying "the Pluta becomes Apluta" why do we say "Pluta is treated like apluta"? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta. (But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and the same time, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्री, the इ is pragrihya. It may be made pluta also as अग्री ३ ॥ Now if before इति the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्री इति formed by अग्री ३ + इति ॥) For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, S. 90, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्री ३ इति ॥

१९। ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य । ६ । १ । १३० ॥

इ३ प्लुतोऽपि योऽप्लुतवद्वा स्यात् । चितुहि ३ इति । चितुहीति । चितुहि ३ इत्य् । चितुहीद्व । उभयव विभाषेयम् ॥

99. According to the the opinion of Chākravarman, the pluta ई ३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus चितु हि ३ इति = चितुहीति ॥ चितु ही३ इत्य् or चितुहीद्व ॥ The name of Chākravarman is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. (This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129, S. 98) as well as to words other than इति ॥) In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति it ordains prakṛti bhāva optionally; when there would have been always prakṛti bhāva by VI. 1. 125, S. 90. This is a case of उभयविभाषा, prāpta and aprāpta both.

१०० । ईद्वेद्विचचनम् प्रगृह्यम् । १ । १ । ११ ॥

ईद्वेद्वन्ते विचचनं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं स्यात् । इति एतौ । विष्णु इमौ । गङ्गे यम् । पथेते इमौ । मणीषोद्गस्येति तु इकार्ये षष्ठ्यर्थे वा बोध्यः ॥

100. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called *Pragrihya*, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But *pragrihyas* are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." This sūtra gives three of these terminations, *viz.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्) ॥ Thus:—इति एतौ, विष्णु इमौ; गङ्गे यम्. Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of इति and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because इति is the nominative dual of इति ॥

Vārti:—The prohibition of यनोव &c., should be stated in treating of the *pragrihya* nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems)+१५= मनीव "like two gems." So also इम्यसीव "like a couple," जम्यसीव "like man and wife," ऐदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this *vārtika* is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

१०१ । अदसो मात्र । १ । १ । १२ ॥

अस्मात्परादीन् ईत् इति मन्त्रोक्तः । अमी ईषाः । एतद्वृत्तावम् आसाते । शक्तिम् । शक्तिम् । अदसि माद्वत्तं एकतोऽप्यनुवर्तते ॥

101. (The long ई and ऊ) after the म् of the pronoun अदस are *Pragrihya*.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be *pragrihya* by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म्, of whatever number they may be, will be *pragrihya*. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions, namely इति and यम्. The rule may therefore be put in the following words:—"The terminations of इति and यम् nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are *pragrihya*." As अमी ईषाः । एतद्वृत्तावम् आसाते. There is no example of the word *adās* ending in ए.

Why do we say "after the letter म्"? Because in the example अदस् + अदस् = अदुस्ते व, the ए, preceded not by म् but by the क of अदस् (V. 3 72). ॥

2026) is not *pragrihya*, which it would have been by the influence of the last *sūtra* which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

१०२ । शे । १ । १ । १३ ॥

अयं प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अंसे इन्द्राहुस्वती ॥

102. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a *pragrihya*.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561). Thus अस्वेइन्द्राहुस्वती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial ष is indicative, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a *pragrihya*.

१०३ । निपात एकाजनाङ् । १ । १ । १४ ॥

एकोऽजिनपात आह्ववर्जः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । इ विस्मये । इ इन्द्रः । उ वितर्के । उ उमेष्टः । अनाङ्गि-
त्युत्तरदिवाकारः प्रगृह्य एव । आ एवं तु मन्यते । आ एवं किल तत् । किन्तु न प्रगृह्यः । ईषदुष्णश्च
बोध्यम् । ईषदये किंवायोमे मर्वादाऽभिधिर् य यः । एतन्तं कितं विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङ्गिन् ॥

103. A particle consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a *Pragrihya*.

All such particles technically called *nīpāta* which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are *pragrihya* and therefore are not liable to the rules of *sāndhi*. As इ इन्द्र has the sense of wonder. उ उमेष्ट, उ has the sense of a doubtful question.

आङ् which is not a *pragrihya*, has four significations:—(1) As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "nearto," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गन् 'to go' आगन् 'to come,' अ + इदि = एदि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आजन्मनः "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit-exclusive (मर्वादा), "till" "until" as आ + आच्ययनात् = आच्छयनात्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a *pragrihya*, as आ एवं किलासीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एवं मन्वसे. "Oh! do you think so."

१०४ । ओत् । १ । १ । १५ ॥

ओदन्तो निपातः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । ओहो ईषाः ॥

104. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

As अहोईशाः ॥

१०५ । सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे । १ । १ । १६ ॥

संबुद्धिनिमित्तक भोकाये वा प्रहृष्टोऽपैदिके इत्ये परे । विष्णो इति । दिष्ण इति । दिष्णयिषि ।
मनार्थे इति किम् । ब्रह्मबन्धविश्वप्रवीत् ॥

105. The final ओ of the vocative singular before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus the forms above given are correct.

¹³In Aīsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा
ब्रह्मबन्धविश्वप्रवीत् ॥

१०६ । उग्रः । १ । १ । १७ ॥

उग्र इत्ये वा मातुक्त्य उ इति चिति ॥

106. The particle उग्र before *iti*, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उग्र meaning उ ॥ This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or चिति ॥

१०७ । ऊँ । १ । १ । १८ ॥

उग्र इत्ये शीर्षोऽनुनासिकः प्रहृष्टदण ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो वा एतात् । ऊँ इति ॥

107. The particle ऊँ replaces उग्र in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उग्र is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal *ī*. ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or चिति ॥

१०८ । मय उग्रो यो पा । ८ । ३ । ३३ ॥

मयः वाच्य उग्रो यो वा एतादृशः । किमु उग्रम् । किमुक्तम् । एतादृशः वाताह्वयः ॥

108. य् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semi-vowels, sibilants, ण and ञ), and is followed by a vowel.

When this इ is followed by इति, and preceded by a मन् consonant, then by I. 1. 17, S 106 it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ (When it is not a pragrahya, then it is changed to इ by यनावेष्ट (VI. 1. 77 S 47), or to इ by the present sūtra. In the case of यनावेष्ट इ, there is anusvāra by VIII. 3, 23, S 122 as किविति ॥ When it is a Pragrahya, then it is changed to इ by the present sūtra as किविति or किं इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the ई will be nasal : as किमिनि, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किम ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

१०६ । इदुतो च सप्तम्यर्थे । १ । १ । १९ ॥

सप्तम्यर्थे पर्यवसन्तीदृशन्ते प्रगृह्यं स्यात् । सोमो गौरी अधिप्रितः । मानकी तद् इति । सुपर्णं सुलुगिति सप्तम्यां लुक् । अर्थपरम् किम् । वृत्तावर्धान्तरोपसंक्रान्ते ना भूत् । वाच्यान्धो वाप्यन्धः ॥

109. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrahya.

(This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally.) There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39, S. 356) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or ऐ, or वा, or ऊ, or ऊषा, or वाच् or वाल् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is डि (इ). In forming the L. S. of तद्, "body," we have तद् + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तद् + ऊ = तद् "in the body," as, मध्यस्थां मानकीतनूरं (for मानक्यां तनूनां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिप्रितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). (It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ई and ऊ are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrahya.)

It is only long ई and ऊ which are pragrahya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) दा (आ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + डि = अग्नि + दा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, दिवः सुर्वे विद्यो अग्ना भवन्ति य इन्द्राय सुतोमो ददासत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrahya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति ॥

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + दा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here ई is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrahya. Thus मती + इति = मतीति ॥

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound

of वाप्याम् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी+अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpī has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्यश्वः "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pūrva-pada); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

११० । अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः । ८ । ४ । ५७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्याणोऽयसनेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । वधिं । वधि । अप्रगृह्यस्य किम् । अग्नी ॥

110. The *anunāsika* is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a *Pragrihya*.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not *Pragrihya*. The अण् here is a *Pratyāhāra* with the first ण् ॥ Thus वधिं or वधि,

Why do we say 'which is not a *pragrihya*'? Observe अग्नी,

अथ हल्सन्धिप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE SANDHI OF CONSONANTS.

१११ । स्तोः द्युना द्युः । ८ । ४ । ४० ॥

सकारतद्वर्गयोः शकारचवर्गभ्यां योने शकारचवर्गौ स्तः । हरिदशेते । रामञ्चिनोति । सद्यिन् ।
प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

111. The letter स and the dental when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to ष and palatals respectively.

1st. स in contact with शः as, हरिस् + शेते = हरिष्येते,

2nd. स in contact with चुः—as, रामस् + चिनोति = रामञ्चिनोति,

3rd. तु with शः—अग्निषित् + शेते = अग्निष्येते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चुः—सन् + चित् = सद्यिन्.

5th. चकार followed by तकार; as, यज + न (III. 3. 90 S 3268) = यज + न् = यजन्, याच् + न = याचन् ॥ (In fact the instrumental case द्युना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by द्यु, or द्यु be followed by स्तु ॥) Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th. (a) स followed by चु is changed into ष as, भस् + चि = भृश्च + च + ति (III. 1. 77, S 2534 VI. 1. 16 S 2412) = भृश्च + चि = भृश्च + चि = (VIII. 4. 53 S 52) = भृश्चति ॥ Similarly मरज forms मज्जति, व्रज forms वृजति ॥

(The next aphorism चाम् (VIII. 4. 44 S. 112) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter च, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 19 S 128) does not hold good here.)

Had the sôtra been स्तो योः द्युः i. e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

११२ । शास् । ८ । ४ । ४४ ॥

शास्वरस्य सवर्गस्य ऋचुत्वं न स्यात् । विमः । प्रमः ॥

112. In the room of ऋ there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and स्तोः are understood here. This is an exception to

the last rule. Thus विश् + न (III. 3. 90. S. 3268) = विश् + न (VI. 4. 19. S. 2561) = विमः ॥ Similarly प्रश्नः :

११३ । प्लुता प्लुः । ८ । ४ । ४१ ॥

स्रोः प्लुता योमे प्लुः स्यात् । रामप्लुः । रामटीकते । पेटा । तट्टीका । चक्रिण्डीकसे ॥

113. The letters स् and dentals in contact with प and cerebrals, are changed into प and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्रोः is to be read into the sūtra. Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with प as, रामस् + प्लुः = रामप्लुः

(2) स with ट्ट, as, रामस् + टीकते = रामटीकते ॥

(3) तु with प as पेट् + ता = पेटा ॥

(4) तु with ट्ट, as तत् + टीका = तट्टीका ॥ चक्रिन् + डीकसे = चक्रिण्डीकसे ॥

११४ । न पदान्ताद्वोरनाम् । ८ । ४ । ४२ ॥

अनागितं लुप्तपटीकं पञ्चम् । पदान्ताद्वोरनाम्नाम् स्रोः दुर्न स्यात् । परं सन्तः । परं ते । पञ्चान्तस्किम् । इहे । टोः किम् । सर्पिष्टम् ॥ * अनासप्ततिनगरीनामिति वाच्यम् ॥ पञ्चान्तः । पञ्चपतिः । पञ्चनगरीः ॥

114. After ट्ट final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पर + सन्तः = पर सन्तः ॥ पर + ते = परं ते ॥

Why do we say पञ्चान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईद + ते = ईद + टे = ईदे ॥

Why do we say टोः 'after ट्ट'? Observe सर्पिष्ट् + तम् = सर्पिष्टम् ॥

Why do we say नाम् 'except in the case of the affix नाम्'? Observe पट् + नाम् = पञ्चान्तम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Pāṭika:—It should be stated rather that पञ्चति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, पञ्चान्तम् 'of six', पञ्चपतिः ninety-six, पञ्चनगरी 'six cities'.

११५ । तोः पि । ८ । ४ । ४३ ॥

तवर्गस्य पञ्चते परं न प्लुता । सम्प्लुः ॥

115. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when प follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. अस्य तव = पञ्च = सम्प्लुः ॥

Here the Sutra द्वाभ्यां ज्ञान्ते (S. 34.) should be read again, by which a soft consonant is substituted for the hard. Thus दाक् + ईक्ष् = दागीक्ष्; चित् + रूपम् = चिद्रूपम् ॥

११६। यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा । ८। ४। ४५ ॥

यः पदान्तस्याऽनुनासिके परोऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । एतन्पुरारिः । एतद्गुणरिः । स्थानप्रयत्ना-
द्यन्तरात्तेन स्वर्गे परितोषो विधिर्यं रेके न प्रवर्तते । अनुर्मुखः । * प्रत्यये भाषायां निवृत्तम् ॥ तन्मात्रम् ।
चिन्नयम् । कथं तर्हि मदीयमाः ककुप्नन् इति । यवादिगणं इकारनिपातनाम् ॥

116. In the room of a यर letter (every consonant except ह्) final in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus एतत् + पुरारिः = एतन्पुरारिः or एतद्गुणरिः । This rule does not apply to ह् as अनुर् + मुखः = अनुर्मुखः ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada' ? Observe, यद् + मि = वेदि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

Vart.—When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasansation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus तत् + नायम् = तन्मात्रम्, similary धिन्मयम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and नाय that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal. How do you explain the form ककुप्नन् in the sentence मदीयमाः ककुप्नन् ? Because the ह् is used in यवादि class. (For a list of the words belonging to this class, see Gaṇapāṭha VIII. 2. 9).

११७। तोर्लि । ८। ४। ६० ॥

सर्वस्य लकारे परो परसवर्णः स्यात् । तद्वयः । विश्लिषति । लकारस्याऽनुनासिको लकारः ॥

117. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus तत् + लब्धे = तत्त्वयः ; तद्धान् + लिखति = तद्धान्लिखति ॥ Here त् has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal लं ॥

११८। उद्ः स्वास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य । ८। ४। ६१ ॥

उद्ः परयोः स्वास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्यर्थः स्यात् । अग्निः परस्य । उद्यानम् । उन्नम्भनम् । क्षपापोदस्य महाप्राणस्य सस्य तादृश एव धकारः । सस्य क्षरेक्षरिति पाथिको लेपः । लेपभाष्येन तु धकारस्यैव श्रवणं न तु स्मरि चेति अर्थम् । परस्य प्रति धकारस्याऽस्तित्त्वात् ॥

118. After उद्, in the room of the स् of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स्) ॥...

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + ध्याता = उद् + धाता (VIII. 4. 63 S. 120) = उन् + धाता (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121) = उन्धाता, उन्धातुम् उन्धातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ, as, उन्नम्भना, उन्नम्भितुम्, &c. (Sec. I. 1. 67 S. 41 and 54. S. 44).

Here the Aghosha (Surd) and Mahāprāṇa स् is changed to श् which is also Aghosha and Mahāprāṇa. This then is optionally elided by शरोश्चरि (S. 71). But in the alternative when there is no ōpa, the श् is heard in pronunciation.

By the rule चरिश्च (S. 121), the श् is not changed to चर् letter, because the rule of चर्श्च is not applicable to श्; for this श् is considered as non-existent for the purposes of चर् rules.

११९-क्षर्योहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ४ । ६२ ॥

शयः परस्य हस्य पूर्वसवर्णी वा स्यात् । पोपवतो नाववतो महाप्राणस्य संवृतकण्ठस्य हस्य तादृशो वर्णचतुर्थ एवा देशः । वाग्धरिः । वाग्धरिः ॥

119. In the room of the letter ह्, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyāhāra ह्य् includes all Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here. The substitute of ह् will be ष् by the rule of nearness of place of utterance, because ह् is a ghosha (sonant); Mahāprāṇa (aspirated) and Samvrit (contracted) and so is also ष्. Thus वाक्+इरि=वाग्धरिः or वाग्धरिः ।

१२० । शदलोऽटि । ८ । ४ । ६३ ॥

पदान्तात् शयः परस्य शस्य ङो वा स्यादटि । हस्य ऋयुस्येन अकारं कृते ॥

120. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ् when a vowel or य, ष or र follows such श ॥

Though ह्य् means all Mutes, the rule, nowever, applies to surd mutes. The words ह्य् and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sūtra. Thus सन्+क्षिप = सन्+क्षिप (S. 84) = सन्+क्षिप = सन्+क्षिप = सन्+क्षिप. At this stage applies the next Sūtra.

१२१ । खरि च । ८ । ४ । ६५ ॥

खरि चो हानां परः स्युः । इति अकारस्य अकारः । सच्छिपः । सच्छिपः ॥ उत्पन्नमीति वाग्धरिः ॥ सच्छिपः । सच्छिपः । अनि किम् । वाग्धरिः ॥

121. In the room of खल्, there is the substitute खर् when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words हानां and परः are supplied from the last sūtra. Therefore ख् is changed to खर् and we have the form सच्छिप or सच्छिपः ।

Vārtika:—It should rather be stated when a letter of अन् प्रत्यहारा follows. The sūtra only gives ञ् letters, the Vārtika adds the letters स, and the nāsals. Thus तद् + श्लोकेन = तच्छ्लोकेन.

Why do we say when a letter of अन् प्रत्यहारा follows? Observe वाक् वृथोत्तादि.

१२२ । मोऽनुस्वारः । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

मान्तस्य पदस्यानुस्वारः स्याद्वलि । अलोऽन्यस्य । हरि वन्दे । पदस्येति किम् । गम्यते ॥

122. The Anusvāra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus हरिवन्दे ॥ The word वलि is understood in this sūtra. The म् must be at the end of a pada which we get from sūtra अलोऽन्यस्य (S. 42); therefore not here; गम्यते.

१२३ । तश्चापदान्तस्य झलि । ८ । ३ । २४ ॥

पस्य मस्य चापदान्तस्य झल्यनुस्वारः स्यात् । यशांसि । आकस्यते । झलि किम् । गम्यते ॥

123. The Anusvāra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus यशांसि, आकस्यते ।

Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See गम्यते.

Note;—Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? observe राजन् पादि,

१२४ । अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः । ८ । ४ । २८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अङ्कितः । अञ्चितः । कुण्डितः । शान्तः । शुम्भितः । कुर्वन्तीत्यत्र गम्ये प्राप्ते तस्यासिद्धेः स्यादनुस्वारो परसवर्णे च कृते तस्यासिद्धत्वात् शत्वम् ॥

124. In the room of anusvāra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अङ्कितः, अञ्चितः, कुण्डितः, शान्तः, शुम्भितः : these are thus formed:—To the causal *churādi* root अङ्कः (meaning pada and lakshana), we add the participial affix क्त. Thus अङ्क + क्त. The causal sign इ is elided by the sūtra विष्ठायां सटि (VI. 4. 52. S. 3057). Then by the present rule, we have अङ्कितः. The इ here is the इद् augment. Or it may be from the root अङ्क (meaning lakshana) where the augment जुम् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and then this न् becomes न्.

अञ्चितः comes from the root अञ्च (meaning pāṇ), with the affix क्त. The न् is not elided by VI. 4. 30 S. 424.

कुडितः is formed from the root कुडि (meaning pratighāta). The augment तुम् is added to the root before the सेद् participial affix. This त् is changed into ण्

शान्तः is formed from the root शम् (meaning upasāma) with the affix ण् (See VII. 2. 27. S. 3068). The ष of शम् is lengthened by VI. 4. 15. S. 2656. The त् is changed to ण् by the present rule.

गुम्फितः is formed from the root गुम्फ् (meaning grantha) with the affix क्त. In कुर्वन्ति, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII. 4. 2. S. 197. Because the गण्य is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24. S. 123, the न is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12). That anusvāra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with न्. This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), the ण is never substituted for न्.

१२५ । वा पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ५९ ॥

पदान्तस्याऽनुस्वारस्य यद्यि परे परवर्णो वा स्यात् । स्वह्रस्वोऽपि । त्वं करोषि । सँव्यन्ता । संवन्ता । संवत्सरः । यँलोकम् । यँलोकम् । अथाऽनुस्वारस्य पक्षेऽनुनासिका यवलाः ॥

125. In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus स्वह्रस्वोऽपि or त्वं करोषि ; सँव्यन्ता or संवन्ता ; संवत्सरः or संवत्सर ; यँलोकम् or यँलोकम्.

Here the anusvāra has become nasa! य व् ण् in the other alternative.

१२६ । मो राजि समः कौ । ८ । ३ । २५ ॥

विश्वेने राजती परे समो मस्य म एव स्यात् । सघाद् ॥

126. म् is substituted for the म् of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्प् ॥

Thus सघाद् ॥ The substitution of म् for म् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (VII. 1. 40. S. 3562.). Why do we say 'before राज्'? See संवत् (VI. 4. 40. S. 2986. Vārt). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe कि राद् (V. 4. 70 S. 955). Why do we say 'ending with क्प्'? Observe संराजितम्, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्प् is added by III. 2. 61 S. 2975 the म् is changed to ण् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ण् at the end of a word, in सघाद् ॥ सास्त्राज्यम् is formed by व्यम् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

१२७ । हे मपरे वा । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

अपरे ह्यपरे परे मस्य म एव स्याद्वा । ह्यल ह्यल चान्ते । किम् श्रानयति । किं श्रानयति ॥ यथालपरे मपरा धेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

127. म is optionally substituted for न् before that द् which itself is followed by a म ll

The η may be changed to α or remain unchanged before a word beginning with η or $\eta\alpha$. Thus $\eta\eta$ or $\eta\eta\alpha$ $\eta\eta\eta$, 'what does she cause to shake'?

First :—Before η , ξ , and ζ , the preceding η may be changed to π , ϵ or κ respectively.

Now, by this *Pratīka*, three letters क, ख, ग, are obtained in the room of झ, ञ, ण. But the rule does not say which letter is to be substituted for which letter. To remove this doubt the following interpretation sūtra should be remembered :-

१२८ । यथा संग्रहमनुष्ठेयः स्वनामान् । १ । ३ । २० ॥

सप्तम्यभिः विभक्तिपातयस्ते । किंल्लङ्कारः । किंल्लङ्कारादिति । किंल्लङ्कारायति । किंल्लङ्कारायति ।

128. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Therefore as under the former rule, the letters to be substituted are three in number and the substitutes are also three in number, therefore applying the present rule, **अ** would be replaced by **ग**; **इ** by **घ** and **उ** by **ङ**. Thus we have **किञ्चिद्** **सुः** or **कि** **सुः**; **किञ्चिद्** **हृदयसि** or **कि** **हृदयसि**; **किञ्चिद्** **श्रावयसि** or **कि** **श्रावयसि**.

१२९ । नपरे मः । ष । ३ । २७ ॥

नपरे हकारे मस्य नः स्याद्वा । किन्तुते । किं हनुमे ॥

129. न् is optionally substituted for म्, when it is followed by ङ which has a न् after it.

च becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्; as किन्ने हस्ते or किं हस्ते.

१३० । रुणोः कृष्णं दृक् शरि । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

उत्कारणकारयोः कुक्कुत्तावागमी वा स्तः परि । कुक्कुत्कोरिदित्याश्रयं न ॥ ययो द्वितीयः
परि पौष्कलागमिरिति याप्यम् * ॥ प्राद्वयः प्राद्वयः । प्राद्व पतः । सुगन्धपतः सुगन्ध पतः । सुगन्धपतः ॥

130. The augment ष is added to a final इ, and the augment इ to a final अ, before a sibilant, optionally.

The कृ and डृ augments being considered as asiddha, there is no change, i. e. soft letters are not substituted for the hard. Before giving

The word **ह्रस्वः** is in the Ablative singular here ; and **द्विस्यत्** qualifies **ह्रस्वः** ; and **ह्रस्व** itself qualifies the word **पदस्य** understood, and thus there is *tadanta-viddhi*. Though the word **पदस्य** (VIII. 1. 16 S. 40) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with **ह्रस्वः** ॥ **जप्ति** is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here : it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras. **ह्रस्व** is a *pratyāhāra* meaning **रु**, **ण** and **न** ; and so also **ह्रस्वद्** is a *pratyāhāra* containing the three augments **हुद्**, **शुद्** and **सुद्** ॥

In other words **रु** is augment after **रु**, **ण** after **ण** and **न** after **न** ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus **हुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **रु**, as **प्रत्यङ्गत्वा** ॥ **शुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ण**, as **सुगुणीशः** ॥ **सुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **न**, as **सन्त्युतः**

१३५ । समः सुटि । < ३ । ५ ॥

समो रुः स्यात् सुटि । जप्तेऽन्त्यस्य ॥

135. **रु** is substituted for the **स** of **सम्** (and thereby **अँ** or **अं** is substituted for **अ**) when the augment **स्** follows, in a *samhitā*.

१३६ । अञ्जानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा । < ३ । २ ॥

अञ्ज स्यकरणे रोः पूर्वस्याऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् ॥

136. In the following sūtras upto VIII, 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—"But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which **रु** has been ordained."

(This is an *adhibikāra* sūtra. For the letter which stands before that letter for which **रु** has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where **रु** is the subject of discussion.)

Thus sūtra VIII, 3. 5, S. 135 says "In the place of the final of **सम्**, there is **रु** when **सुद्** augment follows." The vowel **अ** of **सम्** becomes nasal; as **हेत्कर्त्तुम्**, **हेत्कर्त्तव्यम्** ॥

१३७ । अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः । < ३ । ४ ॥

अनुनासिकं विहाय रोः पूर्वस्यात्परोऽनुस्वारगमः स्यात् । अल्पबान्योर्द्विषोर्द्वितीयः ॥

137. After what precedes **रु**, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then *anusvāra* shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. S. 136. When nasal is not substituted we add an *anusvāra* to such vowel. The word **अन्य** should be

read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः " a letter other than a nasal ", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ह ॥

Thus VIII. 3. 5. S. 135 teaches ह substitution of the म् of सप् an anusvāra would be added. As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Some say " the word परः in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्यः from outside ". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः; i. e. the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ह ॥

By the rule खरस्मान्नोर्विसर्जनीयः the ह is changed into Visarga and by the next rule this Visarga is changed into स् ॥

१३८ । विसर्जनीयस्य स् : १८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

खरि विसर्जनीयस्य स् : स्यात् । एतद्वचने वा खीति पाठिके विसर्गे प्राप्ति ॥ संयुक्तानां चोक्तव्यः * ॥ संस्कर्त्ता ॥ संस्कर्त्ता ॥ सप्ता वा लोपमेके इति भाष्यम् * ॥ लोपस्यापि ह्रस्वकारणस्यत्वाद् अनुस्वारानुनासिकाभ्यामेककारं रूपद्वयम् । द्विसकारं तूक्तमेव । तत्रागच्छेत्तेन सकारस्य द्वित्वपक्षे विसर्गागमि रूपद्वयम् । अनुस्वारविसर्गजिह्वामुखीयोपध्मानीयमानामकारोपरि घर्षु च पाठस्थोपसंख्यानत्वेनानुस्वारस्याप्यवधात् । अनुनासिकपतां प्रयोगो घर्षः खय इति कवित्वे परः । अनुस्वारपतनानुस्वारस्यापि द्वित्वे द्वादश । एवमष्टादशानां सकारस्य द्वित्वे वचनान्तेरेण पुनर्द्वित्वे च एकसं द्विसं त्रितमिति चतुष्पञ्चाशत् । अथोऽनुनासिकत्वे ऽधोत्तरघातम् ॥

138. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. There is Visarga also by the rule पाठे VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. Then we have the following *Vārtika* which ordains स् always, and never visarga.

Vārti :—For the finals of सप्, पुप् and कान् there is always substituted स्. Thus applying the previous four rules we have सप् + कर्ता = सप् + सुट् + कर्ता (VI. 1 137 S. 2550) = स् + ह + सुट् + कर्ता (VIII. 3. 2. S. 136) = संस्कर्त्ता or संस्कर्त्ता ॥

According to Mahābhāṣya, there is elision of स् after सप्

Thus there will be 108 forms of this word संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus संस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4. 47 S. 48 to this latter, and have three स्, as संस्कर्त्ता, or संस्कर्त्ता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता, we get three more by doubling the स् by the vārtika परः सप्तः ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling. Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra : and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the व will be doubled and trebled: and thus with one व, two व and three व, we have $3 \times 18 = 54$ forms. This will be doubled ($2 \times 54 = 108$) when वच् is nasalised.

१३६ । पुमः खयम्परे । ८ । ३ । ६ ॥

अम्परे खयि पुमश्चक्ष्य रुः स्यात् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽपत्यवत्येति वस्त्वर्धुत्तान् = क = पयोः प्राप्ते ।
अव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु पत्वप्राप्ते । संप्रदानामिति सः । पुंस्कोकिलः । पुंस्कोकिलः । पुंस्वुवः । पुंस्वुवः । अम्परे
किम् । पुंस्वीरम् । खयि किम् । पुंश्चक्षः । खयाम्परे न पुंस्त्वानम् ॥

139. रु is substituted for the म् of पुम्, (whereby the उ is changed to ऊँ or उँ) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyāhāra).

The word पुंस् is formed by the Unādi affix इङ्गम् added to the root पुम् ॥ There are two views of Unādi formed words—one considers them as *derivative* words, the other regards them as *non-derivative* or *रुति* words. If the word पुंस् be taken as a derivative word (vyutpatti paksha) then the exception "apratyaye" of the sūtra VII. 3. 41. S. 155 would apply, and र् would not be changed to द् by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155. To prevent both these incongruities, the Vārtika सं प्रदानामिति सः (see the preceding sūtra) always ordains स् and never रु ॥ Thus पुम् + कोकिलः = पुर् + कोकिलः = पुर् or पु + क + कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 41. S. 155) = पुंस्कोकिलः or पुंस्कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 2 & 4 S. 135 & 136). Similarly पुंस्वुवः or पुंस्वुवः.

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुंश्चक्षः, पुंश्चक्षः (V. 4 92. S. 729) Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुंस्वीरः, पुंस्वुवः ॥

Vārtika :—Not so when चक्ष् follows पुम्, in those cases where खयम् is substituted for चक्ष् (II. 4. 54 S. 2476). As पुंश्चक्षानम् ॥ खयान् is formed by adding ल्युट् to चक्ष् (III. 3. 115 S. 3290).

१४० । नङ्खय्यप्रशान् । ८ । ३ । ७ ॥

अम्परे छयि नङ्खय्यप्रशान् पदस्य रुः स्यात् न तु प्रशान्छय्यस्य । विसर्गः । सत्वम् । नङ्खय्यम् ।
शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि । शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि । चर्किल्लायस्य । चर्किल्लायस्य । पदस्य किम् । इति । अम्परे किम् ।
सन्तर्कः छङ्गुष्टिः । अप्रशान् किम् । प्रशान्तोति ॥

140. रु is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ष, य, च, व, त), which is followed by an अस् letter (vowel, semi-vowel and nasal).

⟨The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अम्परे in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive.⟩ शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 7. S. 140) = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 15 S. 76) = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 34 S. 138) = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि + छिन्धि (III. 4. 40 S. 3361) = शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि or शाङ्गिच्छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 2-4 S. 136, S. 137). Similarly चर्किल्लायस्य or चर्किल्लायस्य ॥

Why do we say of a Pada? Observe शस्त्रि ॥ Here the न् of हन् is not changed to ह before त्रि, because it is not final in a pada. Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् तनोति. प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when भन् follows छन्'? See भवान् स्वरुक् ॥ स्वरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरुक्: (कन् V. 2. 64 S. 1864).

१४१। नृन्पे। ८। ३। १० ॥

नृनिस्त्वस्य रुः स्याद्वा पकारे परे ॥

141. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before प ॥

Thus नृन् + पाहि = नृर् + पाहि = नृः + पाहि (VIII. 3. 15, 8. 76). At this stage applies the following sūtra.

१४२। छुब्बोः × क × पो च। ८। ३। ३७ ॥

कयो पवर्गे च परे विसर्जनीयस्य क्त्वाञ्जिह्वामुलीयपञ्चमीयौ स्तः । चाहितर्गः । येन नाप्राप्त इतिन्यायिन विसर्जनीयस्य स इत्यस्यापवादोऽयम् । न तु कपरि विसर्जनीय इत्यस्य । तेन वासः क्षौमनिस्त्वौ विसर्ग एव । नृन् × पाहि । नृन् × पाहि । नृः पाहि । नृः पाहि । नृन्पाहि ॥

142. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that the visarga also comes. By the maxim येन न प्राप्त &c. this sūtra debarb the sūtra VIII. 3. 34 S. 138 which ordains स् for the visarga. But it does not debar VIII. 3. 35. S. 150. Therefore we have the visarga in वासः क्षौमन् &c.

Thus we get नृन् × पाहि or नृन् × पाहि or नृः पाहि or नृः पाहि or नृन्पाहि ॥

१४३। कानाञ्जेदिते। ८। ३। १२ ॥

कानाकारस्य रुः स्यादाञ्जेदिते परे संयुक्तानामिति सः यद्वा ॥

143. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an āmredita.

Here by the vārtika, under S. 138, the रु is changed to स् ॥ Or the next sūtra applies:—

१४४। कस्कादिषु च। ८। ३। ४८ ॥

एतेषां स्वराणां विसर्गस्य रुः स्यादयस्य तु सः । × क × पयोऽपपाहः । इति सः । कौत्स्कात् । कांस्कात् । कौत्सः । कौत्सस्तुतः । सार्वभृजुण्डवः । भृगुष्कपालम् । आकृतिपयोऽयम् ॥

144. स् or प is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII. 3. 37 S. 142. **ए** is substituted after **इ** or **ऋ**, and **स्** everywhere else. Thus कस्काः, 2. कौनस्कनः (with नञ् of कृत भागतः), 3. धातुषुचः (VI. 3. 23 S. 981) 4. शुनस्कर्णः (VI. 3. 21 S. 979) 5. सयस्काः; 6. सयस्की (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class.) 7. सयस्काः (from सयस्की in the sense of तयम्भः कतुः). 8. कांस्कान् (the **ह** is by VIII. 3. 12 S. 143) 9. सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10. चतुष्कपालम्, 11. धनुष्कपालम् 12. वरिष्पुस्तम् 13. यमुष्पात्रम्. No complete list of this class is given anywhere. It is an, *ākṛitigaṇa*

Thus कांस्कान् or कास्काः ॥

१४५। संहितायाम् । ६ । १ । ७२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

145. In the sūtras of Pāṇini beginning with this up to VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech,' should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence up to VI. 1. 158. Whatever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice.

१४६। छे च । ६ । १ । ७३ ॥

इत्यस्य छे परे तुनामः स्यात्संहितायाम् । इत्युत्पत्त्यासिद्धत्वाच्च न छे । सतत्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वाच्च न इत्युत्पत्त्ये नः । सत्य चत्वेन च । इत्युत्पत्त्यासिद्धत्वाच्चोः कुपिति कुत्वे न । स्यञ्छाया । शिवञ्छाया ॥

146. The augment **स्** is added to a preceding short vowel also when **छ** follows in an uninterrupted speech.

To a short vowel followed by **छ**, is added the augment **स्** in Sanhitā. Here we must remember the rule पूर्वभासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1 S. 12.) to get the proper form.

Thus स् + छाया = स्स् + छाया. Here appear two rules, (1) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 requiring the **स्** to be changed to **च**; (2) VIII. 2. 39 S. 84 requiring the **स्** to be changed to **इ**. By the maxim पूर्वभासिद्धम् the **च** will be considered as non-effective for the purposes of अह्व change. Therefore we apply this second rule first and get.

स्स् + छाया (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84.) Here appear again two rules (1) VIII. 4. 55 S. 121 by which **इ** required to be changed into a **च** letter, and (2) VIII. 4. 40 S. 111 by which **इ** required to be changed to **ऋ**. The latter takes effect, the former being considered as asidhha, and we get स्स् + छाया, and then **स्** is changed to **च** — स्च + छाया (VIII. 4. 55 S. 121.)

Here appears the rule VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 requiring च् to be changed to क्. But च् was obtained by VIII. 4. 55 a rule *subsequent* to VIII. 2. 30 and therefore it is considered as asiddha, and so च् is not changed to क्॥

Thus we have स्वच्छाया. शिवच्छाया ॥

१४७ । आङ्माङीञ्च । ६ । १ । ७४ ॥

एतयोश्चे परे तुक् स्यात् । पदान्तरादिति विकल्पापवादः ॥ आच्छाक्यति । माच्छिद्यत् ॥

147. The augment क् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

This sūtra ordains तुक् *necessarily* when by VI. 1. 76 S. 149 it would have been optional. Thus आच्छाक्यति, माच्छिद्यत् ॥

१४८ । दीर्घात् । ६ । १ । ७५ ॥

दीर्घाच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । दीर्घस्यायं तुक् न तु छस्य । सेनासुराच्छायेति ज्ञापकात् । चेच्छिद्यते ॥

148. The augment क्, is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

The तुक् is added to the long vowel and not to छ, as we learn from Pāṇini himself using it in the sūtra विभाषा सेनासुराच्छाया &c. II. 4. 25. S. 828. Had तुक् been added to छ, then छ being changed to च् by VIII. 4. 55, there would have been two च्'s, and not the form च्छ as used by Pāṇini himself in the above sūtra. Or if by applying the maxim सेनासुराच्छायेति (See S. 204) the छ may not be changed, (because the छ was the occasion for the addition of क् and this क् should not cause the vanishing of this छ,) then also we should have च् after छ as छच् and not च्छ ॥ This indicates that तुक् is added to the long vowel.

Thus चेच्छिद्यते ॥

१४९ । पदान्ताद्वा । ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

दीर्घात्पदान्ताच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । लक्ष्मीच्छाया । लक्ष्मीजाया ॥

149. The augment क्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

Thus लक्ष्मी च्छाया or लक्ष्मी जाया ॥

अथ विसर्गसंधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISARGA SANDHI.

१४९ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

149 A. स् is the the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

This sūtra has already been taught before. It is repeated here for the sake of the visarga Sandhi. Thus विष्णुस् + प्राता = विष्णुस् + प्राता = विष्णुस् + प्राता = विष्णुस् + प्राता = विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

First, the स् of the affix सु of the nominative singular is changed to ऋ by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162; and then this ऋ is changed to Visarga by VIII. 3. 15 S. 76 and then this Visarga is changed to स् by the present rule. (This स् is not again changed to ऋ because with regard to ऋ this visarga-born स् is considered as *asiddha*)

१५० । शर्परे विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

शर्परे शरि विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयो न त्यज्यते । कः स्वरः । घनापनः क्षोभनः । इह यथायथं सत्त्वं जिह्वामुलीयश्च न ॥

150. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर्. In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged. Thus कः स्वरः, घनापनः क्षोभनः ॥

(Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadh-māniya* changes also do not take place, in cases like कङ्गिः प्वातम्, वासः क्षोभम् ॥)

१५१ । वा शरि । ८ । ३ । ३६ ॥

शरि परे विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीय एव वा स्यात् । हारः सेति । हरिद्वेति । शर्परे शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ रामस्याता । हरिस्तुपति । पक्षे विसर्गे सत्ये च वैकल्प्यम् ॥

151. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As हरि. सेते or हरिश्सेति.

Vārt:—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As राम स्याता or रामः स्याता हरिस्कुसति or हरिः स्कुसति ॥

In the other alternative there will be Visarga or the स् change. Thus we get three forms रामस्याता or रामः स्याता or रामस्स्याता.

कुप्योः × क × पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

क × करोति । कः करोति । क × खनति । कः खनति । क × पचति । कः पचति । क × फलति । कः फलति ॥

151 A. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial. This sūtra has already been taught before (S. 142.)

Thus क + करोति or क × करोति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvāmūliya and the Upadhmanīya: two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

The rule VIII. 3. 34. S. 138 does not apply, because this sūtra is an aprāda to that. But VIII. 3. 35. S. 150 will not be debarred. As वासः वासश्चाङ्गिष्ठात् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35, and 37. In fact, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other, (VIII. 2. 1). every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the existence of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two:—(1) कुप्योः "The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant," (2) × क × पौ च "The jhivāmūliya and upadhmanīya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case."

१५२ । सोऽपदादी । ८ । ३ । ३८ ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यादपराद्यो कुप्योः परयोः ॥ पाठकल्पककाम्येष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ पदत्वाकम् यदस्त्वत्पदम् । यदस्त्वम् । यदस्त्वमिति ॥ भगव्यस्येति पाठ्यम् * ॥ प्रातः कल्पम् ॥ काम्ये सेरेष्वेति वाच्यम् * ॥ नेह । सीः काम्यति ॥

152. स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदाद्यौ means "when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word," in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix.

Vart:—This is possible only before the affixes वाच, कल्प, वा, and काव्य
Thus पयस्पाशम् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993); पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V. 3. 67 S. 2022);
(V. 3. 70 S. 2025); यशस्कम्, यशस्काव्यम् (III. 1. 9 S. 2663).

Vart:—Prohibition, must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an
Indeclinable: as, दातुः कल्पम् ॥

Vart:—The visarga which comes from ह is only changed to स before
काव्य, and not any other visarga. As पयस्काव्यम्, and यशस्काव्यम्; but not here,
शीःकाव्यम् ॥

१५३ । इणः घः । ८ । ३ । ३९ ॥

इणः परस्य विसर्गस्य पकारः स्वात्पूर्वविधये । सर्पिष्पाशम् । सर्पिष्कल्पम् । सर्पिष्कम् ।
सर्पिष्काव्यम् ॥

153. ए is the substitute of that visarga, which is
preceded by ह or ड and is followed by an affix beginning with
a hard guttural or a labial, under the circumstances mention-
ed in the preceding sūtra.

Thus सर्पिष्पाशम् ; सर्पिष्कल्पम् ; सर्पिष्कम् सर्पिष्काव्यम् ॥

१५४ । नमस्पुरसोर्गत्वोः । ८ । ३ । ४० ॥

गतिसंज्ञयोरनयोर्विसर्गस्य सः कुन्वोः परयोः । नमस्करोति । साक्षात्प्रभृतित्वात् कृमो योगे
विभाषा गतिसंज्ञा । तद्धन्वि नमः करोति । पुरोऽप्ययमिति नित्यं गतिसंज्ञा । पुरस्करोति । अगतिश्चात्रैह
पूः पुरो पुरः प्रवेष्टव्याः ॥

154. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substi-
tuted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words
are Gati (I. 4. 67 and 74 S. 768 and 775).

Thus नमस्करोति ॥

The word नमस् is optionally a Gati word when it is combined with
the verb कृ, because it belongs to the class of साक्षात् &c. (see Ganapátha
under I. 4. 74). When it is not a Gati word, then we have नमः करोति ॥ पुरस्
is always a Gati when it is Indeclinable (I. 467. S. 768). Thus पुरस्करोति ॥ But
when it is not a Gati word then पूः प्रवेष्टव्याः where पुर is a noun and is declined
as पूः (N. S), पुरी (N. D), पुरः (N. Pl).

१५५ । इदुवुषधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४१ ॥

इकरोत्करोषधस्ताप्रत्ययस्य विसर्गस्य सः स्वात्कुन्वोः । निष्पन्नम् । आदिष्कृतम् । इदुवुषधम् ।
अप्रत्ययस्य किम् । अग्निः करोति । वायुः करोति । एकविंशशास्त्रनिषिधकाय न पश्यम् । अशकादिषु
भातुषुषधस्य पाठान् । तेनेह न । भातुः कृषा ॥ इदुसः प्रतिपद्यः ॥ इदुषा वाया ॥

155. ए is substituted, before a hard guttural or a

labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर, दुर, बहिर, भाविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥

Thus दिग्बहूहम् भावि कृतम्, दुष्कृतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe भावि करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः कृपा? For here in मातुः &c., the स् of the affix is elided by VIII. 2. 24, S. 280. and the र् of मातुर् is changed to visarga; this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to व ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word मातुष्वुभः in Kaskâdi class (VIII. 3. 48. S. 144). indicates by implication, that व change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c.: the only exception being मातुः ॥ The reason of this is that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekâdeśa उ obtained by व+अ=उ (VI. 1. 111 S. 279.)

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of सुहृत्; as सुहृत्काम or सुहृः कामा ॥

१५६ । तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ४२

तिरसः सौ या स्यात् कुप्योः । तिरस्कर्ता । तिरःकर्ता ॥

156. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्ता, or तिरः कर्ता ॥

१५७ । द्वित्रिचतुरिति कृत्वोर्ध्वे । ८ । ३ । ४३ ॥

कृत्वोर्ध्वे वर्षमानानांनयां विसर्गस्य पकारे या स्यात् कुप्योः । द्विकरोति । द्विः करोतीत्यादि । कृत्वोर्ध्वे कित् । चतुरङ्गपादः ॥

157. ए is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix चुर (ए) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvasuch by V. 4. 18. S. 2086.

As द्विः करोति or द्विकरोति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kṛtvasuch or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुरङ्गपाद, where चुर is compulsory by VIII. 3. 41. S. 155.

१५८ । इमुभोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ८ । ३ । ४४ ॥

इमकेर्विसर्गस्य इः स्याद्वा कुप्योः । गर्विष्करोति । गर्विः करोति । भटुष्करोति । भटुः करोति । शान्तिर्ध्वेति स्यादेषा । शान्तिर्ध्वे कित् । शिवदुः गर्विः, विमः शत्रुहन्ता ॥

158. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted व्, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The व् is understood here. Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, धनुः करोति or धनुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe लिङ्गु सर्पिः, पिब त्वद्वक् where सर्पिः is not in construction with पिब, but with लिङ्गु ॥

The word सामर्थ्य here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words ; and not "having the same meaning," or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्य is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. (the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense). It does not here mean 'compound.' But it being a पक्षविधि the word समर्थ is understood here (समर्थः पक्षविधिः II. 1. 1 S. 647.). The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sāmāthyā from that of II. 1. 1. It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐक्यार्थ्य which is the sāmāthyā of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sāmāthyā here means vyapekshā which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तत, तयो र्यौ योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas."

१५९ । नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ८ । ३ । ४५ ॥

इसुसोर्विस्मर्गस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्यं वः स्यात् कुन्तोः परयोः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थयेति किम् । परमसर्पिःकुण्डिका । कस्कादिषु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकाद्यसमासे व्यपेक्षाविहेदपि परवार्थः । व्यपेक्षायां नित्यार्थश्च ॥

159. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to व् in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The word इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका. (The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples.)

The inclusion of the word सर्पिष्कुण्डिका in the कस्कादि class (VIII. 3. 48, S. 161 A) indicates that the व् change will take place even when there is no compounding as well as when there is no व्यपेक्षा or co-relation. But when there is व्यपेक्षा the व् change is compulsory.

Q.—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प by adding the Unādi affix रसि (Uṇ II. 109), and धनुस् by the Unādi affix कषि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore

on the maxim प्रत्ययमहणे &c, the word इत्तुतोः would denote the mere forms सर्वित् and वत्तुत् and not forms like परमसर्वित् &c. then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra?

Ans.—The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthāsya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इत् and उत्तुः—प्रत्ययमहणे यस्मात् न विहित स्तस्यैस्तदन्तस्य महणम् “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself.” This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्वित्करोति or परमसर्विः करोति by the previous sūtra VIII. 3. 44.

Q.—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra?

Ans.—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds.

१६० । अतः कृमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्यस्य । ८ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अकारादुत्तरस्यानव्यस्य वितर्कस्य समासे नित्ये सकारोदशः स्वात्करोत्यादिषु परेषु न ह्रस्वपदस्थस्य । अयस्कारः । अयस्कावः । अयस्कंसः । अयस्कृम्भः । अयस्वाचमः । अयसहिता कुशा अयस्कृशा । अयस्कृर्णी । अतः किम् । गीःकारः । अयव्ययस्य किम् । स्वःकावः । समासे किम् । यशः करोति । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य किम् । परमयशःकारः ॥

160. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस, कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अयस्कारः, (III. 2. 1 S. 2913.) कम्—अयस्कावः, कंस—अयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कृम्भः, पात्र—अयस्वाचमः, कुशा—अयस्कृशा, कर्णी—अयस्कृर्णी ॥

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ or the visarga of the word ending in अः”? See गीःकारः ॥

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable”? Observe १६३ कावः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here; यशः करोति ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this. Therefore not here, परमयशःकारः ॥

१६१ । अथः शिखरी पदे । ८ । ३ । ४७ ॥

अयसर्वित्वस्य सादेशः स्वात्करोत्यादिषु परेषु न ह्रस्वपदस्थस्य । शिखरीपदस्थस्य । अथः पदस्थः । अतः ११५ । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति । परमशिरःपदस्थः ॥

161. For the visarga of अघस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अघस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥

The word सप्तमे is understood in this, therefore not here अघः पदम्, शिरः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिरः पदम् ॥

१६१ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

मास्करः ॥

161 A. स or प is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest. This sūtra has already been taught before (see S. 144). It is read here again for the purpose of *Visarga-Sandhi*. Thus माः + क् = मास्करः ॥

अथ स्वादिप्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VII.

ON COMBINATION OF CASE-ENDINGS.

१६२ । ससुप्तो रुः । ८ । २ । ६६ ॥

'पशनास्य यस्य ससुप्तप्रत्ययस्य थ रुः स्यात् । जड्वापवादः ॥

162. For the final **सु** and for the **प्** of **ससुप्** is substituted **रु**, at the end of a word. This debars **जश्**.

Thus, **सिषत् + अर्थ्य**, here **सिःइत्** is a word formed with the **Ne** native Singular case affix **सु**. This **सु** will be changed by the above Sūtra into **रु** and not to a **जश्** letter. Thus, we get **सिषर् + अर्थ्य**. Then applies the next rule :—

१६३ । अतो रोरप्पुतादप्पुते । ६ । १ । ११३ ॥

अप्पुतादतः पत्यय रोर् स्यादप्पुतेऽति । भोगमोऽप्यो इतिमात्रस्य यत्त्वस्याऽपवादः । तत्त्वं मति
रपस्याप्रसिद्धत्वं तु न भवति । स्वमनस्य उत्पत्तिः सामर्थ्यात् ॥

163. The **उ** is the substitute of **रु** (the **रु** substitute of a final **सु** VIII. 2. 66.) when an **अ**, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

This sūtra debars the **रु** of VIII. 3. 17 S. 167 The **रु** taught in the Tripāḍi VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 is not *asiddha* though so required by VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. for the purposes of **रु** substitution required by the present sūtra of the 6th Adhyāya. This is because this sūtra specifically mentions the word **रु** and then ordains **उ** in its stead. Had this sūtra not perceived the **रु** of VIII. 2. 66 it would have simply ignored it and not mentioned it at all.

The phrase **उत्** is understood here, as well as the word **मति** of VI. 1. 109. Therefore **सिषर् + अर्थ्य** = **सिष + उ + अर्थ्य**. At this stage, the next sūtra VI. 1. 102 raises a doubt, viz, should **अ** and **उ** of **सिष + उ** become a long **वा** as **सिषा**.

१६४ । अथमयोः पूर्वमवर्णः । ८ । १ । १०२ ॥

Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words *सकः* and *दीर्घः* are both understood here. The word *प्रथमा* here means the *प्रथमा विभक्ति* i. e. the 1st case of the Nominative, and includes here the *द्वितीया विभक्ति* also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a *पूर्वस्व* or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. But this rule does not apply in the case of *सिक्कः + अच्यः* because of the following *apavāda* rule.

१६५ । नादिचि । ६ । १ । १०४ ॥

अवर्णादिचि परे न पूर्वस्ववर्णसिचि । आहूयः । एहः पदान्तादिति । शिवोऽर्च्यः । अत इति तपः किम् । देवा अच । अतीति तपः किम् । स्वभावात् । अप्पुनक्तिम् । एहि सुजेत अच लाहि । प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वात्तः परोऽयम् । अप्पुनक्तिवि विशेषणे तु त्वत्तामध्यासिसिद्धत्वम् । तपरकरणस्य तु न सामर्थ्ये सौचनेवृत्त्या परितार्थत्वात् । अस्तुते इति किम् । सिद्धं पय अ' सिक्क । शुरोऽस्तुत इति प्लुतः ॥

165. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when *अ* or *आ* is followed by a vowel (other than *अ*) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Therefore *सिक्कः + अच्यः* = *सिक्कोऽर्च्यः* । The *अ* *उ* become *guṇa* by the *आहूयः* (VI. 1. 37. S. 69) and the subsequent *अ* of *अच्य* is elided by *एहः पदान्तादिति* (VI. 1. 109. S. 86). Why do we say 'after a short अ'? Or why have we added a *तु* to *अ*? So that the long *आ* may be excluded. Observe *देवाः + अच* = *देवा अच* ॥ The word *अति* is understood here from VI. 1. 109. S. 86. ' *र* must be followed by a short *अ*; thus *स्वर् + जामन्त* = *स्वजामन्त* । Why do we say 'preceded by an *apluta अ*'? The rule will not apply if a *Pluta* vowel precedes it. As *एहि सुजेत* ३ *अच लाहि* । Though the word is *अन्* in the sūtra, and it means only short *अ* and neither long *आ* nor the *pluta अः*, yet the word is repeated in the sūtra for the following reason. In the above example *एहि सुजेत* ३ *अच लाहि*, the *अ* of *सुजेतम्* is prolated by VIII. 2. 84. This prolation being effected by a *Tripādi* rule, would not be perceived by VI. 1. 113, and for the purposes of this latter rule the prolation is non-existent, and the *अ* is still short. Therefore to make the prolation *siddha* or effective for the purposes of VI. 1. 113, the word " *pluta* " is specifically mentioned in the sūtra. The *तु* of *अन्* would not have produced this result, because that *तु* found its scope in preventing the application of the rule to the *long आ* ॥

Why do we say "when followed by an *apluta अ*?" Observe *सिद्धं पय अग्निदत्तम्* । "O Agnidatta! let the milk remain." Here *अः* of *Agnidatta* is *pluta* by VIII. 2. 86. and it being *asiddha*, the present rule would have applied.

१६६ । हशि च । ६ । १ । ११४ ॥

अभ्युत्तादवः परस्य रोसुः स्याद्वसि । शिषोः पन्थः । रोसिपुकारासुबन्धमहणानिह । मातरण ।
 धातर्गण्ट । देवास् इह इति स्थिते । स्वप्नम् ॥

166. The ङ is the substitute of ञ (the ञ substitute of ण VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an aplota short अ॥

The इण् pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus
विद्योपन्याः ।

The व substitution takes place in the case of that र only which is called व in this Grammar; i.e. र with the indicatory letter व; therefore not in मातर + अय = मातरय or धातर + गच्छ = धातरच्छ ।

Now we take up the Sandhi of देवास् + इह । Here the स् is first changed into ह by VIII. 2. 66. Then we apply the following rule:—

१६७ । भोभगोबधोअपूर्वस्य योऽसि । ८ । ३ । १७ ॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य रौर्यविशः स्यादिति श्रे । अतन्निवः सौम्यः । सौम्यः शाकल्यस्य । कदा इह । देवादिह ।
अति किम । देवाः सन्ति । यदपीह यत्तस्यासिद्धत्वादितर्गो नेभ्यते तथापि दितर्गस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन
रौर्याध्यक्षे स्यात् । न ह्ययमतिधिः । सौरिति समुदायरूपाव्ययणात् । भोः भगोः भयोः इति सकारान्ता
निपाताः । तेषां रौर्ये कृते ॥

167. *रू* is substituted for the *र* called *र*, when it is preceded by *भो*, *मगो*, *अघो*, *अ* or *आ*, before an *अश्* letter (vowels and soft consonants).

In the Sūtra भवेत्, अवै have not been combined by the rules of Sandhi. Thus we get देवात् + इह = देवात् + इह = देवात् + इह = देवा इह or देवा विह । In one case we elide *व* by the rule सौप्तः प्राक्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 19. S. 67).

Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of वृष् pratyāhāra'? Observe देवा, सन्ति ।

Though in the Sūtra the *ṛ* being considered as *asiddha*, the *ṛ* will be changed not to *ṛ* but to *visarga*; yet this *visarga* being considered as *sthānivat* to *ṛ*, will be changed to *ṛ*. Moreover, it should not be objected that this is an *alvidhi* and therefore, the *visarga* will not be *sthānivat* to *ṛ*, because here the whole word-form *ṛ* is taken and therefore it is not an *alvidhi*. In the sūtra भृष्टः प्रसृष्टः प्रसृष्टः...

In the sūtra भोए, भयो, जपो are three particles ending in ए. The ए will be changed to इ and the इ to ए and thus we have भोइ, भयो and जपो. Here applies the next sūtra :—

१६८ । व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः साकटायनस्य । ८ । ३ । १८ ॥

पदान्तयोर्व्यकारयोर्लघुप्रयत्नी परी या स्तोत्रशि परे । व्योच्चारणे जिह्वाघोषाद्यमध्यमूलां
शोधित्य जायते स लघुप्रयत्नः ॥

168. च् and य् (in भगोय् &c. and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अच् letter, according to the opinion of Śākāṭāyana.

(The effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara.) Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter. च् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final च् and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter च् will replace the heavy च् and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोवच्, भगोवच्, अघोवच्, कयास्ते, or क आस्ते, अस्माद्युद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असापावित्यः or आसा आवित्यः, इवच् or इवानय, or इवाशनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech. The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu-prayatna-tara. In śict, च् and य् are to be slurred over.

१६९ । भोतो गार्ग्यस्य । ८ । ३ । २० ॥

भोकास्तरस्य पदान्तस्याऽलघुप्रयत्नस्य व्यकारस्य नित्यं लोपः स्यात् । गार्ग्यमहणे पूजार्थम् । भो
अच्युत । लघुप्रयत्नपक्षे भोच्युत । पदान्तस्य किम् । लोपम् ॥

169. य् preceded by ओ and final in a Pada and when it is not pronounced with a light articulation is always elided, before an अच् letter according to the opinion of Gārgya.

There can be no इ preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus भो अच्युत ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (nitya) rule and not a vibhāṣha rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha). The elision of laghu-prayatna च् which VIII. 3. 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that the laghu prayatnatara य् does come also. As भोच्युत ॥

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe लोपः

१७० । उभि च पदे । ८ । ३ । २१ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वकोऽपदान्तयोर्व्योर्लोप उभि पदे । त च एकस्मिः । पदे किम् । लघुप्रयत्नम् । वेमः
संन्यारणे रूपम् । यदि तु प्रतिपदीकौ निपात उभिति महीष्येते स ह्युत्तरार्थे पदमहणम् ॥

१७२ । रोऽसुपि । ८ । २ । ६९ ॥

अहो रेफविषः स्यान्न तु ह्यपि । रो-रपावः । अहरहः । अहर्गणः । असुपि किम् । अहोभ्याम् । अथा-श्रुतिरिति हत्वम् ॥ रूपराधिरयन्तरु हत्वं वाच्यम् ॥ अहोरूपम् । गतमहो राधिरेषा । एकदेशविकृत-
स्यानन्दत्वाद्द्वोरपः । अहोरयन्तरम् ॥ अहरादीनां पत्याविषु वा रेकः * ॥ विसर्गापवादः । अहर्पतिः । गीर्षतिः । धूर्षतिः । पक्षे विसर्गापधानीयौ ॥

172. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), *रु* is substituted for the *र* of अहर् ॥

This debars *रु*. Thus अहरहः । अहर्गणः ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, Here *रु*-called *रु* replaced the final *र* of अहर् by VIII. 2. 68, S. 443. The difference between this *रु*-called *र* and the ordinary *र* is illustrated in the above set of examples. The *रु*-called *र* is changed to *उ* by VI. 1. 113, S. 163, the ordinary *र* is not so changed.

Var.—Before the words रूप, राधि and यन्तर, the *र* of अहर् is changed to *रु*. As अहोरूपम्; गतमहोराधिरेषा. So also अहराद्य, though the word राधि is not राधि ॥ This is on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्दत्वात् which means:—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) some thing else (than what it was before the change had taken place). अहोरयन्तरम्.

Var.—The words अहर् &c. before पति &c. should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c. are replaced by *रु* or *र* before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहर्पतिः or अहर्पतिः ; गीर्षतिः, गीर्षतिः or गीर्षतिः ; धूर्षतिः, धूर्षतिः or धूर्षतिः ॥ Here *रु* is substituted for the final *र* of अहर् &c. which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this *रु*.

१७३ । रो रि । ८ । ३ । १४ ॥

रेकस्य रेके परे लोपः स्यात् ॥

173. *रु* is elided before a *रु* ॥

Note.—The sūtra is *रुः रि* and not *रोः रि* ॥ That is *रो रि* is the form which *रु रि* and *रोः रि* will both assume. *रुः* is the Genitive of *रु*, and *रोः* would be the Genitive of *रु* ॥ The sūtra is not confined to *रु* only, but to every *रु* in general including *रु* ॥ Thus वीरक्तम्, वूरक्तम् ॥

१७४ । ह्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः । ६ । ३ । ११९ ॥

होर्का लोपवतीति तथा सन्निवर्णोऽर्थाद् अकारोकार्त्तको परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः स्यात् पुनः । एवे । ह्री रम्यः । होराजित । अणः किम् । कृहः । कृहः । कृहः हितायम् । कृहः उद्यमने । पूर्वसङ्गमनुत्तरपदवि-
पूर्वगतस्य दीर्घविम् । लीटः । अजर्पाः । गमम् रय इत्यन राये कृते इति अस्तुत्येति लोपे न्य माते ।

174. When इ or ए is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ, a corresponding long vowel is substituted.

Thus पुनर् + रन्ते = पुनरन्ते ; हरि + रम्यः = हरी रम्यः ; वामुर् + राजते = वामुराजते । Why do we say वमः ? Observe रुहः रुहः from the roots रुह् 'to injure' and 'वृह्' 'to exert.' Here the वृ is not lengthened because it is not included in अण् pratyāhāra.

The word रुहः is thus formed, रुह् + क्त (त) = रुह + त (होतः VIII. 2. 31. S. 324) = रुह् + धृ (रूपस्त्वधोर्धोऽधः VIII. 2. 40 S. 2280) = रुह् + हृ (पुनादुः VIII. 4. 41) = रु + ० + हृ (हो दे लोपः VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335). Here हृ is elided, but as the preceding vowel कृ is not included in अण् pratyāhāra, which includes only अ, इ and उ (the ऋ being the first ऋ), so there is no lengthening.

The word पूर्वस्य 'for the preceding' is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that there is the lengthening of the अण् vowel, even when no other word follows it ; in fact the lengthening is of the preceding vowel alone, irrespective of any other word following it or not. Thus अजर्पाः, लङ् ॥

The word अजर्पाः is thus formed. To the root गृध् "to covet" we add the intensive affix यङलुक् and the affix लङ् and सिप् and the doubling. Thus we get the form अजर्पर, the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्पाः ॥

Note.—The word अजर्पाः is thus formed:—

- गृध् + यङ् + सिप् (the 2nd Per. Sing in लङ्) =
- गृध्रे + ० + सि (यङोऽसि च II. 4. 74. S. 2650) =
- गृध् गृध् + सि (सन् यङोः VI. 1. 9. S. 2 395) =
- गर्ध् गृध् + सि = (गुणो यङ् लुकोः VII. 4. 82. S. 2 630) =
- ग गृध् + सि (ह्लादि षेपः VII. 4. 60. S. 2179) =
- गरगृध् + सि (क्स्वरितोऽपञ्चलि VII. 4. 91. S. 2652) =
- जर्गृध् + सि (अभाते चर् च VIII. 4. 54. S. 2182) =
- जर्गर्ध् + सि (पुगन्तनपुपस्य च VII. 3. 86. S. 2189) =
- जर्गर्ध् + रु (इत्थं III. 4. 100 S. 2207) =
- जर्गर्ध् + ० (हल्ङाङ्गो VI. 1. 68. S. 252) =
- जर्गर्ध् (एकाचोऽपञ्चलि VIII. 2. 37 S. 326) =
- जर्गर्ध् (ह्लादि अचोऽपञ्चलि VIII. 2. 39 S. 84) =
- जर्गर्ध् (इत्थं VIII. 2. 75 S. 2468) =
- जर्गर्ध् + ० + हृ (हो ति VIII. 3. 14 S. 173) =

जर्पा + हृ (the present Sūtra) which with the augment अह् (अह् लङ् लङ् उ लङ् VI. 4. 71 S. 2205), becomes अजर्पाः ॥

The word गृहः is formed from गृह् + ण. The हृ is changed to हृ by VIII. 2. 31. S. 324. and the ण is first changed to ण by VIII. 2. 40, S. 2250 and then to हृ by VIII. 4. 41. S. 113.

Thus we get लिङ्+इ. The first इ being elided by VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335. we get the form लीङ् by the present sūtra.

Now we take the *sandhi* of मनस्+इयः=मनस्+इयः. Here two sūtras simultaneously apply viz. इति VI. 1. 14. S. 166 causing the substitution of इ for इ and the sūtra रोरे VIII. 3. 14. S. 173. causing the elision of इ. What sūtra are we to apply? Here comes the following Interpretation sūtra.

१७५ । विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् । १ । ४ ॥ २ ॥

तुल्यबलविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात् । इति लोपे प्राप्ते । पूर्ववासिद्धमिति सेवीत्यस्यासिद्धत्वादुत्प्रेषणम् । मनोरथः ॥

175. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.'

Thus, the *lopa* rule being the *para* rule would cause the *lopa* of इ of मनस् before इयः. But here we must remember the rule of पूर्ववासिद्धम् (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12), therefore, the rule of elision of इ (VIII. 3. 14. S. 173) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of इ required by VI. 1. 14. S. 166. Therefore we have इ. Thus we have मनस्+इयः=मनोरथः ॥

१७६ । एतत्तदोः सुलोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि । ६ । १ । १३२ ॥

अककारयोरेतत्तदोः सुस्तस्य लोपः स्यादिति न तु नञ्समासे । एष विष्णुः । स शंभुः । शकोः किम् ? एषोऽयं सः । अनञ्समासे किम् । असः शिवः । इति किम् । एषोऽनञ् ॥

176. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026.) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः+विष्णुः=एष विष्णुः ॥ स शंभुः ॥ Why do we say 'without क' ? Observe एषोऽयं सः ॥

NOTE :—The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle would be considered just like the एतद् and तद्, without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: सन्वय्यतिवस्तद् गदयेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in the which is actually denoted by it.'

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe अकचिदिति ॥ In the compound with the negative particle अच्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽयं सः ॥

१७७ । सो ऽचि लां पे चेत्पादपूरणम् । ६ । १ । १३४ ॥

स इत्यस्य सोलौपः स्यादचि पादभलोपे सत्येव पूर्यते । सेमामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईक्षिषे । इह भूम्पाव एव गृह्यत इति धामनः । नावशेषाच्छ्लोकपादोऽपीत्यपरे सैव दास्यथी रामः । लोपे चेदिति किम् । स इन् धीति । स एवमुक्त्वा । सत्येयत्यधारणं तु स्यञ्छन्दसि बहुलमिति पूर्वमुक्ताद्बहुलप्रवणानुगुण्या सम्बन्धः । तेनेह न । सोऽश्माञ्जलमुद्गामान् ॥

177. The case-affix of सस् 'he,' is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेमामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईक्षिषे (Rig. II. 24. 1.) = सः इमाम् अपिद्धि (माप्नुहि, धारतेः माप्तर्यस्य लोटि रूपं) प्रभृतिम् (प्रकर्षेण भूतां स्तुतिम्) यः (हे बृहस्पति यस्त्वं) ईक्षिषे (सर्वस्व जगत् ईश्वरो भवसि) " accept (O Brihaspati !) this good-burden (of our praise) He who rulest. "

According to Vāmana the author of Kāśikā, this rule is confined to Vedic metres only. According to others, the rule is applied to all ślokas without any such distinction.

In explaining this sūtra we have used the word सत्येव "only then" in order to limit its scope ; and this we get by the force of the word बहुले in the sūtra VI. 1. 133. S. 3526. which immediately precedes it in the order of Aṣṭādhyāyī. Therefore there is no elision here, because the verse is completed without elision.

सोऽश्माञ्जलमुद्गामान् (Raghuvansa) we cannot say स अहम् or साहम् &c. सेतु राजा क्षयति परमेणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौधधरिदुरुच्यसं (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say 'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इन् धीतिः सप्तशुभ्रस्य ॥ The word धाचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness: for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. According to Kāśikā the Pāda must refer to a Pāda of the Rīg-Veda only. Others explain the word पाद as 'a foot of a śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—तेषु दास्यथी रामः, तेषु राजा परिहितः, सैषकर्णो महात्मनी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

अथाजन्त पुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DECLENSION OF MASCULINE BASES ENDING IN VOWELS.

१७८ । अर्थवद् धातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

धातुं प्रत्यये प्रत्ययान्तं च वर्जयित्वाऽर्थवच्छब्दस्वरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

178. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*prataya*) or a word ending in an affix, is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form or Nominal base.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The *prātipadika* is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (*pada*), from the undifferentiated are called the *dhātu* or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ वद् means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called *prātipadika*.

१७९ । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तो समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाः स्युः । पूर्वगुणेण सिद्धे समासपदार्थे नियमार्थम् ।
पद संपादे पूर्णो भागः पदं तस्य श्रेयवति तर्हि समासस्यैव । तेषां वाक्यस्य न ॥

179. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compounds are also called *Prātipadika*.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in *Kṛt* and *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called *prātipadika*. The word *Samāsa* is used in the sūtra to make a restrictive rule, where in a collection of words, the first part is a *pada* or a complete word, then the word *prātipadika* would apply to that collection of words only, which forms a compound and to nothing else; therefore the term *Prātipadika* would not apply to a sentence. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

१८० । प्रत्ययः । ३ । १ । १ ॥

आपञ्चनपरिसमाप्तेपविकारोऽयम् ॥

180. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, (whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix.)

१८१ । परश्च । ३ । १ । २ ॥

अयमपि तथा ॥

181. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form.)

१८२ । उपाध्यासप्रातिपदिकात् । ४ । १ । १ ॥

उपाध्यासप्रातिपदिकात् उपाध्यासपञ्चनपरिसमाप्तेपविकारः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे निवृत्तिविशिष्टत्वादि महणमित्येव सिद्धे उपाध्यासपञ्चन उपाध्यासपञ्चनोत्पत्तिरित्याह स्यात् उपाध्यासो ग्राह्यः ना भवित्येवमर्थम् ॥

182. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with feminine affixes ङि or आप्, or after a crude-form.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base ग्रहणे to which the affixes beginning with ह्य treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with वत् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीप्, and ङीप्. The term आप् is the common name

for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and ञाप् । These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of the Fourth chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'crudeform' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word कृषाप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a *Ṣamāhāra-dvandva* or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Paribhasha: Why have we employed 'the word 'āy-āp' in the aphorism? Is not the word *prātipadika* wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the *paribhāṣā*:—"A *prātipadika* denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender"?

Ans: The words ङी and ञाप् are specifically used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the Taddhita affixes should be added, *after* the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before.

Note:—The *Kāśikā* gives the following answer to the above question.

Not so. The *paribhāṣā* you quote applies to that case where there is a rule relating to an individual word-form given in the *Sūtra* itself. In other words, "this *paribhāṣā* is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes *prātipadikas* generally (as the word '*prātipadika*' does in this sūtra) or denotes a particular *prātipadika*, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, यतिन, and जति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form *yuvā*, also includes the feminine: but not so everywhere. Moreover the words, ङी, ञाप् have been employed in the *Sūtra*, in order to make the taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (ङी) or long वा (ञाप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल' and 'हरिण' is, 'काली' and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माल' is 'खट्वा' and 'माल' ॥ After these words we can apply the taddhita affix 'तप्': as 'कालितप', 'हरिणितप', 'खट्वातप', and 'मालतप' ॥

Now, had we not used that word 'āy-āp' in the *Sūtra*, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word '*kālitārā*', we could not have got this form at all.

The word काल takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when हप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितप ॥ Why do you then say that the taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words āy-āp?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of *vipratishedha*, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली; and when comparison alone is meant and

not feminine, we shall have *कात्तर*; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the *taddhita* would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word *ny-āp*, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

The objector says:—The inclusion of *ही* and *आप्* in this *sūtra* is useless, for the following reason:—all bases ending with the Feminine affixes can be considered as *Prātīpadikas*, on the strength of the maxim *Prātīpadika grahane linga-vishishtasya* &c. For example, *भृशः* "mother-in-law," derived from the masculine *सृश्वर* with the affix *इह* (see *Vārtika* under IV. 1. 68. S. 523. *श्वशुरस्योक्तोऽस्य कालोपचयः*). Here the word *भृश* must be a *prātīpadika*, otherwise no case affix can be added to it, because it is neither a *ही* nor an *आप्* ending word. But we see that case-affixes are added to it, and it can only be if the maxim above given be universally valid. Holding the above maxim to be valid, we come to the conclusion that all words ending in Feminine affixes (such as *ही*, *आप्*, *ऊ* etc.) are *Prātīpadikas*; hence there is no necessity of using the words *ही* and *आप्* in the *sūtra*.

Ans So far as the addition of case affixes are concerned, we may consider the inclusion of *ही* *आप्* as superfluous. But this *sūtra* not only ordains case-affixes, but *Taddhita* affixes as well: for the *sūtra* means "Let all the affixes taught upto the end of the Fifth Book—whether case-affixes or *Taddhita* &c. come after bases ending in *ही*—*आप्* and after *Prātīpadikas*." So that the *Taddhita* affixes will be added to Feminines after the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before. This we infer because the words *ही* and *आप्* are used in the *sūtra*. Thus we get *नार्यका* or *नार्यिका* ॥ If the *Taddhita* affixes were added first and then the Feminine, we could not have got the form *नार्यिका* ॥ For the *swārthika* *कन्* added by V. 4. 29. S. 2097. to *नार्य* being most *antarang* would come first and then the feminine *आप्*. Thus *नार्य* + *क* + *आ* = *नार्यका* ॥ Consequently the *अ* of *र्य* could not be changed to *इ* by *वर्णान्तरात्*: VII. 3. 46. S. 465.

For the *अ* here is not that *अ* which has replaced a long *आ* ॥ But if we add the Feminine affix first, we can get the desired form, thus:—

नार्या + *क* + *आप्* = *नार्यका*, here the long *आ* of *नार्या* is shortened by *कप्*: VII. 4. 13. S. 834.

And so we can apply the rule *वर्णान्तरात्* and get *नार्यिका*

१८३ स्वौजसमौदृष्ट्याभिरुद्धेभ्याम्यसृष्टिसिद्ध्याम्यसृष्टसोत्सामङ्गयोस्तु-
पु १४१२२ ॥

एवन्तावन्ताव्यातिवर्धितोऽपि स्यादयः मल्लः एव । मृदस्योक्तोक्तोक्तो जगद्व्यापितः ॥

183. (After what ends with the feminine termina-

tions **इ** or **अ**, or after a crude-form, the following affixes are employed):—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	aut (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	tā (a)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	ne (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	śasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	śas (as)	os	ām
7th.	śi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like **व** in **सु** and **न** in **नसि** are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final **ए** is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra **सुप्**, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The letters **अ**, **इ**, **उ** and **ए** are इन् or servile letters.

१८४ । विभक्तिश्च । १ । ४ । १०४ ॥

सुप्तिङौ विभक्तिर्विभक्तौ स्तः । त्वं तु भौ जस इत्यादिनां विकारणां प्रथमादयः सप्तम्यन्ताः प्राचां
संज्ञास्ताभिर्विभक्तिषु व्यवहाराः ॥

184. The triads of conjugational affixes and case-affixes are also called viḥkṭi or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i. e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

१८५ । सुप् । १ । ४ । १०५ ॥

सुप्तिङिणि दीप्ति वचनात्येकश्च एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनसंज्ञाणि सुः ॥

185. Of **सुप्** the case affixes, the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

१८६ । द्वैकयो द्विवचनैकवचने । १ । ४ । १०६ ॥

द्वैकैकत्वयोरेते स्तः ॥

186. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

१८७ । बहुषु बहुवचनम् । १ । ४ । १०७ ॥

बहुषु एतत्स्वार्द्धं, हत्वपिसर्गः । रामः ॥

187. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

Declension of Masculines ending in अ ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word राम ending in short अ ॥ In Nom. Sing. the affix सु is added.

Thus राम + सु = राम + सु = राम + र् = रामः ॥ In forming the Dual, the following applies.

१८८ । सरूपाक्षामेकरोप एकविभक्तौ । १ । २ । ६४ ॥

एकविभक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ॥ प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ नदिषि ॥ शुद्धिरेषि ॥ रामौ ॥

188. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśeṣa (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped.

Thus राम + राम = रामौ. The word रामौ is formed by adding the affix औ to राम and by superseding VI. 1. 102. S. 164 by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 and applying VI. 1. 88 S. 72, we get the *viddhi*. In forming the Nom. Pl. we add जम्. Thus राम + जम् ॥ The ज् is indicative by the following sūtra.

१८९ । चुट्ट । १ । ३ । ७ ॥

प्रथमयोः चुट्टेदौ स्तः । इति जस्यस्वसायाय ॥

189. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicative.

Thus the ज् of जम् would become इत्. So the affix is really इम्. But is not the final स् of इम् also इत् by the sūtra इत्स्वप्, I. 3. 3. S. 1. ? No, because of the following exceptions:—

१९० । न चिभक्तौ तुस्माः । १ । ३ । ४ ॥

विभक्तिपास्तर्गसकारमकार इतो न ह्युः । इति सकारस्य नेत्वम् ॥

190. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

Therefore the स् of जम् is not इत्. Thus राम + जम्. At this stage the following rule appears which requires the अ + अ to be changed to ए by सारूप्यदेकदेशः :

१६१। अतो गुणे । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपदान्तादकाराद्युणे परतः पररूपनेकादिशः स्यादिति प्राप्ते । परत्वात्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । अतो गुणे इति हि पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन्वाधन्ते, नोत्तरानिति न्यायेनाक्तः सवर्ण इत्यस्यैवायमपवादो नतु प्रथमवोरित्यस्यापि । रामाः ॥

191. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

But this *ekādśa* rule is superseded by the subsequent rule प्रथमद्वौ पूर्वसवर्णः VI. I. 102. S. 164, which requires the lengthening of the preceding vowel; while the present sūtra अतो गुणे debarb the immediately succeeding sūtra अक्तः सवर्णे दीर्घः VI. I. 101. S. 85. by the maxim:—

Paribhāṣā:—*Apavādas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavāda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).

Therefore the nearest rule VI. I. 101. S. 85 is superseded by the present sūtra and not the subsequent rule VI. I. 102. S. 164. Thus राम+अस्=रामाः. The Vocative case is like the nominative; the only difference is in the singular. The Vocative singular is called Sambuddhi by the following:—

१६२। एकवचनं संबुद्धिः । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

संबोधने प्रथमाया एकवचनं संबुद्धिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

192. In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

Thus the vocative singular of राम is राम+वृ ॥ Here the following sūtra applies.

१६३। एङ्हस्वात्संबुद्धेः । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

एङान्ताद्दृष्टान्ताद्याङ्गद्व्युत्पद्यते संबुद्धेभ्यः । संबुद्ध्यादिभ्यस्त्वाङ्गस्यैङ्हस्वाभ्यां विशेषणोऽङ्गः । हे कनरकुलेति । हे राम । हे रामो । हे रामाः । एङ्ग्रहणे किम् । हे हे हे विशेषः । अथ हि परस्मान्निगत्याप्य संबुद्धियुगे कृत इत्याख्यत्वं नास्ति ॥

193. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular, after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The elision, here being taught with regard to the base which is a संबुद्धि and which is qualified by having ए or ओ or a short vowel for its final, it does not apply to कनरकुलम् !

In हे कवरत् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix वत्, the substitute of वृ ; for the affix there is वद्वृ (VII. 1. 25). This affix being द्वित् causes the elision of the final व् of कवरत् (VI. 4. 143), and we have कवरत् + वत्, here we have not a prātipādika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. (The word वृद्ध् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution required by वृद्धस्य युष् : VII. 3. 108, is stronger than lopa). Therefore in हे वृद्धि + वृ, the affix is not elided, first, and then guṇa substituted for वृ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided, similarly हे विष्णो. For the guṇa substitution is stronger than elision, because it is a rule subsequent in order, the elision being VI. 1. 69, the Guṇa being VIII. 3. 108 ; and because Guṇa is a nitya rule. Therefore when वृद्धि is guṇated to वृद्धि, there being no short vowel, left, the elision of वृ would not have taken place had the word वृद्ध been not used in the sūtra.

Now the accusative singular is formed thus : राम + वम्. Here applies the following Sūtra.

१६४ । अमि पूर्वः । ६ । १ । १०७ ॥

अयोऽन्यच्च परतः पूर्वस्वरनेकादेशः स्यात् । रामम् । रामौ ॥

194. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the व् of the case ending वम् ॥

The word अक् is understood here. Thus राम-+वम्=रामम्. So also accusative dual राम + औ = रामौ as before. Now the accusative plural is formed thus :—राम + वत् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

१६५ । लशक्तद्धिते । १ । ३ । ८ ॥

तद्धितवर्जमस्यवाया लशक्तवर्गा इतः एतुः । इति घसः शस्त्वन्तता ॥

195. The initial ल and घ, and the gutturals of all affixes, except Taddhita, are indicative.

The initial ल, घ, क, ख, ग, ङ, of affixes are indicative, except in Taddhita affixes.

Therefore ल् being इत्, the affix is वत्. Thus राम + वत्. At this stage applies the following sūtra :—

१६६ । तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि । १ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पूर्वतद्वर्जशीर्षात्परो यः शसः तस्माच्छसो नः स्यात्पुंसि ॥

196. After such a long vowel homogeneous with the first, च is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix वत् in the masculine.

Thus राम-न् = राम + अन् = रामान् ॥ Now, should not the final न् of रामान् be changed to ण् by the following sūtra ?

१९७ । अङ्कुप्वाङ्नुम्वधायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

अङ्कुर्वपवर्माङ्कुम् ऐतद्व्यस्त्वैवपासंभवं मिलितेभ्यश्च ध्वधानेऽपि रपाभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात्समानपदे । पञ्चवधायेऽपीति विधेये बाधितुमाहमहणम् । कुम्पहणमनुस्वारोपलक्षणार्थम् तथाकर्तुं शक्यम् । अयोगवादानामदसुर्वदस्योक्तत्वाद् । इति गत्ये प्राप्तिः ॥

197. The substitute ण् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह्, or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the anusvāra नुम् intervenes, singly or conjointly, causing separation between न and the anterior र or य, provided that these letters occur in one word.

The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अङ् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

NOTE:—The pratyāhāra अङ् stands for vowels and the letters ह्य व र and it includes the ayogavāha letters anusvāra and visarga. Therefore the mention of नुम् in the sūtra could well have been avoided, for नुम् here denotes anusvāra. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c.

The क्कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्क्येण, मूर्ख्येण, गर्भ्येण, अर्ध्येण ॥

The व्प means all the labials, e. g. हर्ष्येण, रेप्येण, गर्भ्येण, चर्म्येण, धर्म्येण ॥

The आङ् means the particle आः e. g. पथ्याणङ्गम् from नङ् (VIII. 2. 34)

निराणङ्गम् (of VIII. 4. 14).

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इदित् (VII. 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. Q. Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

(The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken *co-extensive* with it.) Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहण् from वृह स्तृह हिसार्ये ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. (Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As दिन्वन्त्रम्, दिन्वन्तीयम् from इविः प्रीजन्त्यर्थः ॥)

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्क्येण, here a guttural and a vowel i. e. 2 letters come between र and न् ॥ See VIII. 3. 58 in the case of य ॥

But the present sūtra is not applicable to रामान् because of the following sūtra.

१९८ । पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ३७ ॥

पदान्तस्य नस्य जस्य न स्यात् । यामात् ॥

198. Of a न final in a Pada, ज is not the substitute.

Thus यामात् ॥

१९९ । यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् । १ । ४ । १३ ॥

यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात्क्रियते तदादि शब्दस्वरूपं तस्मिन्प्रत्यये परेऽङ्गसंज्ञं स्यात् । भवामि भविष्यामीत्यादी । विकरणविशिष्टस्याऽङ्गसंज्ञार्थं तदादिमहत्तम् । विधिरिति किम् । स्त्री इयती । प्रत्यये किम् यत्रञ्च । प्रत्यय-विशिष्टस्य ततोऽप्यधिकस्य वा ना भूत् ॥

199. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base or stem, (anga).

Note:—The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih a precept, i. e. a rule enjoining an affix; tadādi, that which begins therewith; pratyaye—in a pratyaya i. e. when a pratyaya follows; is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + त् = कर्ता he will do, हृत् = हर्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ get the name अंग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84); similarly because उपठु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhi'd in औपठवः &c.

The word कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix त् &c. उपठु + णञ् = औपठवः; कापठ् + वः. Here upaḥ and kapatu are anga with regard to अण. Similarly कृ + ण्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short ण is lengthened by VII. 3. 101; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i. e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate vikarṇas like sya &c., or इद् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + नुम् + इ = कुण्डन् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa + num + i = kuṇḍan + i = kuṇḍāni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word "vidhi" "enjoined" in the sūtra? Observe
इयती ॥

Here the word इयती "this much or as much" is really an affix, as we shall show later on. But as this is not ordained after stri by any rule, the word stri does not get the designation अङ्ग before it. Not being an Anga, the इ- of stri is not elided by यत्नेतिष (VI. 4. 148. S. 311.)

That the Pronoun इयती is a mere pratyaya is shown by the history of its derivation as given below:—

इदम् + वत् = इदम् + वत् (किमिदंभ्यां वो षः VI. 2. 40. S. 1841.) the व is changed to ष ॥ The affix वत् is added to idam with the force of "measure" by V. 2. 39 read with V. 2. 40.

= इदम् + इयत् (ष changed to इय by VII. 1. 2 S. 475. आयेनयी) = ईश् + इयत् (इदम्क्विप् VI. 3. 90 S. 1018.)

= O + इयत् (ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 यत्नेतिष) = इयत् + डीप् = इयती Feminine.

Thus इयती is really a Pratyaya, for the base इदम् is altogether elided.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यये "when the affix follows" in the sūtra? For would not the word तत्रादि limit the designation अङ्ग to that only after which there was actually an affix?

Ans. No. Because without the word प्रत्यये the sūtra would have run thus "after whatsoever is an affix enjoined, that which begins therewith is called an Anga." In this view, we could not get the form वज्रश्च the 3rd Per. Sing in the Perfect (लिङ्) of the root वज्रश्च 'to cut.'

This is thus formed:—

वज्रश्च + णत् = वज्रश्च + वज्रश्च + अ (VI. 1. 8, S. 2177 लिङ्धातोरेन-आसत्स्य)

= वृजश्च + वज्रश्च + अ (VI. 1. 17 S. 2408 लिङ्धातोरेन-आसत्स्योभयेनाम्)

= वज्रश्च + वज्रश्च + अ (VII. 4. 66 S. 2244 वज्रश्च and वज्रश्च स्वरः)

= व + वज्रश्च + अ (VII. 4. 60 S. 2179 वज्रश्चोभयः) = वज्रश्च ॥

If the word "pratyaye" did not exist, then the designation anga would be applied to the whole base plus the affix i. e. (वज्रश्च + अ) as a whole. That being so, व + वज्रश्च will assume the form of वज्रश्च for the व will be vocalised by VI. 1. 17. (For the अ in the place of व् will not be sthānivat by अणः पूर्वस्त्वन् पूर्वविधी; because to be sthānivat there must be an efficient cause outside (पर), as अ of णत्, but this अ of णत् was, by hypothesis included in the Anga designation. So there being no पर cause, the अ substitute of व् in व् will not be sthānivat; and not being so, it will not be considered as a samprasāraṇa vowel.) The अ of व् not being a Samprasāraṇa, the prohibition of न समसाराणे &c. VI. 1. 37 (when a semivowel has once been vocalised, there is

no vocalisation of the other semivowel that precedes it, will not apply, and so व will be vocalised to व.)

२०० । अङ्गस्य । ६ । ४ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

200. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sūtra.

२०१ । टाडसिङ्सामिनात्स्याः । ७ । १ । १२ ॥

अकारान्तावङ्गाद्यादीनां क्रमादिनास्य आदेशाः स्युः । रामेण ॥

201. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन् for the Instrumental ending आ; आव् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus रामेण the न being changed to ण ॥

२०२ । सुपि च । ७ । ३ । १०२ ॥

यप्रारौ सुपि प्रे अतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

202. Before a case-ending beginning with य or म (literally a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो दीर्घो यमि is understood here (VII. 3. 101 S. 2170).

Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम्

२०३ । अतो मिस ऐस् । ७ । १ । ९ ॥

अकारान्तावङ्गादिस ऐस् स्यात् । अनेकालस्यास्त्वर्हिष्ठः । रामैः ॥

203. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending मिस् ॥

The *śloka* ऐस् consists of more than one letter and therefore replaces the whole of this, by the rule अनेकान्वितम् सर्वस्य I. 1. 55. S. 45. Thus राम + ऐस् = रामैः

२०४ । केर्यः । ७ । १ । १३ ॥

अकारान्तावङ्गादिस्य के इत्यस्य आदेशः स्यात् । रामाय । इह त्वानिदञ्चोदेन यदिवास्य सुखमाप्नुवि चेति दीर्घः । शशिपामनसोऽनेन विप्रिर्गवित् कश्चिपातरंगेन परिभाषा तु मेव प्रथमेत । कदापि क्रमणे इत्यादिनिर्देशेन हस्या आदेशादजा । वात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

204. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus राम+ए=राम+य=रामाय. Here the य being taken to be sthānivat to ए gets also the designation of सुप् and therefore the अ of राम is lengthened before य by the rule VII. 3. 102. S. 202. The maxim संविधानलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विधानस्य. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" does not apply here. Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of ए, therefore this ए cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this ए, that the preceding अ is replaced by आय ॥ The anitya nature of this maxim is indicated by Pāṇini himself, by forming the dative of कट् as कटाय in Sūtra III. 1. 14 &c.

The ङेः is the anomalous Genitive case of the Dative ending ङे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 38 S. 382. The ङेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

So also रामाभ्याम् as before. The dative plural is formed thus राम+भ्यम्. Here applies the following Sūtra:—

२०५ । बहुवचने झल्येत् । ७ । ३ । १०३ ॥

झलादौ बहुवचने झुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्वैकारः स्यात् । रामेभ्यः । बहुवचने किम् । रामः । रामस्य । झलि किम् । रामाणाम् । झुपि किम् । पञ्चध्वम् । अदस्त्वं ॥

205. Before a case-ending beginning with म् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal stem.

As रामेभ्यः ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe रामः; रामस्य ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल् consonant? Observe रामाभ्याम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3. S. 300). Why a case-affix? Observe पञ्चध्वम्, and not पञ्चध्वम् ॥

Now, we form the Ablative Singular. राम+ङ्सि=राम+आत् (by VII. 1. 12. S. 201). Here the त् of the affix should be changed to द् by झलां अतोऽन्ते and द् will then optionally be changed to व by the following Sūtra.

२०६ । वायसने । ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अवसाने झलां करो वा स्युः । रामात् । रामाद् । हिले रूपचतुष्टयम् । रामाभ्याम् । रामेभ्यः । रामस्य । अस्य हिल्वक्षे खरि चेति अर्लेऽद्यान्तरखम्यास्तस्य स एव न तु तकारः । अल्पमात्रतया प्रयत्नेनात् । अत एव सः सीति मदिश आरभ्यते ॥

206. The चर is optionally the substitute of a अल that occurs in a Pause.

The words **अनधि च** is understood in the *sūtra*. A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause: but not an aspirate consonant. By VIII. 2. 39, S. 84, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus **रमात्** or **रमाद्**. The final **त्** and **द्** may be doubled by **अनधि च** (VIII. 4. 47) we get four forms as **रमात्** or **रमाच्च** or **रमाद्** or **रमाद्ध** ॥ *N. B.*—This is not approved by Tatvabodhini, as the meaning of the *sūtra* **अनधि च** is that after a vowel every consonant except **ह** may be doubled provided that a *consonant* follows; for the word **अनधि** 'non-vowel' does not mean absence of *all* letters, but rather the absence of vowels only. Inferentially there must be a consonant. Bhattoji has taken the negation in **अनधि** in the sense of Prasajya pratishedha; while the proper view is to take it as a Paryudāsa pratishedha.

So also राजभाष्य; रामेभ्यः; रामस्य ॥ In रामस्य when the स is doubled, this स will not be changed to ष by खरिच VIII. 4. 55. S. 121. but it will remain as स only, because there is difference between स and ष as regards effort, the स being मल्ल प्राण. Had ष and स been the same, and had ष been produced by 'खरिच' then there would have been no need of teaching the substitution of स by ष in Sûtras like VIII. 4. 49. S. 2342.

२०७ । ओसि च । ७ ! ३ । २०४ ॥

प्लोधि परे षनौऽङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रामयोः ॥

207. Before the case-ending ओत्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As रामे + औःसु = रामयः

Now, we have to form the Genitive plural :—**राम + ज्ञाम्**. Here comes the next Sūtra.

२०८ । दृश्यनष्टापो मुद् । ७ । १ । ५४ ॥

इष्टान्ताज्जगन्तावाप्सन्ताज्जाह्वावरस्यामो मुदागमः स्यात् ॥

208. The augment **इ** is added before the Genitive Plural ending **आम्**, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadi (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix **आ** ॥

A. 5 灯网 + 网 + 雷打网 11

At this stage applies the next Sūtra.

२०९ । नामि । ६ । ४ । ३ ॥

नामि परेऽञन्ताङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाणाम् । छुवि चेति दीर्घो यद्यपि परस्तथापीह न प्रवर्तते ।
सन्निपातपरिभाषाविरोधात् । नामीत्यनेन त्वास्मैसान्ध्यात्परिभाषा बाध्यते । रामि । रामयोः । छुवि एष्वे कृते ॥

209. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment लुट्).

Thus राम + नाम् = रामाणाम् ॥

The sūtra छुविष (VII. 3. 102. S. 202) would also have caused lengthening and being a subsequent one would also have applied, yet it does not apply here, because of the *Paribhāṣhā* सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरन्निमित्तं तद्विपातस्य ॥ '(That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).' But the very fact that this sūtra is enunciated here debars the above *Paribhāṣhā*.

Now, we have to form the Locative Singular ;—राम + इ = रामे ॥ So also रामयोः ॥ The plural will be राम + छु = रामे + छु (VII. 3. 103. S. 205.) At this stage applies the following sūtra.

२१० । अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः । ८ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आपातपरिसमाप्तिरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

210. Upto the end of the third Pāda of the VIIIth. Book, is throughout to be supplied the following : "A cere-bral letter is substituted always in the room of——, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word."

२११ । इष्कोः । ८ । ३ । ५७ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

211. From this, upto the end of the third chapter of the VIIIth. Book, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following :—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes."

The word इष् is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लष् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels इ is only efficient : so that only is taken in the translation. कृ means the letters of the क class. Thus इष्कोः is supplied in VIII. 3. 59, to complete the sense.

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

सहेः साहः स इति सूत्रात् स इति चतुर्थस्य परमनुवर्तते । इणकवर्गभ्यां परस्यापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्य-
यापययश्च यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । विवृतापोपस्य सस्य तादृश एव यः । रामेषु । इण्कोः किम् ।
रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । छुरीः । छुरिसौ । छुरिसः । अपदान्तस्य किम् । इरिस्तथ । एवं कृष्णपुङ्ग-
न्मादयः ॥

212. *स्* is substituted for that *स्* which is a substi-
tute (of the *स्* of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64. S. 2264),
or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above men-
tioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58. S. 211, 424), of being
preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स
from VIII. 3. 56. Therefore, the स is replaced by य both being *Vīrita* and
Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण् vowel or कृ' ?
Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute स or that which is an affix' ?
Observe छुरीः ; छुरिसौ ; छुरिसः the स here is part of the Churādi root सिस् "to
go," and is neither a substituted स nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we say
'not final in a Pada' ? Observe इरिस्तथ ॥ Similarly should be declined
अण, वृकुन् and all other words ending in अ ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम ।	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ ।	रामौ	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामयोः
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः ।	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणां	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS.

२१३ । सर्वोदीनि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वोदीनि सर्ववस्तूनानि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । सङ्गन्तस्यापीयं संज्ञा । इन्द्रे ऋषिः सावनाम् । तेन
सर्वसर्वेति च । सर्ववस्तूनामिषाकस्य मित्रानि ॥

213. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called
sarvanāma or pronouns.

have the form परमसर्वम् with the affix चञ् (V. 3. 10 S. 1957.) The word परम् ending in *sarva* gets the name of *sarvanama* and therefore the affix *trai* is added to it. Similarly परमसर्वकञ्. Here the affix अकञ् is added by V. 3. 71 S. 2026.

२१४ । जसः शी । ७ । १ । १७ ॥

अदन्तात्सर्वनामः परस्य जसः शी स्यात् । अनेकात्स्वात्सर्वविशः । नन्वार्धणस्तु इत्यादादिषु नाम्ना-
न्धकृतननेकाद्वयमिति वाच्यम् । सर्वविशस्यात्रागिस्तेज्ञाया एवाभावात् । सर्वे ॥

214. After a pronominal stem ending in अ, ई (शी) is substituted for the nominative plural (जस्)

The substitute is long ई for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 19, S. 310 which gives in the dual the forms like जार्वी, मधुवी. In the case of सर्वे and words ending in अ, it matters little whether the substitute be short इ or long ई for their *sandhi* will always result in ए.

The substitute शी consists of more than one letter namely of श and ई, and therefore it replaces the whole of the *Stāni* जस् (I. 1. 55 S. 45)

It is not like the substitute वृ &c. of the Sūtra VI. 4. 127. S. 364 which replaces the final वृ of अर्वन् &c, for वृ is an affix of which कृ is an anubandha, and the following Paribhāṣhā applies to it.

Prāibhāṣhā:—(That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.

But शी like डा and षो is not put down as an affix in Pāṇini's Grammar and therefore their initials ड् and ष् are not Anubandhas. For the Sūtras I. 3. 7 and 8 S. 189 and 195 are applicable only to *Pratyayas*. But शी is nowhere originally taught as a *Pratyaya*. It becomes a *Pratyaya* only then when it replaces the whole of जस् and before such substitution शी not being a *pratyaya* the श् cannot be called इत्; when it is substituted for the whole of जस् then it becomes a *pratyaya* and then its श् becomes an Anubandha.

Note:—The opinion of Sekhara is that श् of शी is इत् from its very beginning; because it is liable to elision (इत्संज्ञायोगत्वमनुबन्धत्वम्) and so the whole affix जस् is replaced because the substitute is सिद् ॥

Thus सर्व + जस् = सर्व + शी = सर्व + ई = सर्वे.

२१५ । सर्वनामः स्मै । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

अतः सर्वनामो ङे इत्यस्य स्मै स्यात् । सर्वस्मै ॥

215. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

Thus सर्वस्मै ।

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

सहिः साहः स इति सूत्रात्स इति षउपन्तं पवनमुपवर्तेते । इण्कार्वाभ्यां परस्यापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्य-
यावयवश्च यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । विवृताघोषस्य सस्य तादृश एव यः । रामेषु । इण्कोः किय ।
रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किय । सुवीः । सुविस्त्वा । सुविस्त्वाः । अपशन्नस्य किम् । हरिस्तस्य । एवं कृष्णवृद्ध-
न्वाद्यः ॥

212. *स्* is substituted for that *स्* which is a substi-
tute (of the *स्* of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI. 1. 64. S. 2264),
or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above men-
tioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58. S. 211, 424), of being
preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII. 3. 55, as well as स
from VIII. 3. 56. Therefore, the स is replaced by स् both being *Vicrita* and
Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण् vowel or कु'?
Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute स् or that which is an affix? Observe
सुवीः ; सुविस्त्वा ; सुविस्त्वाः the स् here is part of the Churādi root वित् "to
go," and is neither a substituted स् nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we say
'not final in a Pada'? Observe हरिस्तस्य ॥ Similarly should be declined
कृष्ण, वृद्धन् and all other words ending in ञ ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम !	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ !	रामौ	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामे
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः !	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणां	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS.

२१३ । सर्वोद्दीनि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वोद्दीनि सर्वस्वरूपाणि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । तदन्तस्थापीयं संज्ञा । द्वन्द्वे चेति ज्ञापकम् । तेन
परमसर्वमेति पक्षः । परमभवकमित्यपान्त्यसिद्धिर्नि ॥

213. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called
sarvanāma or pronouns.

(The words ending in sarva &c. are also sarvanāma. This we infer
from the Sūtra इत्ये च I. 1. 31. S. 224 which prohibits the application of the
term Sarvanāma to Dvanda compounds) (That is in all other compounds
except Dvandva, the words ending in Sarva &c. are sarvanāmas. For
some other exceptions see I. 1. 29. and 30. S. 222 and 223.) Therefore, we

have the form परमसर्वम् with the affix चत् (V. 3. 10 S. 1957.) The word परम् ending in *sarva* gets the name of *sarvanama* and therefore the affix *trai* is added to it. Similarly परमनयकम्. Here the affix अकच् is added by V. 3. 71 S. 2026.

२१४ । जसः शी । ७ । १ । १७ ॥

अवन्तास्सर्वनामः परस्य जसः शी. स्यात् । अनेकाह्स्वास्तर्वादेशः । सभार्धणस्तु इत्यादिषु नाहु-
बन्धकृतमनेकाह्स्वमिति वाच्यम् । सर्वदेशस्वात्वागिस्संज्ञाया एवाभावात् । सर्वे ॥

214. After a pronominal stem ending in अ, ई (शी) is substituted for the nominative plural (जस्)

The substitute is long ई for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 19, S. 310 which gives in the dual the forms like चार्णे, मधुनी. In the case of सर्व and words ending in अ, it matters little whether the substitute be short इ or long ई for their *sandhi* will always result in ए.

The substitute शी consists of more than one letter namely of श and ई, and therefore it replaces the whole of the *Stāni* जस् (I. 1. 55 S. 45)

It is not like the substitute हृ &c. of the Sūtra VI. 4. 127. S. 364 which replaces the final न् of अर्वन् &c, for न् is an affix of which हृ is an anubandha, and the following Paribhāṣhā applies to it.

Prāibhāṣhā:—(That which, when destitute of Anubandhas, consists of only one letter, must) not (be considered) to contain more letters than one when (one or more) Anubandhas are attached to it.

But शी like डा and शे is not put down as an affix in Pāṇini's Grammar and therefore their initials हृ and श् are not Anubandhas. For the Sūtras I. 3. 7 and 8 S. 189 and 195 are applicable only to *Pratyayas*. But शी is nowhere originally taught as a *Pratyaya*. It becomes a *Pratyaya* only then when it replaces the whole of जस् and before such substitution शी not being a *pratyaya* the श् cannot be called इन्; when it is substituted for the whole of जस् then it becomes a *pratyaya* and then its श् becomes an Anubandha.

Note:—The opinion of Sekhara is that श् of शी is इन् from its very beginning; because it is liable to elision (इत्संज्ञायोग्यत्वनुवर्धत्तम्) and so the whole affix जस् is replaced because the substitute is चित् ॥

Thus सर्व + जस् = सर्व + शी = सर्व + ई = सर्वे.

२१५ । सर्वनामः स्मै । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

अतः सर्वनामो ङे इत्यस्य स्मै स्यात् । सर्वस्मै ॥

215. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ, स्मै is substituted for the ए of the Dative.

Thus सर्वस्मै ।

२१६ । ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

अतः सर्वनामो ङसिङ्योरेतौ स्तः । सर्वस्मात् ॥

216. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ; there is substituted स्मात् for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात् ।

२१७ । आमि सर्वनामः सुट् । ७ । १ । ५२ ॥

अवर्णान्तात्सर्वनामो विहितस्यामः सुडागमः स्यात् । एत्त्वपत्वे । सर्वेदाम् । सर्वस्मिन् । शेषं रामवत् एवं विश्वादयोऽप्यवन्ताः ।

सर्वादिष्व षञ्चविंशत् । सर्व, विश्व, उभ, उभय, उत्तर, उत्तर, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, एत, त्व, नेम, सम, सिम ।

पूर्वपरावस्थाषोत्तपराधराणि व्यवस्थायां संज्ञायाम् । स्वमज्ञाविधनारण्यायाम् । अन्तरं वदिर्यो-
गोपसंन्यासयोः ।

स्वदे, सद, यद, एतद्, इदम्, अहम्, एक, द्वि, शुष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवद्, किम्, इति ।

उभयशब्दो द्विवचिद्विष्टस्य वाचकः । अत एव निवृत्त्यं द्विवचनान्तः । सत्येह पाठस्तु उभयवि-
ष्टकजर्थः । नप कृमन्त्येनेहसिद्धिः । द्विवचनपरत्वाभावेनोभयत उभयवेत्यादाविनायकप्रसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ॥
उभयोऽप्यनेति ॥ अन्यथेति द्विवचनपरत्वाभावे ।

उभयशब्दस्य द्विवचनं नास्तीति कैयटः । नास्तीति हरश्चतः । तस्माज्जस्यभादेशस्य स्थानि-
शब्देन तद्यप्यस्यमान्ततया प्रथमश्चरमेति विकल्पं प्रापे विभक्तिनिरपेक्षत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वान्निर्येव संज्ञा
भवति । उभये ।

उत्तरउत्तमौ प्रायशो । यद्यपि संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययमहणे तदन्तमहर्णं नास्ति । सुमिक्त्वमिति
ज्ञापकान् । तथापीह तदन्तमहर्णम् । कैयटयोः संज्ञायाः प्रयोक्तृताभावात् ।

अन्यतरान्यतमशब्दावधुम्पत्नौ स्वभावाद्द्विवचनवचने निर्धारणे शक्ते । तत्रान्यतमशब्दस्य मणे
पाठमात्रात् संज्ञा ।

त्य ए इति द्वाप्यवन्ताधन्यपर्यायो । एके वत्तचोऽप्युत्तुवात् इत्येके । एकस्तान्त इत्यपरे ।

नेम इत्यर्थे । समः सर्वपर्यायः । तुल्यपर्यायस्तु नेह गृह्यते । यथासंख्यनमुष्यः समानामिति
ज्ञापकान् ॥

अन्तरं वदिर्येति गणसुदेऽपुगीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अन्तरायां पुटि ॥

217. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning.

The word आम् of the last sūtra is understood here. Thus सर्वेदाम्. (The व is changed to ए by VII. 3. 103. S. 205 and the स् is changed to ए) सर्वादिष्व. The rest of the declension of एव is like राम.

Note:—But अवगम of भवत् ॥ The आम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII. 3. 116 S. 270;

for that नाम् takes the augments याद्, आद् or स्याद् (VII. 3. 112-114), while the present नाम् takes सुद् or नुद् ॥ Nor the नाम् of the Perfect Tense (III. 1. 35 &c.), because that refers to verb and not to Sarvanāmas; nor the नाम् of V. 4. 11, for the same reason. The word नामि is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII. 1. 53. For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (नामः सर्वनामः सुद्), because सर्वनामः being in the Ablative case, the augment सुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

Other *Sarvanāmas* ending in अ as विद्वा &c., are similarly declined.

The *Sarvanāmas* are thirty-five in number, namely:—1 सर्व 'all,' 2 विद्वा 'all,' 3 द्वय 'two,' 4 उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix 5 उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix 6 ज्ञान as कतम 'which of many,' 7 अन्य 'other,' 8 अन्यतर 'either,' 9 इतर 'other,' 10 स्वद् 'other,' 11 स्व 'other,' 12 नेम 'half,' 13 सम 'all,' 14 स्निम 'whole.' So also 15 पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' 16 पर 'subsequent,' 17 अपर 'west or posterior,' 18 दक्षिण 'south or right,' 19 उत्तर 'north or inferior,' 'subsequent,' 20 अपर 'other or inferior,' 21 अपर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also 22 स्व when it does not mean a kinsman or a treasure, but means 'own.' So also 23 अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma. 24 स्यद् 'he, she, it,' 25 तद् 'he, she, it,' 26 यद् 'who,' 27 एतद् 'this,' 28 इदम् 'it,' 29 अहम् 'that,' 30 एक 'one,' 31 द्वि 'two,' 32 युष्मद् 'you,' 33 अस्मद् 'I,' 34 भवद् 'you,' 35 किम् 'what.'

The word उभय 'both' is always used in the dual number; as उभौ, उभयाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal; as उभक्नौ ॥

Q. But, could not the same purpose have been served by adding the affix क् by sūtra V. 3. 70. S. 2025?

Ans. No. (For, the affix अकच् being added before the final vowel of उभ leaves the उभ always a dual word on the maxim तन्मध्यपक्षितस्तद्वपक्षेण गृह्यते i. e. "(Any term) that may be employed (in Grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) inserted in that (which is actually denoted by it)." Therefore, अकच् being inserted in उभ does not change its character of always being in the dual, while क् being added to it would have destroyed that character.) Had it lost its character of being always a dual, then in the case of क् affix, it would have required the insertion of अकच् by sūtra V. 2. 44. S. 1845 as it takes it before the affixes च and तच् in उभयत्वा, उभयत्वा ॥ Therefore Katyāyana has said,

Vārtika :—The word *द्वय* is used in other places where the sense of dual is not necessary. According to Kaiyata, *द्वय* has no dual number ; but according to Haradatta it has. Therefore, before the affix *जस्* (Nom. Pl.), the substitute *अयच्* (V. 2. 44. S. 1845) being considered as *स्थानिबन्ध* to *द्वय* which it replaces, the word *द्वय* is considered as ending in *द्वयप्* and therefore it would have been optionally a *sarvanāma* by the sūtra I. 1. 3 3. S. 226. But the affix *अयच्* being added irrespective of any *विभक्ति*, it is an *antaranga* rule and therefore, it makes *द्वय* always and not optionally a *sarvanāma*. Thus *द्वये* but never *द्वया* : ॥

The words *इतर* and *इतम* in the above list are affixes ordained by VII. 1. 25. S. 315 and V. 3. 92 S. 2047 &c. By giving these affixes in this list, it is meant that the words ending in these affixes are *सर्वनाम* ॥ This is according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—"An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in Grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself."

Q. If so, then the words ending in *सर्प* and *तप्त* should also be called *प* (I. 1. 22. S. 2003).

Ans. This is not so, according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—"An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix."

The employment of the word *अन्त* (in *सुनिश्चिन्त* 'that which ends with 'Sup or Tin') in I. 4. 14. S. 29. indicates (the existence of) this *Paribhāṣā*; for, if the *Paribhāṣā* did not exist, *अन्त* would be superfluous, because *सुनिश्चिन्त* alone would, in accordance with the preceding *Paribhāṣā*, denote that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tin'."

Q. But this is also a *संज्ञा विधि* and therefore the affixes *इतर*, *इतम* should not denote the words ending in those affixes.

Ans. In spite of the above *Paribhāṣā*, the affixes *इतर*, *इतम* denote here the words ending in those affixes. (Because giving these affixes the name of *sarva-nāma*, would be useless, because nowhere in this Grammar, these affixes by themselves have been treated as *Sarva-nāma*.)

The words *अन्यतर* and *अन्यतम* are not derivative words formed by the affixes *इतर* and *इतम*, but are considered as primary words, and, therefore, they naturally denote *निर्धारण* specifying *अन्यतर* denoting, *निर्धारण* of one out of two, and *अन्यतम* denoting *निर्धारण* or determination of one out of many. (In other words, they do not get the force of *निर्धारण* by virtue of sūtras V. 3. 92 and 93 S. 2047 and 2048 but by their inherent force. The word *अन्यतम*, however, not being real in the above list of *sarvanāmas* is not a *Sarvanāma*.)

There are two अ in the above list, namely अन् and अ, having the same meaning namely "other," and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give अन् as a separate word ending in न् and say that both have anudātta accent. The word नेन means "half." The word सन् is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10. S. 128. where he uses the regular Genitive plural समान्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the Genitive plural would have been समेषाम् ॥

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तराद्यं पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

२१८ । पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । १ । १ । ३४ ॥

एतेषां व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणशाब्दात्स्वयं वा प्राप्ता सा जति वा स्यात् । पूर्वे पूर्वाः ॥ स्वाभिधेयापेक्षावभिधिनयो व्यवस्था । व्यवस्थायां किम् । दक्षिणा गायकाः । कुशला इत्यर्थः । असंज्ञायां किम् । उत्तराः कुरुवः ॥

218. The words pūrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' uttara 'north,' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāma, before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of Sarvanāmas. They are always sarvanāmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, i. e., (when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than vyavasthā or the fixed limit with regards to their own meaning, limit in time and space, they are not sarvanāmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a Sarvanāma, as, दक्षिणा गायकाः 'clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरुवः 'the Northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a Proper Noun (like Northmen).

When these seven words are sarvanāma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural when they may be declined either as sarvanāmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prāpta-vibhāṣā.

२१९ । स्वयञ्जातिधनान्यथायाम् । १ । १ । ३५ ॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यथायाम् स्वयञ्जस्य वा प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जति वा स्यात् । स्वे । स्वाः । आत्मीया इत्यर्थः । ज्ञातान् इति वा । ज्ञातिधनवाधिनस्तु स्वाः । ज्ञातव्योऽर्था वा ।

The word 'एक' when denoting a numeral is always singular. But in any other meaning, it may have other numbers also, as एकै, एकैषाम् ('of some'). 'एक' has eight meanings.

२२२ । न बह्व्रीहि । १ । १ । २६ ॥

बह्व्रीहि षिडीर्षिते सर्वनामसंज्ञा न स्यात् । स्वकं पिता यस्य स स्वत्वपितृकः । अहकं पिता यस्य स मत्त्वपितृकः । इह समासाश्वानंद प्रक्रियायावयवे सर्वनामसंज्ञा निषिध्यते । अन्यथा सौमिके विषयवाच्ये द्वय तत्राप्येकम् प्रयत्नेत् । स 'अ' समासेऽपि श्रूयेत् । अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तमतिभक्त्यागतिपत् । भाष्यकारस्तु स्वत्वपितृका मत्त्वपितृक इति रूपे द्वावपि कुर्वन्तस्त्वं प्रत्यापद्यौ । यद्योत्तरं वृत्तीनां प्रामाण्यम् । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतास्तु न सर्वाद्यः । महासंज्ञाकरणेन बहुवृत्तानामपि वगे संनिवेशात् । अतः संज्ञाकार्यगत-
र्गवकायै 'अ' तेषां न भवति । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्सर्व सर्वाय देहि । अतिक्रान्तः सर्वमनिसर्वस्तसौ अतिसर्वाय देहि । अतिक्रतरं कुलम् । अतितत् ॥

222. The words sarva &c., are not Sarvanāma when they are intended to be employed in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus स्वकं पिता यस्य = स्वत्वपितृकः । Similarly, अहकं पिता यस्य = मत्त्वपितृकः । Here the affix अकच् is added by sūtra V. 3. 71 S. 2026 in the sense of contempt or unknown relationship. Here before the taking place of the compound, the name of the *sarvanāma* is prohibited with regard to the words स्वत्वकच् and अहकच् other wise, in ordinary language, the word अकच् would have been used, as it is employed, in the above analytical stage. This अकच् would have been retained even in the compound, as it is retained in the compound अतिमहकन् whose analysis is अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तम्. But the word स्वन् and मन् not being treated as a *sarvanāma* take only the ordinary affix क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and not the affix अकच्. Had they been treated as *sarvanāma* then अकच् would have been inserted before न् by V. 3. 71 S. 2026 giving the forms स्वकन् and महकन् and these forms would have been retained in the compound.

But Patanjali has given the forms स्वत्वपितृकः- and मत्त्वपितृकः and has shown the futility of having made this Sūtra at all. According to his opinion, this Sūtra is unnecessary. Therefore, according to the maxim, when the three sages differ, the opinion of the last one is authoritative, we should follow the opinion of Patanjali in this matter.

Vārtika :—The words सर्व &c. when employed as proper names (संज्ञा) or as a secondary member of a compound (उपसर्जन) are not to be declined as *sarvanāma*. (This we infer by Panini's using such a big word as Sarvanāma, instead of making a short technical name like द्वि &c.) Therefore सर्व &c. are Sarvanāmas when they have the meaning of "all &c." as given above in the list, because only those words have been included in the list

which have the appropriate meaning of "all" &c, and not words which denote something else, though their form may be "sarva &c." (Because in the list such words are only included which have the attributes of the thing defined.) Therefore, the rules applicable to these words by the fact of being called *sarvanāma* संज्ञाकार्यम् or the rules applicable to portions of them by the fact of their being enumerated in this list अन्तरगणकार्यम् do not apply. Thus the rules VII. 1. 25. S. 315, VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and VII. 2. 106. S. 381. are rules of अन्तर गण कार्यम्, that is rules which have taken up particular portions of words given in this list. These rules do not apply to words when they are used as संज्ञा and उपसर्जन. Therefore if सर्व be the name of a person, the dative will be सर्वाय, as सर्वाय देहि "give to the person called Sarva" Here the dative is not सर्वस्मै. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanama, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि "give to (him who is) Above-all." Similarly अतिक्रतरं कुन्म्. Here there is not the substitution of अद्द् as required by sūtra VII. 1. 25. S. 315. For क्रतर would have formed क्रतरन् but अतिक्रतर does not form अतिक्रतरन् but अतिक्रतरम् because here क्रतर is उपसर्जन and therefore अन्तर गण कार्यम् rule VII. 1. 25 S. 315 does not apply. Similarly अतितत्. Here VII. 2. 102 S. 265 requiring the substitution of त् for the final of तद् and the rule VII. 2. 106. S. 381 requiring the substitution of स for the non-final स do not apply. For though the ordinary form of Nominative Singular of तद् is तस्, the compound of तद् with अस्ति will not be अतिसः in the nominative, but अतितत्.

२२३ । तृतीयासमासे । १ । १ । ३० ॥

गण सर्वनामता न स्यात् । मासपूर्वाय । तृतीयासमासार्थान्धेयवि न । मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

223. In the Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासिनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word māsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e. g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै; ॥ The same will be the case even when there is no compounding, but the sense is of the Instrumental compound; as मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

२२४ । द्वन्द्वे च । १ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वन्द्वे वचना संज्ञा न । दण्डाभ्येदराजाभ्य । सप्तमादस्यायं निवेधो न तदवधानाम् । यथेदं तदन्त-
विधिनाद्युपसङ्गः सर्वनामो विहितस्यानः मुद्रिणि व्याख्यातस्यात् ।

224. And in the Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva etc., are not sarvanāma.

Thus वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् ॥ This sūtra prohibits the designation Sarvanāma with regard to the whole compound, and not with regard to its various members. The word इतर therefore is already a Sarvanāma. Then there arises the following difficulty. Why should not सुद् be added to आम् in the genitive plural, giving us the form वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम् ? We reply, that आम् gets सुद् only then when it is ordained after a Sarvanāma. Here it is not ordained after a Sarvanāma, but after a Dvanda compound which is not a Sarvanāma.

This prohibition applies to the compound as a whole and not to its various members. If so, why should not the augment सुद् come before the genitive plural affix आम् (VII. 1. 52. S. 217) in the case of इतर also here, by the rule of हन्कश्चिद्. This is not so because in explaining that sūtra, we have used the word विहितस्य i. e. सुद् is added only to that आम् which is specifically ordained after a Sarvanāma and not to every आम् in general. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतरा means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others.' The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the Genitive plural we have:—वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वपरणाम् of the priors and the posteriors.

२२५ । विभाषा जसि । १ । १ । ३२ ॥

वत्साधारं यत्कार्यं शिभावाख्यं तत्र कर्तव्ये एन्द्रे वक्तुं संज्ञा या स्यात् । वर्णाश्रमेतरे । वर्णाश्रमेतराः । शीर्षार्थं प्रत्येव विभाषित्युक्तमत्रो वाक्यम् । किन्तु कर्मण्य एव । वर्णाश्रमेतराः ॥

225. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma, when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

It declares that before the termination जम् (which is the termination of the nominative plural and which in the pronominals is replaced by जी), the dvandva compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतरा may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or वर्णाश्रमेतरे, that is, the word may take either जम् or जी. ॥

The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st. pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 224 is absolute. Thus, वर्णाश्रमेतराः Here अकच् is not added but क only in the plural. This affix अकच् (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

२२६ । अथसचरमतयालपाङ्गेकतिपयनेमाश्च । १ । १ । ३३ ॥

एते जसः कार्ये प्रत्युक्तसंज्ञा या स्युः । अथने । अथवाः । शेषं रामवत् । सत्यः प्रत्ययः संज्ञासंज्ञा वाप्याः । द्वितये । द्वितयाः । शेषं रामवत् । नेने । नेमाः । शेषं सर्ववत् । विभाषाप्रकारेण तीक्ष्णं द्वित्वं पश्ययानम् ० ॥ द्वितीये । द्वितीयायेत्यादि । एवं तृतीयाः । अर्थसदृशमणोरह । पटुशालीवाय । निर्वर्तः ॥

226. And also the words *prathama* 'first'; *charama* 'last,' as well as words ending with the affix *taya* (V. 2. 42); *alpa* 'few', *ardha* 'half', *katipaya* 'some,' and *nema* 'half' are optionally *sarvanāma*, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरेम or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्धे or अर्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix *कसु* follows" are understood in this sūtra. By the word *तय* in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix *तय*. The rest are *pratipadikas* or crude bases. The word *नेम* has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called *prāpta-vibhāṣā*, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like *सम*, the rest of its declension is like *sarva*, while in the case of *prathama* &c. the nom. pl. may be like *sarva*, but the rest of their declension must be like that of *सम*. The word *ubhaya*, has been formed by the addition of the affix *तय*, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra, its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix *kan* or *akach* must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then *akach*, otherwise *kan*.

Vart:—The words formed by the affix *तीय* such as, *द्वितीय* and *तृतीय*, are optionally declined as *sarvanāma* before the case-affixes having an indicative *ङ* (*ङिन्*), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, *द्वितीयस्यै* or *द्वितीयाय*, *तृतीयाय* or *तृतीयस्यै*.

Paribhāṣā.—(A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in Grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.

Therefore *षट्पञ्चासीयाय* and not *षट्पञ्चासीयस्यै*. Here the affix is *आसीय* and not *सीय*, and in the affix *आसीय*, the portion *सीय* has no independent meaning of its own.

Here ends the declension of *Sarvanamans*.

सर्वे

	Nom	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	सर्वः	हे सर्व	सर्वे	सर्वेण	सर्वेभ्य	सर्वेभ्याम्	सर्वस्य	सर्वेति
Dual	सर्वौ	" सर्वौ	सर्वौ	सर्वोभ्याम्	सर्वोभ्याम्	सर्वोभ्याम्	सर्वयोः	सर्वेभ्यः
Pl.	सर्वे	" सर्वे	सर्वान्	सर्वैः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेषाम्	सर्वेषु

Now, we take up the declension of the word निर्जर ॥ The Nominative Singular will be निर्जर + सु = निर्जरः ॥ The nominative dual will be निर्जर + औ ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

२२७ । जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । २ । १०१ ॥

जरायादस्य जरास् या स्यादजादी विभक्तौ । पदद्वयाधिकारे तस्य सङ्गतस्य च । व्यनेकात्स्वार्थवद्देशे प्राप्ते । निर्विशेष्यत्वस्वदेश्याभ्युपगमः । एकदेश्याधिकृतस्यान्यस्यात् जराजस्य जरास् । निर्जरस्यौ । निर्जरसः । इनादीन् साधित्वा, परत्वाज्जरस् । निर्जरसा । निर्जरसे । निर्जरसः । पक्षे हलादौ च समवन् । वृत्तिकृता तु पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन इनादौः कृतत्वाः संनिपातपरिभाषाया अभिव्यक्त्याश्रित्य जरासि कृते निर्जरसि निर्जरसादिति रूपे न तु निर्जरसा निर्जरस इति केचिदित्युक्तम् । तथा निशि निर्जरसौरिति रूपान्तरमुक्तम् ॥ तदुत्पत्तिभिन्न पक्षेकवचने निर्जरस्येति रूपं स्वीकृतम् । एतच्च भाष्यविरुद्धम् ॥

227. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

By the *Paribhāṣā* :—(A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) पद् or अङ्ग is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base). The substitute जरस् will come in the case of निर्जर also.

The substitute जरस् consists of more than one letter and therefore by sūtra I. 1. 55. S. 45, should it not replace the whole of निर्जर ? No, because of the following

Paribhāṣā :—Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated. Therefore जरस् will replace the जर portion of निर्जर and not the whole. But the rule is “जरा is replaced by जरस्” There is no जरा with long आ in निर्जर, then why should there be any substitution ? But this substitution takes place according to the *Paribhāṣā* :—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place). Therefore जर of निर्जर is considered the same as निजरा ॥

Thus निर्जर + औ = निर्जरसु + औ = निर्जरसौ . The plural will be निर्जरसः ॥

The Instrumental singular will be formed by वा as निर्जरसा. The substitute vibhakti ending इन् or आत् is debarred by जरस् and does not take place in the case of निर्जर. Thus निर्जरसा ; निर्जरसे &c.

In the other alternative and also before the case affixes beginning with consonants, the declension of निर्जर will be like राम ॥

According to the Vṛttikāra the affixes इन् and आत् will come by the rule of pūrva-vipratishedha, prohibition in anticipation ; and as the संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application, the Instrumental and Ablative singular forms will

be निर्जस्तिन् and निर्जस्तात् and not निर्जस्ता and निर्जस्तः. The Instrumental Plural will be निर्जस्तैः। Those who follow this opinion make the Genitive singular निर्जस्तस्य॥ But all this is against the opinion of the Bhāṣyakāra.

निर्जस्ति

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	निर्जस्तः	निर्जस्ते	निर्जस्तम्	निर्जस्ता	निर्जस्ते	निर्जस्ता	निर्जस्तः	निर्जस्ते
Dual	निर्जस्तौ	निर्जस्तौ	निर्जस्तौ	निर्जस्ताभ्याम्	निर्जस्ताभ्याम्	निर्जस्ताभ्याम्	निर्जस्तोः	निर्जस्तोः
Pl.	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः

OPTIONAL FORMS

Sing.	निर्जस्तः	निर्जस्ते	निर्जस्तम्	निर्जस्ता	निर्जस्ता	निर्जस्ता	निर्जस्तः	निर्जस्ते
Dual	निर्जस्तौ	निर्जस्तौ	निर्जस्तौ	निर्जस्ताभ्याम्	निर्जस्ताभ्याम्	निर्जस्ताभ्याम्	निर्जस्तोः	निर्जस्तोः
Pl.	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः	निर्जस्ताः

२२८ । पद्मशोभास्तुतिस्तस्यैवन्दोपन्यकञ्चकन्नुदशासञ्चस्प्रभृतिषु । ६ ।

१ । ६३ ॥

पादः, इन्तः, नासिका, मासः, हृदयः, निशा, अस्त्रम्, हृत्, दोषः, यकन्, शकन्, उदकः, आस्य एषां पदस्य आदेशाः स्युः सतादिषु वा । यत्तु भाष्येनान्यस्य आसन्नदेशः इति काशिकायादुक्तं तत्प्रमाणिकम् । पादः । पादः । पादाः । पादम् । पादौ । पदः । पादम् । पदा । पादेन इत्यादि ॥

228. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are optionally substituted :—पद् for पादः, शक् for इन्तः, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मासः, हृद् for हृदयः, निष् for निशा, अस्त्रम् for अस्त्रम्, यूपन् for हृत्, दोषन् for दोषः, यकन् for यकन्, शकन् for शकन्, उदन् for उदकः and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives आसन् as the substitute for आस्य. This is a mistake. Thus पादः, पादौ, पादाः; पादम्, पादौ, पदः or पादम्, पदा or पादेन &c.

२२९ । सुदन्तुसकस्य । १ । १ । ४३ ॥

सुदन्तुसकस्यः स्वस्तिन्यवपनाग्निं सर्वनामस्थानं यज्ञानि स्युःस्तीक्ष्णस्य ॥

229. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyāhāra suṭ (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanāmasthāna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

२३० । स्यादित्यसर्वनामस्थाने । १ । ४ । १७ ॥

कथं स्यादिति ॥ स्यादित्यसर्वनामस्थाने पठतः पूर्वं पठन्त रत्नात् ॥

230. When the affixes beginning with ख (IV. 1. 2) and ending in क् (V. 4. 151.) follow, not being Sarvanāmasthāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada

२३१। यच्चि भम् । १। ४। १८ ॥

यकारादिभ्यश्चादिषु य कल्पययादिषु स्वादिभ्यस्तयनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

231. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with छ and ending in क्, follows, not being Sarvanāmasthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

२३२। आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा । १। ४। १९ ॥

इत ऊर्ध्वे कङ्कारः कर्मधारय इत्यतः मार्गेकार्थ्येकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या पराऽनवकाशा च । तेन दासादावपि भसंज्ञेय न पदत्वम् । कर्तो जडत्वं न । इतः । इता । अश्त्वम् । दग्ध्यामित्यादि । नासः । मासः । भ्यामि ह्रस्वे यत्वे च दलोपः । माभ्याम् । नाभिरित्यादि ॥

232. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadārāḥ Karmadhāraye (II.2. 38 S. 751.) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

Note. (What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2. S. 175) and that which, were its claims disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name.) As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10, S. 31 and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11, S. 32) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name i. e., 'heavy.' Thus in विद् to divide, छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging.

Thus in the root तृष् the ऋ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अतृषत् । Similarly अतृषत् । The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here, as that rule is applicable to lghu vowels only.

Therefore, in the affixes beginning with the Accusative Plural and whose initial letter is a vowel, the preceding stem gets the name of *bha* only and not that of *pada*. (The result of which is that the hard consonants are not changed into soft.) Thus the accusative Plural of इत्त is इतः. The Instrumental singular is इता ॥ The त् is not changed to द् by the जङ् rule. (But before the affixes beginning with consonants, the preceding stem gets the name of *Pada* and we have the softening of the consonants, as दग्ध्याम् &c.) Similarly Ac. Pl. मासः, Ins. Sg. मासा. Before the affix भ्याम् the ह्र of गन् will

be changed to *ṛ* which will be changed to *ṛ* which being elided, we have the forms *माभ्याम्*, *माभिः* ॥

२३३ । भस्य । ६ । ४ । १२९ ॥ अघिकारोऽयम् ॥

233. Whatever will be taught in the following up to the end of the sixth *Adhyāya*, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called *Bha* (I. 4. 18, 19 S. 231 and 1896).

२३४ । अल्लोपोऽनः । ६ । ४ । १३४ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽन्तर्यामस्यावयवादिस्त्विदपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

234. Of a *Bha* stem ending in *अन्*, the *अ* is elided.

२३५ । रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । ५ । ४ । १ ॥

एकपदस्याभ्यां रेफपकाराभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । शृष्णः शृष्णा । पूर्वसादपि विभौ स्यान्विज्ञात इति पक्षे तु अङ्गपदवाय इत्येवाय ज्ञेयम् । * पूर्वचासिद्धीये न स्यान्विदिति ह्य इह नास्ति । तस्य शेषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वमिति निषेधात् ॥

235. After *ṛ* and *ṣ*, the *ण* is the substitute of *न्*, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

Therefore the Ac. Pl of *शृण्वन्* is formed by eliding the *न्* and changing the *न्* into *ण*; as *शृष्णः*; Ins. Sg. *शृष्णा* ॥

If we apply the rule of *स्यान्विज्ञात* by *sūtra* *अथः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ* (I. 1. 57 S. 50), and this we can do by explaining the compound *pūrva-vidhau* = *purva-smād vidhau* meaning "when a rule is to be applied on account of or after something which precedes the substitute" and consider the *लोप* to be *स्यान्विज्ञात* to *अ*, in that case also the *न्* will be changed to *ण* by the rule VIII. 4. 2 S. 197. i. e. *न्* is changed to *ण* even when a vowel intervenes. But as a matter of fact, the *लोप* is not *स्यान्विज्ञात* according to the following *vārtika*.

Vārtika :—In the last three chapters of the 8th Book of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the rule of *स्यान्विज्ञात* will not apply.

२३६ । मलोपः प्रानिपदिकान्तस्य । ८ । २ । ७ ॥

येन प्रानिपदिकान् अन्तःपदिके पदे । प्रानिपदिकेऽन्तःपदे यत्पदे मन्तस्य नकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । लोपस्य लोपः स्यात् । अन्तःपदिके पदे न । शृष्णः शृष्णा । अन्तःपदिके पदे न । शृष्णः शृष्णा । अन्तःपदिके पदे न । शृष्णः शृष्णा ।

236. The *न्* at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a *Pada* (I. 4. 17 S. 230.), is elided.

The words *न्* and *प्रानिपदिक* in the text are to be taken in the genitive case; the sign of the genitive being elided here.

The elision of *न्* by this *Sūtra* being considered *asiddha* for the purpose of the application of the previous *Sūtras*, there is not the lengthening;

of sūtra VII. 3. 102 S. 202. or the ह substitution of VII. 3. 103. S. 205. or the ऐस् substitution of VII. 1. 9. S. 203. Therefore the forms are हृदभ्याम् and not हृदभ्याम्भूः; हृदयिः and not हृदयैः; हृदभ्यः and not हृदभ्यः॥

२३७ । विभाषा डिङ्योः । ६ । ४ । २३६ ॥

अङ्गावधयोऽसर्वनामस्थानयञादित्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्यकारस्य लोपो वा स्यान् डिङ्योः । हृदयि । हृदयि । पक्षे तदपत् । पक्षेति तस्य प्रभृतिषट्ठं प्रकाशयन् । तथा च । आठः त्वानां लोपत्रादेशो भाव्ये ककुदोपणी इत्युदाहृतः । तेन 'पदद्विभरणोऽस्त्रियां, स्वान्तं हन्वान्तं मन' इति च संगच्छते । भासत्यः । शेषसदस्य मर्पुसकत्वमप्यत्र एव भाष्यात् । तेन संक्षिप्यं शोनिहायर इति संगच्छते । भुजबाहू मर्वयो शोपिति साहचर्यापेक्षयापि । शोपं तस्य तथाविधस्य भजत इति । हयोत्सोर्भयो व्यङ्गः ॥

237. In a Bha-stem ending in अन्, the झ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As हृदयि or हृदयि. In all other cases the word हृदय् is declined like राजन्. The word डिङ्योः is a compound of नि and ङी and शी (not इ) for the stem is not Bha there).

The word प्रभृति in the sūtra VI. 1. 63 S. 228 is used in the sense of प्रकार i.e. the affixes therein taught, are illustrative only; the substitution will take place even when a Sarvanāmasthāna affix follows. Therefore, where the dual affix बी is replaced by शी, and it is a Sarvanāmasthāna affix there also that rule VI. 1. 63 applies, for we have in the Bhāṣya the example of ककुदोपणी. Similarly also the following are valid: "पदद्विभरणोऽस्त्रियां" here पाद् is changed before the Nom. Sg सु; which is not a weak affix, "स्वान्तं हन्वान्तं मनः" here हृदय is changed to हृद in the Nom. Sg. These are from Amara-Kośha. and भासत्यं प्राणमूत्रः "They (the Devas) said to the Prāṇa in the mouth" (Bṛihadāraṇyaka I. 3. 7). Here भास्य is changed to भासन् before the affix व् । भासन्त्ये means that which is born in the mouth. The word शेष (hand) is used in the neuter gender in the Bhāṣya of Pāṇjali. Therefore the following usage is correct:—समुपाब्रवदुत्तम्य शरीरे देविनाचारम्", शी is also masculine gender because it is used along with भुज बाहू मर्वयोः ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word बाहूः ।

२३८ । संख्याधिसायपूर्वस्याहस्याहन्यतरस्यां ली । ६ । ३ । ११० ॥

संख्याधिर्यस्याहस्याहन्तादेशो वा स्यान् ली । बाह्वि । बाह्वि । बाह्वे । विगतत्वस्यैहः । व्यह्वि । व्यह्वि । बाह्वः सायः सायाह्वः । सायाह्वि । सायाह्वे ॥

238. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह्, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय-precedes it.

Thus द्वयोर्द्वौमेव = द्वाह्, ॥ The Locative singular of this is द्वाह्नि or द्वाहनि, ॥ So also द्वाह्, ॥ With वि—व्याह्नि, व्यवहनि, व्यवहे with साय्—सायाह्नि सायाहनि, सायाहे ॥ These are एकवचनसामसः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय् ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने or मध्यम हनि, (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वोह्ने and अपराह्ने only.

Note.—The compounding in the above examples takes place by the rule II. 1. 51, S. 728, with the force of मध् IV. 3. 11. S. 1381. Thus द्वि + अहन्. Here we add the Samāsanta affix हच् by the rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 and the अहन् is replaced by अह् by V. 4. 88. S. 790. While the सञ्ज्ञितार्थ affix इम् which was ordained by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080.

Here ends the declension of masculine words ending in अ.

पाद

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	पादः	पादम्	पादेन or पदा	पादाय or पदे ।	पादान् or पदः	पादस्य or पदः	पादे or पदे
Dual	पादौ	पादौ	पादाभ्यां or पद्व्याम्	पादाभ्यां or पद्व्याम् ।	पादाभ्याम् पद्व्यां	पादयोः or पदोः	पादयोः or पदोः
Plural	पादाः	पादान् or पदः	पादैः पद्विः	पादिभ्यः or पद्व्यः ।	पादिभ्यः or पद्व्यः	पादानां or पदान्	पादेषु or पद्व्यः

दन्ति (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS ARE SHOWN BELOW)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	दन्ता	दन्ते	दन्तः	दन्तः	दन्ते
Dual	...	दन्ताभ्याम्	दन्त्याम्	दन्त्याम्	दन्तोः	दन्तोः
Plural	दन्तः	दन्तिभिः	दन्तैः	दन्तैः	दन्ताम्	दन्तुः

मास (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	मासा	मासे	मासः	मासः	मासि
Dual	...	मासाभ्याम्	मासाभ्याम्	मासाभ्याम्	मासोः	मासोः
Plural	मासः	मासिभिः	मास्यः	मास्यः	मासाम्	मासुः

शूप (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	शूपता	शूपे	शूपः	शूपः	शूपि
Dual	...	शूपताभ्याम्	शूपताभ्याम्	शूपताभ्याम्	शूपतोः	शूपतोः
Plural	शूपः	शूपताभिः	शूपतयः	शूपतयः	शूपताम्	शूपतुः

Now, we take up the declension of the masculine words ending in आ such as विश्वपा.

२३६ । दीर्घाज्जसि च । ६ । १ । १०५ ॥

दीर्घाज्जसि इति च परे मथनदेः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न स्यात् । वृद्धिः । विश्वपौ । सवर्णदीर्घः । विश्वपाः पञ्चमीद भौहि नादिर्थास्त्येव सिद्धं असि तु सत्यपि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे क्षतिर्नास्ति तथापि गौरौ गौर्ये इत्याद्यर्थे सूचयित्वापि न्याय्यत्वादुपन्यस्तम् ॥

239. The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

The long vowel required by VI. 1. 102, S. 164. does not take place in the case of words ending in long vowels. Thus Nominative Singular of विश्वपा is विश्वपौ; Nom. Dual विश्वपा + औ = विश्वपौ by the general rule of Vrddhi; and Nom. Pl. is विश्वपाः by lengthening the homogeneous letters प and वा.

In the declension of विश्वपा the above forms are regularly obtained. In the case of Nom. Dual, the lengthening required by VI. 1. 102, S. 164. is debarred by VI. 1. 104 S. 165. as well. In the case of Nom. Pl. विश्वपा + अस् (अस्) there will be no harm if VI. 1. 102 S. 164 be applied, for even that rule will give the form विश्वपाः. Therefore in the case of विश्वपा the present Sûtra is not absolutely necessary. But we have given it here for the sake of logical consistency, for this Sûtra applies to stems ending in long vowels like गौरी, the Nom. Dual and Pl. of which will be गौरौ and गौर्यः respectively.

२४० । आतो धातोः । ६ । ४ । १४० ॥

आकाशन्तो औ धातुस्तन्तस्य भस्याऽङ्गस्य लोपः स्यात् । भतीऽन्त्वस्य । विश्वपः । विश्वपाः । विश्वपाभ्यामित्यादि । एवं शङ्खभादयः । धातोः क्तिप् । हाहान् । वा सवर्णदीर्घः । हाहा । के वृद्धिः । हाहे । ङसिङ्गोर्दीर्घः । हाहाः । भौहि वृद्धिः । हाहीः । ङौ आङ्गुणः । हाहि । चप विश्वपावत् । आत इति योगादि-भागावधातोर्ध्याकारलोपः क्वचित् । तत्रः अः ॥

240. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

The *lopa* will be of the final vowel by I. 1. 52 S. 42. Therefore Accu. Pl. will be विश्वपः; Inst. Sing. विश्वपा; विश्वपाभ्याम् &c.

Like विश्वपा should be declined, शङ्खभा &c. Why do we say the आ of a root? Observe हाहान् (the accusative Pl. of हाहा). Its Instr. Sing. will be हाहा + वा = हाहा by lengthening of homogeneous vowels. Its Dat. Sing. will be हाहा + के = हाहे by Vriddhi. Its Abl. and Gen. Sing. will be हाहा + क्वसि or क्वस् = हाहा by lengthening. Its Gen. and Loc. dual will be हाहा + भोश्च = हाहीः

by Vṛiddhi. Its Loc. Sing. will be हाह्य + हि = हाँह by guṇa. The rest are like विश्वया.

By the rule of *yoga vibhaga* (योगवभागाद्वि सिद्धिः) i. e. "From a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we may derive such results as may be desirable," the present Sūtra may be divided into two Sūtras eg. (1.) आतः, the final आ of a Bha stem is always elided; (2) घातः, the final आ of a Bha Stem when it ends in a root is always elided. Thus are formed क्तः and इनः the Genitive Singulars of Ktvā and ṣṇā. For Pāṇini himself has declined क्त्वा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37. S. 3332 (समासेऽनन्तपूर्वोत्प्लव्) and III. 1. 83. S. 2557. (हल इनः घानह्यौ)

Here ends the declension of words ending in long आ.

विश्वया

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	विश्वयाः	हे विश्वयाः	विश्वयाम्	विश्वया	विश्वये	विश्वयः	विश्वयः	विश्वयि
Dual	विश्वयौ	॥ विश्वयौ	विश्वयौ	विश्वयाम्याम्	विश्वयाम्याम्	विश्वयाम्याम्	विश्वयणः	विश्वयोः
Plural	विश्वयाः	॥ विश्वयाः	विश्वयः	विश्वयाभिः	विश्वयाम्यः	विश्वयाम्यः	विश्वयाम्	विश्वयास्तु

हाहा

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Singular	हाहाः	हे हाहाः	हाहाम्
Dual	हाहौ	॥ हाहौ	हाहाम्याम्
Plural	हाहाः	॥ हाहाः	हाहाम्यः

Now we take up the declension of the word हरि. The Nom. sing. will be हरिः. Nom. Dual will be हरि + औ = हरी by lengthening the preceding vowel VI. 1. 102. S. 164. The Pl. is हरि + जस् ॥ Here applies the following.

२४१। जसि च । ७ । ३ । १०९ ॥

इत्थान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः स्याज्जसि कुरे । हरयः ॥

241. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem.

Therefore the इ of हरि is *guṇated* to ए. Thus हरि + अस् = हरे + अस् = हरयः । The Vocative Sing. will be हरि + ह्यु. Here the following rule applies.

२४२। ह्रस्वस्य गुणः । ७ । ३ । १०८ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः स्यात्संयुद्धौ । एद्दत्त्वाविधि संयुद्धिलोपः । हे हरे । हरिः । हरी । हरीम् ॥

242. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

Therefore the इ of हरि is changed to हृ and the affix is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus we get हे हरे.

The Acc. forms are हरिम्, हरी, हरीम्.

The Instr. sing is हरी + दा. Here the following two rules apply.

२४३ । शेषो घ्यसखि । १ । ४ । ७ ॥

अनर्गलस्यै ह्रस्वौ याविदुर्लौ नृदन्तं सखिबर्जे चित्तेन स्यात् । शेषः किम् । मत्तै । एकसंज्ञाधिका क्षारित्वे शेषवर्णं स्वयार्थम् । ह्रस्वौ किम् । यात्तम्ये । इदुलौ किम् । मात्रे ॥

243. 'The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

Thus हरि is a ghi word. Why do we say 'the rest of the words'? Observe मत्तै, for मति being a feminine noun does not get the name of ghi but retains its name of *nadi*; (for otherwise its declension will be मततै, formed by applying the rule VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VII. 3. 111 S. 243). But मत्तै is of course a wrong form. Though by the rule I. 4. 1. S. 232 if the word gets its designation ghi, it can never get the designation nadi and *vice versa*, and मति which is a nadi word can never be called *ghi*, and so even if the word शेष had not been used in the sūtra, there would not have been any fear of मति being confounded with a *ghi* word, still शेष is used in the sūtra for the sake of precision and clearness. Why do we say short इ and उ? Observe यात्तम्ये ॥ Why do we say इ and उ? Observe मात्रे ॥

Note.—This defines the word ghi. The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on. The word *hrasva* is understood in this sūtra. The word *shesha* or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words.'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicative ण, the ghi nouns *guṇate* their vowel VII. 3. 111. As अग्नि + हे = अग्ने + ए = अग्नये "to the fire." So also वायु + हे = वायवे "to the wind." But the declension of sakhi in these cases is:—सख्य सख्ये सख्युः and सख्यौ.

२४४ । आद्यो नास्त्रियाम् ७ । ३ । १२० ॥

येः परस्याहो ना स्यावस्त्रियाम् । अस्त्रिति दासंज्ञा प्राचाम् । हरिणा । अस्त्रियां किम् । मत्तै ॥

244. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

The word आद्य is the ancient name of the affix दा. Thus हरि + दा = हरि + ना = हरिणा. Why do we say when they are not feminine? Observe मति + दा = मत्ता.

Now we form the Dat: Sing. हरि+ङे. Here applies the following Sūtra.

२४५ । घेङिति । ७ । ३ । १११ ॥

विस्तृतस्य ङिति सुपि गुणे स्यात् । हये । वेः किम् । सख्ये । ङिति किम् । हरिभ्याम् । सुपि किम् । षट्ठी । घेङितीति गुणे कृते ॥

245. For the इ and उ of the stems called घि (I. 4. 7.) Guṇa is substituted in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular.

Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये. Why in the Singulars of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. only? Observe हरिभ्याम् ॥ The word case-ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are षट्ठी &c. ॥

The word षट्ठी is formed by adding ङीष् to षट् (IV. 1. 44 S. 502). ङीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङिन् and is added to षट् which is घि ॥

Thus हरि+ङे=हरे+ए=हये.

Now we form the Ablative singular, हरि+ङञि=हरे+अस् (the इ of हरे is *guṇated* by the present Sūtra). At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

२४६ । ङसिङसोश्च । ६ । १ । ११० ॥

एङो ङसिङसोऽपि परे पूर्वरूपमेकदेशः स्यात् । हरेः । हयोः । हरीणाम् ॥

246. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word), +अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Therefore हरे+अस्=हरेः The genitive dual will be हयोः The pl. हरीणाम् ॥

Now, we form the Loc. Sing. हरे+ङि=हरे+इ ॥ (The इ is *guṇated* by the preceding sūtra). At this stage applies the following rule.

२४७ । अद्यधेः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इदुभ्यामुचरस्य डेनौत्स्याद् घेरन्तादेशान्कारः । हरे । हयोः । हरिषु । एवं श्रीपत्यमिषयकन्या-
दयः ॥

247. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, झे is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

Therefore हरि+इ=हर+अी=हरी ॥ The Loc. du. and pl. will be हयोः and हरिषु respectively.

श्रीपति, अग्नि, रुदि, कवि &c. are declined like हरि ॥

DECLENSION OF हरि

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Sing.	हरिः	हे हरे	हरिम्	हरिणा	हरये	हरेः	हरे	हरी
Dual.	हरी	॥ हरी	हरी	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरीः	हरीः
Plural.	हरयः	॥ हरयः	हरीन्	हरिभिः	हरिभ्यः	हरिभ्यः	हरीणाम्	हरिषु

—:—:—

Now we decline the word सखि ॥ There applies the following rule.

२४८ । अन्तर्द्ध सौ । ७ । १ । ६३ ॥

सख्युत्तरस्याऽनकारविशः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे । द्विवचनविशः ॥

248. अन्तर्द्ध (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

Thus सखि + सु = सखन् + सु ॥ The अन्तर्द्ध being a द्विवचन augment, replaces the final only, and not the whole (I. I. 53 S-43). Now apply the following rules.

२४९ । अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्वं उपधा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

अन्त्यात्पूर्वं पूर्वो वर्ण उपधासंतः स्यात् ॥

249. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

Therefore in सखन्, the अ of ख is penultimate or उपधा. Being उपधा, the following rule applies to this अ.

२५० । सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ । ६ । ४ । ८ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यात्संबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

250. In a stem ending in न् the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

Therefore, the अ is lengthened and we have सखान् + सु. Now the affix सु consists of a single letter and is called अपृक्त by the following rule.

२५१ । अपृक्त एकाक्षरव्ययः । १ । २ । ४१ ॥

एकाक्षरव्ययो अः सोऽपृक्तसंतः स्यात् ॥

251. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

The result of this सू being called अवृक्त is that it is elided by the following rule:

२५२ । ह्रस्व्याध्म्यो दीर्घास्तुतिस्त्वृक्तं हल् । ६ । १ । ६८ ॥

ह्रस्वाध्म्यं दीर्घो यौ इयावौ सन्ताप्य परं तुतिर्त्वात्यंतद्वृक्तं हल् लुप्यते । ह्रस्व्याध्म्यः किम् । मासपीः । दीर्घोऽस्ति । निष्कीयाम्बिः । अतिखट्वः । तुतिर्त्वाति किम् । भवेत्सीत् तिषा सहचरित्थं तिषा महणस्तिथौ ग्रहणे नास्ति । अवृक्तमिति किम् । विभक्तिं । इत् किम् । विभक् । प्रथमहल् किम् । सञ्जा । नक्षत्रो न स्यात् संयोगान्तलोपस्थासिद्धत्वात् । सञ्जा । हे सखे ॥

252. After a consonant, there is the elision of the nominative-affix सू, and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix सू ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, सि and ति when reduced to a single consonant affix (अवृक्त हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after consonant and hence we have translated it as above.

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe ग्रामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long-vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कीयाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by सु, सि, and ति"? Observe भवेत्सीत् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिप्, but refers to तिप् only. Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe विभक्तिं ॥ Why do we say 'the consonant is elided'? Observe विभेदः ॥ Here the अप्रिकृता affix अ of the Perfect is not elided: though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why do we say 'first consonant'? Observe राज्ञः.

Why has the elision of सू (सु), त् (सिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23; being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राज्ञः, तस्या could not be evolved. As राज्ञ्+सू=राज्ञात्+सू (VI. 4. 8. S. 250)=राज्ञात् and by eliding स by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राज्ञात् and the final त् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of त्, does not find scope,

since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of इ,) is considered as if it had not taken effect.

Thus Nom. Sg सखि Voc Sg. हे सखे In forming the Dual सखि + औ the following rules apply.

२५३। सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ। ७। १। ६२॥

सख्युरङ्गात्परं संबुद्धिवर्गे सर्वनामस्थानं णिस्कार्यकृत् स्यात्॥

253. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णिन् ॥

That is, they cause Vriddhi according to the following rule:—

२५४। अचो ङिति। ७। १। ११५॥

ङिति ङिति च णेऽञ्जनाङ्गस्य वृद्धिः स्यात्। सखायौ। सखायः। सखायम्। सखायौ। पितृभ्राताभ्यां सत्कार्यम्। सख्यौ। सख्ये ॥

254. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ or ण्, Vriddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus सखि + औ = सखे + औ = सखायौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. सखायः, Acc. Sing. सखायम्, Acc. dual सखायौ, ॥

Instrumental Sing. will be formed by the affix ण; and as the word सखि is not a चि word (See I. 4. 7. S. 243) it does not take न or गुण as required by VII. 3. 120. S. 244 or VII. 3. 1. S. 245. Thus we have सखि + णा = सख्या.

Dative Sing. will be सखि + ए = सख्ये.

In forming the Ablative and Genitive, the following rule applies:—

२५५। सख्यात्परस्य। ६। १। ११२॥

ङितिश्चकार्थं खीर्तिश्चकार्थं कृतवण्वेश्चार्था परस्य ङसिङ्सोत्त वृत्त्यात्। सख्युः॥

255. There is the substitution of उ for अ of अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems ए is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङ्सोत्त and वृत् are understood here also. The ल्य means and includes लि and ली when the इ is changed to ए, and ल् denotes लि and ली, the इ being changed to ए ॥ Thus सखि + जन् = सख्युः as सख्युरङ्गात्, सख्युः एङ् ॥ So also पत्युः सख्युः, पत्युः स्ङ् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: सख्येन वर्तते = सख्यः, सख्यमङ्ङति = सख + ण्यङ् (III. 1. 8.) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding ङिङ् to the Denominative root सखीय we get सखी: 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी + जन् = सख्युः also. Of पति we have the following example. पतिनिर्गच्छति = पतीय, add ङिङ् = पती, the Ablative and Genitive

singular of which is also लुङ्, the न् of लुङ् being the substitute of न् of Nishṭhā is considered like न् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ह्य and ह्य in the 'sutra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c: where we have अतिसखः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is चि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim मङ्गल्यता प्रतिपदिकेन जन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to some this rule applies to all स्त्री and स्त्री, such as सुखी: one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय + क्विप्). and सुखी: 'one who wishes a son' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखीय + क्विप्). Thus सुख्युः, सुख्युः &c.

२५६ । औत् । ७ । ३ । ११८ ॥

इदुङ्भ्यां परस्य डोस्त्वान् । उकारानुवृत्तिरुत्तरार्था । सख्यौ । सोऽं हरिवत् । सोऽभनः सखा सुसखा । सुसखायौ । सुसखायः । अभिङ्गणिद्वयावयोरुदात्तात्तदन्तेऽपि प्रवृत्तिः । सङ्ग्राह्यस्य सखिरूपत्वाभावात्सखीति निधिषाप्रवृत्तौषिसंज्ञा । सुसखिना । सुसख्ये । कस्तिङ्गोऽङ्गिणे कृते कृत्यणदेशत्वाभावात् यवस्थादित्युच्यं न । सुसखेः । सुसखी इत्यादि । एषमतिप्रयुक्तः सखा अतिसखा । परमः सखा दस्येति विभक्तिः । परमसखा । परमसखायावित्यादि । (गौणस्येऽप्यनङ्गित्वे प्रयत्नेन सखीमतिक्रान्तोऽतिसखिः) लिङ्गमविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अभिध्यत्वात् दण् । हरिवत् । इष्टानङ्गित्वे न भवतः । सोऽस्त्रियोरिति इत्येव सङ्गोऽङ्गस्य लक्षणिकत्वात् । लक्षणमतिप्रयुक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणात् ॥

256 After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Locative Singular.

As सख्यौ the rest of the declension of this word is like हरि.

But the declension of this word, when it forms the final member of a compound, is somewhat different. Thus the word सुसखा meaning a good friend, is declined as सुसखा, सुसखायौ, सुसखायः. Here the adding of the affix अनङ् (VIII. 1. 93. S. 248.) and treating the case affixes as णिन् as required by VII. 1. 92. S. 253. are operations which relate to the षङ्, or base and therefore those rules apply not only to the single word सखि but to a compound word also that ends in सखि. But the compound word सुसखि has not exactly the same form as सखि, therefore the rule I. 4. 7. S. 243 which makes the specific mention of the word सखि does not apply to सुसखि. Therefore the word सुसखि is चि and its Instrumental and Dative will be सुसखिना and सुसख्ये ॥ Similarly in Ablative and Genitive singulars the इ being *gupeṣṭa* by VII. 3. 111 S. 245 the last rule will not apply, because here the bases are सुसखे + भस् and सुसखे + दसि and सुसखे + णि. (The last and the present rules apply only to that form of सखि where the णि is changed to यस्)

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of वि words औ preceded by अ substitution of वि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadī and ghi.

Therefore the Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular of सुसख will be सुसखेः, सुसखेः and सुसखौ respectively.

Similarly the compound word अतिसखि meaning 'one who has thrown away his friend' (सखः masculine) is declined like सुसखा ॥

But the word परमसखा when treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, meaning 'he whose friend is the Supreme' may give rise to a difficulty. For, here सखि is merely a secondary word, the real word being the object denoted by the word परमसखि. We therefore cannot treat सखि to be the अङ्ग or base, as we treated it in the case of the word सुसखा. How is this word परमसखि to be declined? It is declined like सुसखा, for though the word सखि here is merely a secondary word and not the base or अङ्ग, yet the rules of अनङ् and णिङ् apply to this case also. Thus परमसखा and परमसखादौ &c.)

Now in the declension of the word अतिसखि when it is a compound meaning 'he who has thrown away his friend' (सखी feminine) the affix इच् does not apply, because the rule which says that the Masculine includes the feminine is not universal. That rule is thus enunciated: प्रातिपदिकपद्वे निङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि पद्वन् इ. ८. 'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived from it by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.' Now applying this Paribhāṣa to rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 which declares that the affix इच् is added to the words rājan, ahan, and sakhi when at the end of a compound, the Masculine word सखि would include the feminine word सखी also and therefore the form ought to be अतिसख and not अतिसखि. This anomaly, however, is prevented by the fact that the above Paribhāṣa is not universal. The word अतिसखि is declined like हरि and not like the word सखि; and therefore अनङ् and णिङ् do not apply. Because, the word सखी has been shortened to सखि by the rule I. 2. 48, S. 656 and this सखि is, therefore, merely a secondary word and not an original word like the सखि, in सुसखि &c, above given. Therefore, the following Paribhāṣa applies to this word:—अक्षन्प्रतिषेधोक्तोः &c. i. e. "Whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar,—or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed.")

२५७ । पतिः समास एव । १ । ४ । ८ ॥

प्रतिर्धिः समास एव विसंज्ञः स्यात् । पर्या । पत्ये । पत्युः । पत्यौ । धेयं हरिवत् । समासे तु मृषतिना । मृषतये । कसिचक्षो निरखं बहुवचनान्तः ॥

257. The word pati is called ghi, only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the sūtra I. 4. 7. S. 243; the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या 'by the lord' but 'मृषतिना by the lord of the worlds.' So also पत्ये and मृषतये; पत्युः and मृपत्ये, पत्यौ and मृपत्यौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four हित् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

Now we take up the declension of the word कति which is always plural. This word is called संख्या or a numeral as well as पद् by the following two rules, and therefore, there is some peculiarity in its declension.

२५८ । बहुगणवतुडति संख्या । १ । १ । २३ ।

एते संख्यासंज्ञाः स्युः ॥

258. The words bahu 'many,' gaṇa 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and ḍati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyā).

The word कति is formed by the affix डति therefore it is a Sankhyā.

२५९ । डति च । १ । १ । २५ ॥

दृश्यन्ता संख्या पदसंज्ञा स्यात् ॥

259. And the sankhyās ending with the affix ḍati are called śaṭ.

Because the word कति is formed by the affix डति, therefore it is called पद्. The result of being called पद् is that the declensional affixes are elided. The elision of an affix generally takes place by using one of the three words as given in the following Sūtra.

२६० । प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः । १ । १ । ६१ ॥

लुक्श्लुलुपाद्यैः कृतं प्रत्ययादर्शनं क्वाचप्यसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

260. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term *luk*, that disappearance gets the appellation of *luk*, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms *ślu* or *lup*, the disappearance gets the name of *ślu* or *lup*.

The nominative and accusative affixes after the word कृति are elided by using the term लुक्, as is shown in the following Sūtra.

२६१ । षड्भ्यो लुक् । ७ । १ । २२ ॥

षड्भ्यः षयोर्जदशसोर्लुक् स्यात् ॥

261. The Nom. and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24 S. 369).

Therefore कृति + जञ् or कृति + शञ् = कृति + ० or कृति ÷ ०. Now, what is the effect of this zero, does it produce its action on the stem or does it not? Naturally one would have thought, that when an affix is elided, with it must also vanish all the operations that that affix would have caused on the base. But this is not the case by the following Sūtra.

२६२ । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । १ । १ । ६२ ॥

प्रत्यये लुपेऽपि सत्प्रश्रितं कार्यं स्यात् । इति ऽसि वेति गुणे मात्रे ॥

262. When elision of an affix has taken place (*lopa*), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependent upon it, take place as if it were present.

Therefore though जञ् is elided after कृति, yet it would cause the *guna* of the इ of कृति, by VII. 3. 109 S. 241. Therefore the इ of कृति requires to be *gunated*; but this contingency is prevented by the following Sūtra.

२६३ । न लुमताङ्गस्य । १ । १ । ६३ ॥

लुक् षड् लुक् एते लुमन्तः । लुमन्ता शब्देन लुपे सन्निविष्टमङ्गकार्यं न स्यात् । कृति । कृतिभिः कृतिभ्यः । कृतिभ्यः । कृतिनाम् । कृतिषु । मलमलस्यदसंकाशेषु लक्षणाः । चिद्वन्तो नित्ये षड्भ्यः पान्तः । पयः । पीङ् । श्रिभिः श्रिभ्यः ॥

263. Of the base (*anga*), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, लु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix

following, viz :—स्यद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इत्, अत्, एक, द्वि, पुष्पद्, अस्मद्, मय्यद् and किम् but the *ishiti* given below excludes the last four words from the list of स्वयङ्गि.

Ishti :—The स्याद्वि sub-division begins with the word स्याद् and ends with the word वि (inclusive).

The word द्वि belongs to the class of लृटादि and therefore its final वृ is changed to श्व before the affixes, that is the base assumes the form of श्व ।

Thus द्वौ (Nom. Dual); द्वौ (Acc. Dual); द्वभ्याम् (Instru, Dative and Ablative Duals) द्वयोः (Genitive and Locative Duals). Why have we said that the व्यङ्गि words do not include the last four words? Observe the declension of भवन् which is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः (Nom. Sing.; Dual and Plural).

When व्यशनि words are used as संज्ञा (appellative), or, उपसर्जन (secondary members of a compound), then their final is not replaced by न्. Suppose the word हि is the name of a person, then it will be declined as हिः (Nom. Sing.) द्वि (Nom. Dual); दयः (Nom. Pl.)

Similarly, when the word हि is an उपसर्जन as अतिहि (he who excels हि), it will be declined as अतिहिः (Nom. Sing.), that is like हरि.

But when हि is the principal member of a compound, the स substitution will take place ; thus परमहो &c.

The word औद्धलेमि is thus declined :—औद्धलेमिः (Nom. Sing.) औद्धलेमी (Nom. Dual), but the Nom. Pl. will be उद्धलेमः by the following Vartika.

Vartika :—After the word *होमन्* the affix *ञ* comes in the Plural number denoting the descendant. This *Vartika* debars the *इञ्* affix of IV. 1. 96. S. 1006.

The Accusatives will be औद्दलोमिम् (Sing.); औद्दलोमी (Dual); वद्दुलोमन् (Plural).

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short g

—:Q:—

Masculine long \bar{e} [illegible]

Now we take up the declension of the word वातप्रसी. This word is

formed by the Uṇādi affix long ई (See Uṇādi Sūtras Chapter III. 158 and Chapter IV. 1.) added to the root मा to measure, 'The word literally means 'wind measurer' or 'moving swift as the wind'. It is the name of a kind of an antelope. The affix ई of वातप्रमी is कित् (Uṇādi Chapter III. 159.) Therefore वातप्रमा + ई = वातप्रमी. The long मा being elided by the rule VI. 4. 64 S. 2372.

The Nom. Sing. is वातप्रमी : ॥ The dual is formed thus :—वातप्रमी + औ. Here the rule VI. 1. 102 S. 164. required the substitution of a single long ई in the place of ई + औ. But this is prevented by the rule VI. 1. 105. S. 239. and we get the regular form वातप्रम्यौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. वातप्रम्यः । The Voc. Sing. हे वातप्रमी. The Acc. Sing. is thus formed :—वातप्रमी + मम्. The single substitution required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164. is set aside by VI. 1. 105. S. 239. But this latter rule is set aside by the Apavāda rule VI. 1. 107. (आदि पूर्वः) S. 194. by which there is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending मम्. Therefore the Acc. Sing. is वातप्रमीम्. The Acc. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रम्यौ and वातप्रमीन्. The Inst. Sing. is वातप्रम्या. The Inst. Dual and Pl. are वातप्रमीभ्याम् and वातप्रमीभिः. The Dat. forms are वातप्रम्ये वातप्रमीभ्याम् वातप्रमीभ्यः. The Abl. Sing. is वातप्रम्यः. The Genitive Sing. and Dual are वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्योः. The Genitive Pl. is वातप्रम्याम्. The augment नृद् is not added, because the word ends in a long vowel.

The Loc. Sing. is thus formed वातप्रमी + इ, = वातप्रमी. The Loc. Pl. is वातप्रमीषु ॥

So the words यदी (literally that which goes or carries one, that is "a horse" or "a road;") and पदी (that which protects or drinks or the sun and moon) are declined like वातप्रमी. These words are also formed by the affix ई (Uṇādi III. 159).

If the word वातप्रमी be derived by कित् and not कित् ई then in the Acc. Sing. and Pl. and Loc. Sing. the forms will be वातप्रम्यम्, वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रमिन् respectively. वातप्रमी may be derived by कित् in this way. वातप्रमी निध जायते इति वातप्रमी. Here it is a Denominative verb in the sense of āchāra, formed by the affix कित् (III. 1. 10 and 11 S. 2664 and 2665) and to this Denominative root, कित् is added again in the sense of agent (III. 2. 76 S. 2983). The Acc. S. therefore is, वातप्रमी + मम् = वातप्रम् + य + मम्. Here य is substituted by VI. 4. 82. S. 272 and the word is declined like पदी.

Now we take up the declension of the word बहुभेयसी (one possessed of many admirable qualities). The word भेयम् is formed by the affix ईष्यन् added to च the substitute of प्रशंस (V. 3. 60. S. 2009). To this is added the affix ङीप् by IV. 1. 6 S. 455 to form the feminine भेयसी.

The Nom. Sing. of बहुश्रेयसी is बहुश्रेयसी + सु = बहुश्रेयसी + ० (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 282).

The Nom. Dual and Pl. are बहुश्रेयसी, बहुश्रेयसः .

The formation of Voc. Sing. is peculiar and the following rules apply.

Note :—The word बहुश्रेयसी is a Bahuvrīhi compound. There is ऐवद्वा by the rule VI. 3. 34. S. 831. The Samāśāta affix क् is not added because of the rule V. 4. 156. S. 894. The long ई required to be shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656 is prohibited by the Vārtika under V. 4. 156. S. 894.

२६६ । यू स्याख्यौ नदी । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

ईदृन्तौ निलसीनितौ नदीसंज्ञौ स्तः । प्रथमलिङ्गमहर्णं च । पूर्वै स्याख्यस्योपसर्जनत्वेऽपि नदीत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

266. Word-forms ending in long ī and ū, being names of females which are always feminine are called Nadi.

The word यू is a compound of ई + क्. The word sryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇī has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī 'a virgin' दवागू yavāgūḥ 'rice grain.'

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the Dative of कुमारी will be कुमारी, the Dative of इदृन्तु will be इदृन्ते .

Why do we say 'which are feminine' ? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणी: 'leader of a village'; सेनानी: 'leader of an army'; खल्लू: 'a sweeper'; their Dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये खल्लव्ये.

(Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because the feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word) Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै, and खल्लव्ये स्त्रियै .

Vartika :—The gender of the word as originally used should be taken and not the gender of the Compound word. Here the original word श्रेयसी is feminine and though the Compound word बहुश्रेयसी is Masculine still for the purposes of getting the designation of Nadi the whole word बहुश्रेयसी will be treated as Nadi, though श्रेयसी in this Compound word is merely a secondary member (upasarjana).

Therefore बहुश्रेयसी getting the designation of Nadi is anected by the following rule in forming its Vocative.

२६७ । अम्भार्यनयोर्ह्रस्वः । ७ । ३ । १६७ ॥

अम्भार्यानां नद्यन्तानां च ह्रस्वः स्यात् संतुल्यौ । हे बहुभ्येयसि । णसि बहुभ्येयसीन् ।

267. A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the words called Nadi.

Thus हे बहुभ्येयसि.

The Acc. Sing and Dual are बहुभ्येयसीन्, बहुभ्येयस्यौ respectively.

The Acc. Pl. is बहुभ्येयसीन्

There is no peculiarity in the Instrumental forms.

In forming the Dative forms, the following rules apply.

२६८ । आण् नद्याः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

नद्यन्तात्वेर्षां ङितानाङागमः स्यात् ।

268. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. after the stem called Nadi.

When this आद् is added, there is the single substitution of a Vṛiddhi Vowel by the following rule.

२६९ । आटश्च । ६ । १ । ६० ॥

आटोऽपि परं वृद्धिरेकाग्रिणः स्यात् । बहुभ्येयस्यै । बहुभ्येयस्याः । नद्यन्तात्परस्याम्बुद् । बहुभ्येयसीनाम् ॥

269. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आद् is followed by any vowel.

The आद् is the augment which द्वित् case-affixes take after *nadi*-words (VII. 3. 112). बहुभ्येयसी + आद् + ट् = बहुभ्येयस्यै (Dative Singular). (The आद् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense ऋद्), similarly, बहुभ्येयस्याः

The augment ण्द् is added to the Genitive Plural by VII. 1. 54. S. 203. As बहुभ्येयसीनाम्.

Note—The च् 'and' in the sutra shows that the परस्पर rule, taught in VI. i. 95, 96 when उस्, औ and आइ follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आद् ॥ Thus भौसीयत्, भौकार्यत् ॥ आ + ऊद् = ओद्, तामैच्छत् = तैदायत् ॥

२७० । डेराम् नद्यास्त्रीभ्यः । ७ । ३ । ११६ ।

नद्यन्तादाबन्तादीशब्दाश्च डेराम् स्यात् । इह परस्वादादा नुह् बाभ्यस्ते । बहुभ्यस्याम् । शेषमीश-
द्वयान्तवात्तमसीवत् । अड्यन्तस्त्वान् सुशेषः । अतिलक्ष्मीः । शेषं बहुभ्यसीवत् । कुमारीमिच्छत् कुमारीश-
चरम्बा बाढ्यः कुमारी । क्यञन्तादाश्चार्किवन्तादा कर्त्तरि क्विप् । हल्ह्रस्वयिति सुशेषः ।

270. For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadi, after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

The augment नुद् is not added to this आम् but only to the आम् of Genitive Plural; because नुद् of the Sutra VII. 154, S. 208 is superseded by the subsequently taught augment आद् of the VII. 3. 112, S. 268.

Thus बहुभ्यसी + छि = बहुभ्यसी + आद् + छि (VII, 3. 112, S. 268) = बहुभ्यसी + आद् + आम् = बहुभ्यस्याम् ॥

The rest of the declensions of बहुभ्यसी are like those of वात्तमसी ॥

The declension of the word अतिलक्ष्मी is as follows :—

Nom. Sing. is अतिलक्ष्मीः ॥ Here the affix छु is not elided as in the last case, because ई of लक्ष्मी is part of the word लक्ष्मी and is not a feminine affix and therefore the rule 'ह्रस्वपाप्' (VI. 1. 68, S. 252) does not apply. The rest of the declensions are like those of बहुभ्यसी ॥

Note.—The word लक्ष्मी is formed by the Unadi affix ई (Unadi Sutrās III. 160 लक्षेर्ह्रस्व, as लक्ष् + ह्रस्व + ई = लक्ष्मी) ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Masculine word कुमारी ॥ This word, though ordinarily feminine, when it is derived from the Denominative root कुमारी meaning a Brahman who desires a कुमारी or acts like a कुमारी (III. 2. 76, S. 2983) is Masculine, namely, the Denominative Verb कुमारी considered to be formed by the affix क्यच् (III. 1. 8 or III. 1. 10 S. 2657 or 2664), with the affix क्विप् of III. 2. 76.)

Note.—As कुमारीयम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खड्गायाम्, बहुराज्यायाम्, कारीरगन्ध्यायाम्, श्री-माम्ग्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word घ्राण्णी is formed by क्विप् affix added under III. 2. 61, the ण is changed to ञ् by अण् घ्राणाभ्याम्; and the यन् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4. 82.

Thus कुमारी + छु = कुमारी ॥ छु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252.

In forming the Dual, the following rules apply.

२७१ । अचि श्रुधातुमुवां खोरियङ्बङ्गौ । ६ । ४ । ७७ ॥

यदुप्रत्ययान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधातोर्ह्रस्वस्य चाङ्गस्येयङ्बङ्गौ स्तोऽज्ञावौ प्रत्यये परे । द्विवचनान्ता-
देवः । आन्तत्तम्यादेरियङ् गौरवङ् इतीयादि प्राप्ते ॥

271. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of उ, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उक् (for उ or ऊ).

The substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् have indicatory इ and therefore they are applied at the end and by the rule of nearness of substitutes इयङ् replaces इ and उवङ् replaces उ (whether long or short). Thus कुमारि + औ = कुमार + इय + औ. But this is prevented by the next Sūtra.

Note:—Similarly आप्नुवन्ति, राप्नुवन्ति, चप्नुवन्ति, from the roots of the 5th class. चिश्चिबहुः, छलुबहुः, लुबहुः, निबौ, नियौ, लुबौ, लुवः and मुबौ and भुवः ॥

२७२ । एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य । ६ । ४ । ८२ ॥

धात्वयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यङ् स्यादज्ञावौ प्रत्यये परे । इति यङ् । कुमार्यौ । कुमार्यः । हे कुमारि । अणि शसि च । कुमार्यम् । कुमार्यः । कुमार्यौ । कुमा-
र्याः २ । कुमारीणाम् । कुमारीणां । प्रथीः । प्रथीः । प्रथ्यः । प्रथ्यम् । प्रथ्यः । उन्नयतीत्युत्थीः । धातुना संयो-
गात्थ विद्येदणादिह स्यादेव यङ् । उन्नयौ । उन्नयः । हे उन्नी । उन्नयम् । हेराम् । उन्नयाम् । एवं धामणीः ।
अनेकाचः किम् । नीः । निबौ । नियः । अणि शसि च परत्याविवङ् । नियम् । नियः । हेराम् । नियाम् ।
असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । सुप्रियौ । यवकिर्यौ । शतिकारकेनरपूर्वपरस्य यङ् नप्यते । सुप्रथिबौ । परमविभो
कथं तर्हि दुर्धियो वृथिकभियेस्यादि । उच्यते । दुःस्थिता धीर्येषामिति विभवे दुःस्थितस्य धीशब्दं प्रति गतित्वा-
मेव नास्ति । शक्तिगायुक्ताः प्रकृत्यत्तं प्रत्येय गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञाः । वृथिकसम्प्रत्यय सुद्धिकृतगवासानस्य नेह दिव-
शितम् । वृथिकसम्प्रतिनी श्रीवृथिकभीरित्युत्तरपदलोपां वा ॥

272. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

Thus instead of इयङ् we get यङ् Adecā, therefore कुमारि + औ = कुमार्यौ, कुमारी + अङ् = कुमार्यः ।

The Voc. Sing. is हे कुमारि ॥ The Acc. Sing., Dual and Pl. are कुमार्यम्, कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः । There are no peculiarities in the Instrumental forms.

The Dative Sing. is कुमार्यै । The Ablative and Genitive Singulars are कुमार्याः ॥ The Genitive Pl. is कुमारीणाम् ॥ The Loc. Sing. is कुमार्याम् ॥

The word प्रथी is thus declined:—प्रथीः, प्रथ्यौ, प्रथ, प्रथय, प्रथ्य, &c. This word is derived from the root प्थ with the prefix प्र. The थ is changed to इ by Unādi IV. 115. Thus प्रथ + क्तिङ् = प्रथि. The short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2. S 2559. So we have प्रथा.

The declension of the word वञ्जी. It is formed by adding the prefix वञ् to the verb नी. Therefore this long ई cannot be said to be preceded by a conjunct consonant, for the conjunct consonant of the Sūtra means the conjunct consonant of the verbal root and not the conjunct consonant obtained by adding a prefix to the simple root like नी. Therefore, the present Sūtra applies to वञ्जी which is declined as वञ्जीः, वञ्ज्यैः, वञ्ज्यः; हे वञ्जीः; Acc. Sing. वञ्ज्यम्, Loc. Sing. वञ्ज्याम् ॥

In the same way should be declined the word मानणी, the Nom. Sing. of which is मानणीः ॥

How do you explain the forms वृद्धिः where there is not वृत् though वृत् is a Gati, and the word वृश्चिकमियः where the word वृश्चिक is a Kāraka? We reply that the preposition वृत् is not a Gati with regard to the word धी, because we analyse the word as वृत्स्थिता धीर्धियां, a Bahuvrīhi compound, in which वृत् is Gati with regard to the word स्थित understood. This compound is formed by the Vārtika प्राक्स्थितो धातुजस्य &c. (II. 2. 24. S. 830.) by which the subsequent term स्थित is elided after the Gati word वृत्. In fact, the word Gati is a relative term with regard to the verb which a preposition immediately qualifies, and not with regard to any other verb with which it may be accidentally in contact. Similarly वृश्चिकमी should not be analysed as an Ablative compound (एवञ्चमी सल्लुप्त समासः) formed by I. 4. 25. S. 588., as वृश्चिका हिमेति = वृश्चिकमी; but as वृश्चिक-सम्बन्धिनीः मीः ॥ In the first case the compound would mean 'a person afraid of a scorpion'; in the other case, which is applicable here, the fear arising from a scorpion. In the second case वृश्चिक is not a Kāraka with regard to मी. Therefore the vārtika applies to it.

२७३ । न भूसुधियोः । ६ । ४ । ८५ ॥

एतयोर्वक्ष्यन् स्यादधि सुधिः । सुधियौ । सुधिय इत्यादि । सखायमिच्छति । सखीयति । सखः कियप् । अलोपयलोपो । अलोपस्य स्थानिवत्पादाणि प्राप्ते । वक्ष्ये लुप्ते न स्थानिवत् । एकैवाधिकृतस्थानन्यतयाऽप-
ङ्गित्वे । सखा । सखायौ । सखायः । हे सखीः । अग्नि पूर्वस्थात्परश्चाद्यधि प्राप्ते ततोऽपि परन्वास्तदपुरस्-
ज्जडाविति प्रवर्तते । सखायम् । सखायौ । सखि यत् । सख्यः । सद् धेनु वर्तते इति सखः । नमिच्छतीति
सखीः । सुखमिच्छतीति सुखीः । सुतमिच्छतीति सुतीः । सख्यौ । सुख्यौ । सुखौ । खल्लादिति वीर्यस्यापि
भद्रणादुकारः । सख्युः । सुख्युः । सुख्युः । सुममिच्छतीति सुमीः । क्षाममिच्छतीति क्षामीः । प्रस्त्रीमिच्छतीति
प्रस्त्रीमीः । एषो ऋत्तिरुत्तरार्धेण । नत्वमत्वयोरेवित्त्वान् ख्यलादित्युत्तरार्धे । सुख्युः । क्षाम्युः प्रस्त्रीम्युः । सुष्की-
यतेः कियप् । सुष्कीः । इत्यह् । शुष्कियौ । शुष्कियः । ऋत्तिरुत्तरेः शुष्किय इत्यादि ॥

273. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभू-प्रतिभूयै, प्रतिभूयः; सुधी-सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥

Now, we take up the example of a word formed from a Denominative root, namely, the word सखी which is thus formed सखायं इच्छति = सखीयन् (i.e. he who desires a friend). Thus the root सखीय is a Denominative root, to this is added the affix क्तिप् and the letters ख and य are both elided. Here the elision of ख being considered as स्थानियत्, there would be यणादेश under the previous Sūtra in declining the word सखी. This is prevented by the following.

Vārtika:—when there is elision before the affix क्तिप् the elision is not considered as स्थानियत्.

The rules by which the word सखी is formed are the same which have been already referred to in forming the word कुमारी as explained under VII. 3. 116. S. 270. In declining this word सखी which means "he who desires a friend" the same rules are to be applied which were applied to the word सखि meaning a friend (see VI. 1. 68 and VII. 2. 115. S. 252, 254), because of the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्वयताऽनङ्गित्वे ॥ Therefore we get the Nominative forms सखा; सखायौ; सखाय, Voc. हे सखीः. The Acc. Sing. is सखायम्. It is thus formed सखी + अम्. Here VI. 1. 107. S. 194 requires Pārva-rūpa, that is सखीम्. But that rule is set aside by the subsequent rule VI. 4. 82. S. 272. requiring यण् which would have given the form सखयम्. Both these forms are wrong, for the last rule even is set aside by the subsequent rule VII. 1. 92. 3. 253. Hence the form सखि + अम् = सखायम् ॥

The Acc. Dual is सखायौ. The Acc. Pl. is सखयः for the Acc. Pl. not being a Sarvanāmasthāna, there is regular Sandhi. There is no peculiarity in other cases of this word सखी, meaning 'one who desires a friend'.

There is another word सखी which is thus formed सह खेन यत्ने इति सखः. It is a Bahuvrīhi compound formed by II. 2. 28. S. 848. The सह is changed to स by VI. 3. 82. S. 849. In forming the Denominative verb from this सख, we add the affix क्त्वाप् by III. 1. 8. S. 2657. Then, we add long ई by VII. 4. 33. S. 2658. and thus we get the Denominative root सखीय. From this root, we get the masculine noun सखी with the affix क्तिप् on the analogy of the previous word.

Similarly are also formed the words सुखी meaning 'one who desires happiness'; and पुत्री meaning 'one who desires a son'. The declension of these words is as follows :—Nom. Sing. सखी; सुखी; पुत्री. The dual is सखयौ; सुखयौ; पुत्रयौ. The Abl. and Gen. Singular forms are सख्युः; सुख्युः; पुत्र्युः; by applying the sūtra VI. 1. 112. S. 255.

Similarly the words ह्वी; शयी; प्रसीदी meaning respectively 'one who desires cut off things' e. g. flowers &c; 'one who desires Vishnu'; and 'one who desires crowd' &c. are to be declined.

Notes.—The word *हू* is the past participle of the root *हू* to cut; the *nishthā* ण is changed to न by VIII. 2. 44. S. 301 8. *क्षाम* is the past participle of the root *क्षे* to wane, the ण is changed to न by VIII. 2. 53. S. 3032. Similarly *प्रस्तीम* is the past participle of the root *स्ते* to make noise, preceded by the preposition *प्र*. The *nishthā* ण is changed to न by VIII. 2. 54. S. 3034. The *Samprasāraṇa* takes place by VI. 1. 23.

The Nom. Sing. forms are *हूनाः*; *क्षामी*; *प्रस्तीमी*. In other cases their declension is like the word *सुती* &c., except the Abl. and Gen.; Sing. Here in these cases the words do not really end in *ही* and *मी* and therefore the rule VI. 1. 112 S. 255. is not strictly applicable to them, but as the न of *हू* and the न of *क्षाम* and *प्रस्तीम* are substitutes of ण and as these are taught in the *Triṣṭhi*, namely the last three chapters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, therefore the न and ण substitutions are considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the rule contained in the 7¼ *adhyāyas*. In other words these words are considered as *हूनी*; *क्षामी*; *प्रस्तीमी*; and the rule VI. 1. 112. S. 255 applying to them; we have the Abl.; and Genitive Sing. forms as *हून्युः*; *क्षाम्युः*; *प्रस्तीम्युः* ॥

But the declension of the similarly formed word *शुष्की*, derived from the noun *शुष्क* through the derivative verb *शुष्कीव* with the affix *क्विप्* is different. *शुष्क* is the past participle of the root *शुष्* where the *nishthā* ण is changed to क by VIII. 2. 51. S. 3030. Thus the Nom. Sing. is *शुष्की*. The Nom. Dual and Pl. are *शुष्किवौ*; and *शुष्कियः* with the affix *इवङ्* by VI. 4. 77. S. 271 and not with *ञच्* because the long ई is preceded by a conjunct consonant. The Abl. and Geni.; singular is *शुष्कियः* &c.,

Similarly *पक्की* is formed from the past participle *पक्क* where the *Nishthā* ण is changed to क VIII. 2. 52. S. 3031 after the root *पच्* 'to cook.'

Here ends the declension of the masculine words ending in long ई ॥

संशुद्धिरित् । एवं विष्णु वायु भान्वाद्यः ॥

Declension of Masculine words ending in ङ ॥ The declension of the word *हस्त* is like that of *इति* ॥ So also of *विष्णु*; *वायु*, *भानु* ॥

The declension of the word *क्रोष्टु* is somewhat different in the first five cases, where the following rules apply.

२७४ । कृत्वःक्रोष्टुः । ७ । १ । ६५ ॥

क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य कृत्वत्वं तुल्यं वर्तते भर्तृशब्दे सर्वनामस्थाने च । क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य स्थाने क्रोष्टुशब्दः प्रत्येकत्वं इत्यर्थः ॥

274. The word *क्रोष्टु* 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) as if it ended in *कृत्* (ई) ॥

Note:—The word कौष्ट is declined like कौष्ट in the strong cases. As कौष्टौ, कौष्टौरे, कौष्टौरः, कौष्टौरम्, कौष्टौरी ॥ But कौष्टून् in weak cases, and हे कौष्टो in the Vocative Singular. The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तुच् affix, i. e. acute on the final. The word कौष्टु is formed by the affix तुच् (Un सिननिगनि &c., 1. 69).

The word कौष्टु is treated as कौष्ट and therefore the rules applicable to the words ending in ऋ apply to it, viz, the following Sūtras,

२७५ । ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोः । ७ । ३ । ११० ॥

सौ सर्वनामस्थाने च परे ऋन्तात्त्वस्य युगः स्यात् । इति शोभे ॥

275. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

This rule requires कौष्टु to be changed to कौष्टर, but this is prevented by the following.

२७६ । ऋतुशनस्पुर्दसोऽनेहसां च । ७ । १ । १४ ॥

ऋन्तानाद्युपधानसाक्षीनां चानङ् स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे ॥

276. Anah (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ as well as for the final of uśanas, puruḍaśas, and aneḥas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

२७७ । अप्ठन्तृच्स्वसुनप्ठनेष्ट्वष्टृत्तृहोत्पोत्प्रशास्तृणाम् । ६ । ४ । ११ ॥

अवाक्षीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । नप्वाक्षिपहर्णं व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । तेन विवृधातृप्रभृतीनां न। वद्भातृषब्दस्य तु भयदेव। समर्थसूत्रे वद्भातार इति भाष्यप्रयोगात्। कौष्टा । कौष्टौरे। कौष्टारः । कौष्टारम् । कौष्टौरी । कौष्टून् ॥

277. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in ञप्, in stems formed by तुच् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसु, नप्ठ, नेष्ट, त्वष्ट, क्षत्तृ, एष्ट, पोत् and प्रशास्तृ ॥

The words नप्ठ &c., in this sūtra are taken to denote *Niyama*, for if नप्ठ &c. be taken as derivative words formed with the affix तुच् or तृच्, there was no necessity of their separate mention in this sūtra, because the word तुच् and तृच् of the sūtra would have included them. Therefore we say the inclusion of these words shows *Niyama*, or restriction, namely, other derivative words formed by the Unādi affixes तुच् and तृच् are not governed by this rule, such as the words विवृषात् &c. But the word वद्भातृ is governed by this rule, because we find the वद्भातारः in the Mahābhāṣya. Thus we get the forms कौष्टाः कौष्टारः कौष्टारम् कौष्टौरी कौष्टून् ॥

In the Instrumental and other cases, there are double forms and the following rules apply:—

२७८ । विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि । ७ । १ । ९७ ॥

अजादिषु तृतीयादिषु कोटुयां तृप्पन् । कोट्या । कोट्ये ॥

278. कोट्यु may optionally be treated as Kroshty, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As कोट्यो or कोटुना, कोट्यै or कोट्ये, कोट्युः or कोटो, कोट्यै or कोटो, कोट्योः or कोट्योः ॥ But कोटुन् in the Accusative Plural, and कोटुयां before consonant-beginning affixes.

In forming the Abl. and Genitive, the following rules apply.

२७९ । प्रकृत उत् । ६ । १ । १११ ॥

कृन्तान् टसिङ्सोरति परे ङकार एकादिभ्यः स्यान् । रपरत्त्वम् ॥

279. In the room of ङ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

*Note:—*Thus होतु + अस् = होतुस् (The उ must always be followed by १ I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ङ only, but of ङ + अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces two, both shown in the genitive case, as कृतः and अकारत्त्व in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A. or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ङ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतु = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुतामच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

२८० । रात्सस्य । ८ । २ । २४ ॥

रेफाल्लोकात्मस्य सस्त्वि लोपो नामस्य । रेफस्य विसर्गः । कोट्युः । आनि परत्वाच्चाश्रमे मन्त्रे ।
* दुमभिरवृत्तशब्दभ्यो नृत्त पूर्वविभक्तिपथेन । कोटुनाम् । कोट्यै । कोट्योः । पक्षे हलादेश च संभवन् ॥

280. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus कोट्यु + अस् = कोट्युस् ॥ Here the final स् is elided and the र is changed to visarga. Thus we get कोट्युः Before the Gen: Pl: आम्, कोट्यु requires to be treated as कोट्यु by VII. 1. 97. S. 278 but this is prevented by the following *Vārtā*—दुम् and नृम् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vadbhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun

In Abl. and Gen.: singular, the sūtra VI. 1. 111. Ś. 279 and I. 1. 51. S. 70 will apply. Therefore, the ल्+ञ् of the affix will be changed to व् followed by ल् ॥ Thus we have गम्ल्+अल्=गम्बुल्+ल् ॥ The ल् itself will be elided, because it is a final consonant. Thus, we have गम्बुल् ॥ So also गम्बुल् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ल् ॥

—————10:—————

सेः । सवौ । सयः । स्मृतेः । स्मृतवौ । स्मृतयः ॥

Declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word से ॥ This word is thus formed; स+इः=सेः or स+ईः=सेः ॥ The short इ is the name of Kāma (Cupid), as it may be considered to be derived from the word अ meaning Vishnu with the अपत्य affix इ meaning the son of अ ॥ Similarly ई may be considered to be the feminine of अ, namely the wife of Vishnu. से may therefore mean 'he who is accompanied by Kāma' or 'he who is accompanied by Lakshmi.' Therefore, the word से is declined as सेः, सवौ सयः ॥

Similarly the word स्मृते which has also two meanings, 'he who remembers Kāma (इ)' or 'he who remembers Lakshmi'. The word स्मृत being *Nishkṛd* is placed first in this Bahuvrīhi compound by II. 2. 36 S. 899. Thus we get स्मृतेः, स्मृतवौ; स्मृतयः ॥

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

—————10:—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

We take the word गो; to which the following rules apply:—

२८४ । गोतो जित् । ७ । १ । ६० ॥

गोदान्नास्वरे सर्वनामस्थानं निद्धत् स्यात् । गौः । गावौ । गावः ॥

284. The endings of the strong cases are गित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the जित् operations: such as Viddhi &c. As गौः, गावौ, गावः ॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगु, वलगु ॥

Note:—How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे वलगवः? This is done on the maxim गङ्गवृत्ते पुनरङ्गुत्तावधि निहितस्य. (when an operation which is taught in the *Āngādhikāra* VI, 4.—VII. 4. has taken place, and another operation of the *Āngādhikāra* is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place). For when *Guṇa* once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII. 3, 108-109, the जित् operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sūtra may be construed as Sam-

bandha-lakṣaṇā Sasthi (a Genitive denoting a general relation); and the meaning will be "that sarvanāmasthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow'." While in चित्रसु, the sarvanāmasthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another object, namely to a 'person' who possesses bridled cows. त् in गोत् in this view is for specification only.

२८५ । औतोऽमशसोः । ६ । १ । ६३ ॥

आ औत् इति छेदः । ओकाराद्यस्तस्यैव परं आकार एकादेशः स्यात् । सस्य सहचर्यास्तुत्येव अम्, पृच्छते । वेह । अचिनवम् । अजुनवम् । गाम् । गावौ । गाः । गवः । गवे । गोः । इत्यादि । औतो णिङिति वाच्यम् । विहितविशेषणं च । तेन । सुद्यौः । सुद्यावौ । सुद्यावः । ओकारान्ताद्भिहितं सर्वनामस्थानमिति व्याख्यानमिह । हे भानो । हे भानवः । तः संतुः स्पृशो येन तः, स्पृशतः । स्पृशावौ । स्पृशावः । स्पृशावः । स्पृशावौ । स्पृशाः । इत्यादि ॥

285. For ओ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ ॥

The word औत् is a compound of आ + औत् ॥ Thus गो + अम्, = गाम्, गो + अस् = गाः ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्य ॥ This debars the Viddhi of VII. 1. 90. So also द्यौः or द्याः पश्य; as the word द्यौः is also a nominal stem ending in औ ॥ The Sarvanāmasthāna affixes are णिङ् after this word also (see VII. 1. 90) which would have caused Viddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Viddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix द्यस् and as the word द्यु of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore अस् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अचिनवम्, अजुनवम् ॥ गाम्, गावौ; गाः; गवः; गवे; गोः etc.

Vārtika:—The sūtra VII. 1. 90 S. 284 should be read as औतोऽणिङ् meaning the ending of strong cases are णिङ् after bases ending in औ ॥

Vārtika:—And the endings are णिङ् after those bases only which have औ in them. Thus, the Noun सुद्यौः is declined as सुद्यौः; सुद्यावौ, सुद्यावः ॥

Some read the sūtra as औत् णिङ्, so that the rule will apply to औ also: as, द्यौः, द्यावौ, द्यावः ॥ If the reading be taken औत्, then we extend this rule to औ also, by taking औ as merely illustrative of all words ending in औ; and this is done by the letter त् in औत्, for the त्पर rule applies to letters, and not to words, so that औत् means and includes words ending in औ ॥

The Sarva-nāma sthāna affixes are णिङ् only after original bases ending in औ and not after a derivative base ending in औ ॥ Therefore the Sarvanāma sthāna affix सु or जस् coming after the base भानो, which the Noun भानु assumes in the Vocative case is not to be treated as णिङ्, because the औ here is derivative. Therefore हे भानो, हे भानवः ॥

Similarly, the word स्पृशौ formed from स्पृश + उ meaning 'he who

remembers *दे* or *संसु*, is declined as स्मृतोः, स्मृतायोः, स्मृतायः; स्मृतान्, स्मृतायोः; स्मृताः etc.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ओ ॥

—:0:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ऐ.

We take the word *दै* (wealth).

२८६ । दायो हलि । ७ । २ । ८५ ॥

देशस्यकारेण्तादेशः स्वाजति विभक्तौ । अयि भावदेशः । दायः । दायौ । दायः । दायम् । दायौ । दायः । दया । दान्यामित्यादि ॥

286. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, *आ* is substituted for the final of *दै* ॥

Before affixes beginning with vowels, the *दे* of *दै* is changed to *आ* by the ordinary rules of Sandhi. Thus दायः, दायौ, दायः; दायम्, दायौ, दायः; दया, दान्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ऐ.

—:0:—

Declension of Nouns ending in औ.

ग्लौ । ग्लावौ ग्लावः । ग्लावम् । ग्लावौ । ग्लावः । ग्ल्यादि । औतोऽस्यसोरितौ न प्रवर्तते । ऐवौजिति सूत्रेण औदेशतोः साधर्ण्याभावज्ञापनात् ॥

We take the word *ग्लौ*. It is declined as ग्लौः, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः, ग्लावम्, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः etc.

The sūtra VI. 1. 93. S. 285 applied only to bases ending in औ and not to those which end in औ. Because औ and औ are not savarna letters, a fact which we learn from Paṇini mentioning them separately in the Maheswara sūtras ए औः and ऐ औः.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in vowels.

—:0:—

DECLENSION OF सखि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abi.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सखा	सखायं	सख्या	सख्ये	सख्युः	सख्युः	सख्यौ	हे सखे
Dual	सखावौ	सखावौ	सख्यौ	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्यां	सख्योः	सख्योः	सखावौ
Plural	सखायः	सखीन्	सखिभिः	सखिभ्यः	सखिभ्यः	सखीनाम्	सखिषु	सखाम्

शोभनः सखा=सुमखा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	सुसखा	सुसखायं	सुसखिना	सुसख्ये	सुसख्यः	सुसख्योः	सुसखौ	सुसखे
Dual	सुसखायौ	सुसखायौ	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसख्योः	सुसख्योः	सुसखायौ
Plural	सुसखायः	सुसखीन्	सुसखिभिः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखीनाम्	सुसखिषु	सुसखायः

पति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	पतिः	पतिम्	पत्या	पत्ये	पत्युः	पत्योः	पत्या	हे पति
Dual	पती	पती	पतिभ्यां	पतिभ्यां	पतिभ्यां	पत्योः	पत्योः	पता
Plural	पतयः	पतीन्	पतिभिः	पतिभ्यः	पतिभ्यः	पतीनाम्	पतिषु	पतयः

भूपति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Ab.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	भूपतिः	भूपतिम्	भूपतिना	भूपत्ये	भूपत्यः	भूपत्योः	भूपती	भूपते
Dual	भूपती	भूपती	भूपतिभ्याम्	भूपतिभ्याम्	भूपतिभ्याम्	भूपत्योः	भूपती	भूपती
Plural	भूपतयः	भूपतीन्	भूपतिभिः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतीनाम्	भूपतिषु	भूपतयः

कति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	कति	कति	कतिभिः	कतिभ्यः	कतिभ्यः	कतीनाम्	कतिषु

त्रि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Plural	त्रयः	त्रीन्	त्रिभिः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रिभ्यः	त्रयाणाम्	त्रिषु

द्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Dual	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वभ्याम्	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वयोः	द्वयोः

अतिद्वि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिद्विः	अतिद्विम्	अतिद्विना	अतिद्व्ये	अतिद्व्यः	अतिद्व्योः	अतिद्वौ
Dual	अतिद्वी	अतिद्वी	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्व्योः	अतिद्व्योः
Plural	अतिद्वयः	अतिद्वीन्	अतिद्विभिः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्वीनाम्	अतिद्विषु

औडुलोमिः

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
S.	औडुलोमिः	औडुलोमिम्	औडुलोमिना	औडुलोमये	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमे
D.	औडुलोमि	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोमिभ्यां	औडुलोम्यां	औडुलोम्यां	औडुलोमी
P.	औडुलोमः	औडुलोमान्	औडुलोमैः	औडुलोमेभ्यः	औडुलोमेभ्यः	औडुलोमानाम्	औडुलोमेषु	औडुलोमाः

वातप्रमी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	वातप्रमी	वातप्रमीम्	वातप्रमिना	वातप्रमये	वातप्रमे	वातप्रमे	वातप्रमी	हे वातप्रमी
		वातप्रम्यम् ;					or वातप्रम्यि ;	
Dual	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रम्योः	वातप्रम्योः	"
Plural	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रम्यन्	वातप्रमीभिः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रम्याम्	वातप्रमीषु	"
		or वातप्रम्यः						

बहुश्रेयसी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	बहुश्रेयसी	हे बहुश्रेयसी	बहुश्रेयसीम्	बहुश्रेयसीना	बहुश्रेयसी	बहुश्रेयसी	बहुश्रेयसी	बहुश्रेयसी
D	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यां	"	"	बहुश्रेयस्योः	"
P	बहुश्रेयस्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीन्	बहुश्रेयसीभिः	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीनाम्	बहुश्रेयसीषु

अतिलक्ष्मी

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	अतिलक्ष्मी	हे अतिलक्ष्मी	अतिलक्ष्मीम्	अतिलक्ष्मिना	अतिलक्ष्मये	अतिलक्ष्मे	अतिलक्ष्मी	अतिलक्ष्मी
D	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यां	"	"	अतिलक्ष्म्योः	अतिलक्ष्म्योः
P	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्मीन्	अतिलक्ष्मीभिः	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यः	"	अतिलक्ष्मीनाम्	अतिलक्ष्मीषु

कुमारी

	Nomi	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	कुमारी	कुमार्यम्	कुमार्या	कुमार्ये	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याम्	हे कुमारी
Dual	कुमार्यौ	"	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमार्योः	"	"
Plural	कुमार्यः	"	कुमारीभ्यः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीणां	कुमारीषु	"	"

प्रधी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing.	प्रधीः	प्रधम्	प्रध्या	प्रधये	प्रधयः	प्रधयः	प्रधयाम्	प्रधीः
Dual	प्रध्वौ	प्रध्वौ	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रध्वोः	प्रध्वोः	प्रध्वौ	प्रध्वौ
Plural	प्रध्वः	प्रध्वः	प्रधीभिः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रध्वोः	प्रध्वोः	प्रध्वौ	प्रध्वः

उत्तरी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	उत्तरीः	उत्तमम्	उत्तमया	उत्तमे	उत्तम्यः	उत्तम्यः	उत्तम्याम्	उत्तरीः
Dual	उत्तमौ	उत्तमौ	उत्तरीभ्यां	उत्तरीभ्यां	उत्तरीभ्यां	उत्तम्योः	उत्तम्योः	उत्तमौ
Plural	उत्तम्यः	उत्तम्यः	उत्तरीभिः	उत्तरीभ्यः	उत्तरीभ्यः	उत्तम्याम्	उत्तरीषु	उत्तम्यः

ग्रामणी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	ग्रामणीः	ग्रामण्यम्	ग्रामण्या	ग्रामण्ये	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्याम्	ग्रामणीः
Dual	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्योः	ग्रामण्यौ
Plural	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामणीभिः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामण्याम्	ग्रामणीषु	ग्रामण्यः

नी

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Sing	नीः	नियम्	नियया	निये	नियः	नियः	नियाम्	नीः
Dual	नियौ	नियौ	नीभ्यां	नीभ्याम्	नीभ्याम्	नियोः	नियोः	नियौ
Plural	नियः	नियः	नीभिः	नीभ्यः	नीभ्यः	नियाम्	नीषु	नियः
Sing	सुनीः	सुत्यम्	सुत्या					
Dual	सुत्यौ	सुत्यौ						
Plural	सुत्यः	सुत्यः	like	मधीः				

शंसु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	शंसुः	शंसुम्	शंसुना	शंसवे	शंसोः	शंसोः	शंसो	शंसो
Dual	शंसू	शंसू	शंसुभ्याम्	शंसुभ्यां	शंसुभ्यां	शंसोः	शंसोः	शंसू
Plural	शंसवः	शंसून्	शंसुभिः	शंसुभ्यः	शंसुभ्यः	शंसुनाम्	शंसुषु	शंसवः

क्रौण्डु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	क्रौण्डः	क्रौण्डम्	क्रौण्डा	क्रौण्डे	क्रौण्डः	क्रौण्डोः	क्रौण्डः
Dual	क्रौण्डौ	क्रौण्डौ	क्रौण्डभ्यां	क्रौण्डभ्यां	क्रौण्डभ्यां	क्रौण्डोः	क्रौण्डोः
Plural	क्रौण्डाः	क्रौण्डून्	क्रौण्डभिः	क्रौण्डभ्यः	क्रौण्डभ्यः	क्रौण्डनाम्	क्रौण्डेषु

हृह

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	हृहः	हृहम्	हृहा	हृहे	हृहः	हृहोः	हृहा
Dual	हृहौ	हृहौ	हृहभ्याम्	हृहभ्यां	हृहभ्यां	हृहोः	हृहोः
Plural	हृहाः	हृहून्	हृहभिः	हृहभ्यः	हृहभ्यः	हृहाम्	हृहेषु

खलपू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gan.	Loc.
Singular	खलपूः	खलपूम्	खलपूणा	खलपूवे	खलपूः	खलपूः	खलपूषि
Dual	खलपूवौ	खलपूवौ	खलपूभ्यां	खलपूभ्यां	खलपूभ्याम्	खलपूवोः	खलपूवौ
Plural	खलपूः	खलपूः	खलपूभिः	खलपूभ्यः	खलपूभ्यः	खलपूणां	खलपूषुः

स्वभू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	स्वभूः	स्वभूम्	स्वभूणा	स्वभूवे	स्वभूः	स्वभूः	स्वभूषि
Dual	स्वभूवौ	स्वभूवौ	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभूभ्याम्	स्वभूवोः	स्वभूवौ
Plural	स्वभूः	स्वभूः	स्वभूभिः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभूणां	स्वभूषुः

Singular	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूम्	वर्षाभूणा	वर्षाभूवे	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूषि
Dual	वर्षाभूवौ	वर्षाभूवौ	वर्षाभूभ्यां	वर्षाभूभ्यां	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूवोः	वर्षाभूवौ
Plural	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूः	वर्षाभूभिः	वर्षाभूभ्यः	वर्षाभूभ्यः	वर्षाभूणां	वर्षाभूषुः

नृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	नृः	नरम्	नृः	नृवे	नृः	नृः	नरि
Dual	नरौ	नरौ	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	नृभ्याम्	नरौः	नरौ
Plural	नरः	नरम्	नृभिः	नृभ्यः	नृभ्यः	"	नरु

कृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कृः	किरम्	किरा	किरे	किरः	किरः	किरि
Dual	किरौ	किरौ	कीर्भ्यां	कीर्भ्यां	कीर्भ्याम्	किरौः	किरौ
Plural	किरः	किरः	कीर्भिः	कीर्भ्यः	कीर्भ्यः	किराम्	कीर्षुः

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कृः	कृम्	का	के	कः	कः	कि
Dual	कौ	कौ	काभ्यां	काभ्यां	काभ्याम्	कौः	कौ
Plural	कः	कम्	काभिः	काभ्यः	काभ्यः	काम्	कषु

गम्लृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गम्लः	गम्लम्	गम्ला	गम्ले	गम्लः	गम्लः	गम्लि
Dual	गम्लौ	गम्लौ	गम्लभ्याम्	"	गम्लोः	गम्लोः	गम्लौ
Plural	गम्लः	गम्लम्	गम्लभिः	गम्लभ्यः	"	गम्लणां or गम्लभ्यणां	गम्लषु

से

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	सेः	सद्यम्	सद्या	सद्ये	सद्यः	सद्यः	सद्यि
Dual	सद्यौ	सद्यौ	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सद्योः	सद्योः
Plural	सद्यः	सद्यः	सेभिः	सेभ्यः	सेभ्यः	सद्याम्	सेषु

गो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	गौः	गाम्	गवा	गवे	गोः	गोः	गवि
Dual	गावौ	गावौ	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गदोः	गदोः
Plural	गावः	गावः	गोभिः	गोभ्यः	गोभ्यः	ग	गावु व ष

स्मृतो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	स्मृतोः	स्मृतान्	स्मृतवा	स्मृतवे	स्मृतोः	स्मृतोः	स्मृतवि
Dual	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतावौ	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृतयोः	स्मृतयोः
Plural	स्मृतावः	स्मृतावः	स्मृताभिः	स्मृताभ्यः	स्मृताभ्यः	स्मृतवाम्	स्मृतावु

रे

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	रः	रद्यम्	रद्या	रद्ये	रद्यः	रद्यः	रद्वि
Dual	राद्यौ	राद्यौ	राद्यभ्यां	राद्यभ्यां	राद्यभ्यां	राद्योः	राद्योः
Plural	राद्यः	राद्यः	रादिभिः	राद्यभ्यः	राद्यभ्यः	राद्याम्	राद्यु

ग्लौ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	ग्लौः	ग्लावम्	ग्लावा	ग्लावे	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लावि
Dual	ग्लावौ	ग्लावौ	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लावोः	ग्लावोः
Plural	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लौभिः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लावाम्	ग्लावु

अथाजन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER IX.

DECLENSION OF FEMININES ENDING IN VOWELS.

Now we take up the declension of the word रमा. (This word is formed from the root रम् 'to play' with the affix अच् and the feminine affix राच्). The Nom. Sing is रमा. The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In forming the Nom : and Acc : Dual the following rule applies:—

२८७ । औङि आपः । ७ । १ । १८ ॥

भावन्तादृशात्परस्योङ्गः स्त्री स्यात् । औङित्व्यौकारविभक्तौ संज्ञा । एवं । रमाः ॥

287. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative.

The ह् in औङि is for the purpose of including औद् also. There is, in fact, no such affix as औद् taught by Pāṇini any where. Thus रमा+औ = रमा+औ = रमे ॥

The Pl: will be रमाः ॥

The Vocative Sing is formed according to the following Sūtr—

२८८ । संबुद्धौ च । ७ । ३ । १०६ ।

आय एकाः स्थासंबुद्धौ । एङ्गस्वादेशि संबुद्धिलेपः । हे रमे । हे रमे । हे रमाः । रमान् । रमे । रमाः । स्त्रीत्वान्नस्थाभावः ॥

288. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

Thus रमा+सु = रमे+सु = रमे ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus Voc: Sing. Dual and Pl: are हे रमे, हे रमे, हे रमाः respectively.

The Acc: forms are रमान् ; रमे ; रमाः ॥ The न is not added in the Acc: Pl: because it is feminine. The rule VI. 1. 193. S. 196 applies only to the Masculine nouns.

In forming the Instrumental, the following applies.

२८९ । औङि चापः । ७ । ३ । १०५ ॥

आङि षोडि च परे भावन्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रमान् । रमा । रमाद्याम् । रमाभिः ॥

289. Before the case-endings, औस् and before आ of

the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

एङ्ग is the name given to the affix ए, the Ins. Sing. by the ancient grammarians.

Thus एङ्ग + य = रये + आ = रमाय ॥ The Instr. dual and Pl. forms are रमायाम् रमाभिः ॥

In forming the Dative, the following sūtra applies :—

२९० । याडापः । ७ । ३ । ११३ ।

आप परस्व द्विवचनस्य याडागमः स्यात् । युद्धिरेत्येव । रमायै । सर्वव्येदीर्घः । रमायाः । रमयोः । रमायुः । एव दुर्गादयः ॥

290. The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. Gen and Loc. Sg. after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

Thus रमा + डे = रमायाद् + डे = रमाया + ए = रमायै according to VI. 1. 88. S. 72.

The Abl. and Gen. Singulars are thus formed :—रमा + ऊत्ति = रमा + याद् + ऊत्ति = रमाया + अल् = रमायाः ॥

The Gen. and Loc. dual रमयोः is formed as follows रमा + ओल् = रमे + ओल् (VII. 3. 105 S. 289) = रमयोः ॥

The Gen. Pl. is रमायाम् (य being added by VII. 1. 54 S. 208).

The Loc. Sing. रमायाम् is formed according to VII. 3. 116. S. 270. Thus रमा + याद् + डि = रमा + याद् + आम् = रमायाम् ॥

The Loc. dual and Pl. are रमयोः and रमायुः ॥ The Feminine Nouns ईना &c. are to be similarly declined.

—————10:—————

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Pronoun सर्वम् ॥ In the first three cases, it is declined like रमा ॥ In forming the Dative and other cases the following rules apply :—

२९१ । सर्वनाम्नः स्याद्द्विवचनश्च । ७ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आद्यन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्व द्विवः स्याद् स्यादापच द्विवः । यादाऽपवाहः । सर्वस्यै । सर्वस्याः २ । एकादेशस्य पूर्वान्तद्वय भङ्गादामि सर्वनाम्न इति लुट् । सर्वसाम् । सर्वस्याम् । सर्वयोः । सर्वयुः एष विश्वाद्य आपन्ताः ॥

291. After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened.

As सर्वस्यै विश्वस्यै तस्यै तस्यै कस्यै यस्यै नमस्त्यै सर्वस्याः विश्वस्याः तस्याः कस्याः यस्याः नमस्त्याः ॥

But अमुच्यै where the stem does not end in long **आ** of the Feminine

This debars the augment दाद् Thus Dat: Sing is formed as follows.
सर्वा + स्याद् + डे = सर्व + स्या + इ = सर्वस्यै ॥

Similarly the Abl: and Gen: Singular सर्वस्याः is formed.

In Gen: Pl: सुद् is added by VII. 8. 52 S. 217. Though the Feminine pronoun सर्वा is not mentioned in the सर्वादि class, yet the word सर्वा is called सर्वानाम्, for the ekādes'a **आ** of सर्वा (सर्व + आ = सर्वा) is considered as the final of the first, and hence the rule VII. 1. 52. S. 217 will apply to it. Thus we get the Gen: Pl: सर्वासाम् ॥

The Loc: Sing is thus formed सर्वा + डि = सर्व + स्या + आम् = सर्वस्याम् ॥ The Loc: Dual and Pl: forms are सर्वयोः and सर्वासु ॥

So also other Feminine Pronouns ending in **आ** like विश्वा &c. are to be declined.

२९२ । विभाषा दिक्स्तमासे बह्व्रीहि । १ । १ । २८ ॥

अत्र सर्वनाम्ना वा-स्यात् । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । विद्वन्मान्यन्तरादि इति प्रसिध्दोक्तस्य दिक्स्तमासस्य महणमिदं । योऽन्तरा सा पूर्वा यस्याः उन्मुग्धायास्तस्य उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । बह्व्रीहिमहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अन्तरस्यै आत्मास्यै । आत्मास्यै इत्यर्थः । अपुरीक्षितकैरेह । अन्तरस्यै नगस्यै ॥

292. The Sarvanāma words are optionally declined as such when they occur in a Bahuvrīhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26. S. 845).

Thus उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥ The Bahuvrīhi compound specifically taught in II. 2. 26. S. 845 and not every other bahuvrīhi. Therefore when the word उत्तर or पूर्व are so compounded as to denote a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East, there the word उत्तरपूर्वा (a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East) though a bahuvrīhi compound, formed of pronouns denoting points of compass, but as the whole compound does not denote the intermediate points of the compass but is the Name of a person, it is not treated as a Sarvanāma. Therefore its Dative Sing will be उत्तरपूर्वस्यै and not उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥

The word बह्व्रीहि is used in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra would have referred to Bahuvrīhi compound even without employing the word bahuvrīhi in it.

The word अन्तरा is a Sarvanāma denoting 'outer' and so it is declined as अन्तरस्यै आत्मास्यै meaning the outer court, but when the word अन्तरा denotes 'a city' it is not a sarvanāma and therefore its declension will be अन्तरस्यै नगस्यै (See Vārtika under sūtra VII. 1. 52 S. 217).

The word द्वितीया and तृतीया are similarly declined except in the हिन् affixes to which the following rule applies.

२९३ । विभाषा द्वितीया तृतीयाभ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां हिन्ः स्याद् स्यादापञ्च द्वयः । इदं सूत्रं ध्येयं शक्यम् । तीक्ष्णं हिन्सूत्रसंख्यानान् । द्वितीयस्यै । द्वितीयाय । द्वितीयस्याः । द्वितीयायाः । द्वितीयस्याम् । द्वितीयायाम् स्यात् रमायत् । एवं तृतीया ॥ अम्बार्थनयोर्ज्ञेयः ॥ हे अम्ब । हे अम्ब । हे अम्ब ॥ असंयुक्ता ये इत्कास्तद्वातां द्वयो न ॥ हे अम्बाडे । हे अम्बाडे । हे अम्बिके । जरा । जरसौ । श्रीभाषारपरखाज्जरस् । आदि हुद्ः परखाज्जरस् । जरतमित्वादि । पक्षे हलसौ र रमायत् । इदं पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन श्रीभाषं कृत्वा संनिपातपरिभाषाया अनिलतां चाश्रय जरसौ इति केचिदाहुस्तन्निर्मुक्तम् । यद्यपि जरसद्विषयं स्थानियद्वयिनाद्यन्ततामाश्रित्य । वाङ् आषः । आङि पादः । यादापः । द्वयनयापः । डेराम् । इति पञ्चापि विधयः प्राप्ताः । एवं नसुविहृषुः । तद्यप्यनश्विधाविबु केनै भवन्ति । आ आदिति प्रभिलप्य आकाररूपस्यैवाऽऽपः सर्वत्र महणात् । एवं इहङ्पादिसूत्रेऽपि आ आर् ङी ई इति प्रभिलपादित्यदुः निष्कौशादिभिरित्यादिसिद्धेर्विपर्ययणं प्रत्याख्येयम् । नन्विदमप्यतिसङ्गोद्योतय स्वाश्रयणाकारस्य स्थानियद्वयनार्थं चान्द्रित्य याद् स्यादिति वाच्यम् । आचन्तं यवर्गं ततः परस्य याङ्गुविधानात् । वयसंजनस्त्रीप्रत्यये सप्तविधिमयत् । परज इति नासिकाया नस् । जसः । नसः । गोभ्यामित्वादि । पक्षे ह्रदि च रमायत् । निशाया निष् । निशः । निशः ॥

293. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयस्यै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयस्यै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयस्याः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयस्याः; द्वितीयस्याम् or द्वितीयस्याम्; तृतीयस्याम्; or तृतीयायाम् ॥

The remaining forms are like those of रमा ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word अम्बा ॥

According to VII, 3. 103. S. 267, the Voc. Sing is हे अम्ब ॥ So also हे अम्ब ॥

The final आ of the word ending in simple ङ, ञ and क् is not shortened. Thus हे अम्बाडे; हे अम्बाते; हे अम्बिके ॥

The declension of जरा is somewhat peculiar. Thus Nom. Sg. जरा + हु = जर; Nom. Dual. जरा + औ = जरसौ; जर is replaced by जरस् (VII. 2. 101 S. 227) before the sūtra णी (VII. 1. 18. S. 287) could be applied. In Gen. Pl. जरस् substitution takes place before the augment हुद् could be added; hence जरसाम् ॥ But the जरस् substitution is optional, so when there is no जरस् substitution and before consonantal affixes जरा is declined like रमा ॥

Some form the Nom. Dual as जरसौ; their reason is that णी will replace औ even where जरस् substitution takes place and संनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application. The Paribhāṣhā is as follows :-

संनिपातद्वयौ विधिरनिमित्तं सङ्घातस्य i. e. "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." This

२९५। षटोः कः सि। ८। २। ४१ ॥

अस्य ढस्य च कः स्यात्कारे परे। इति तु न भवतिः जडत्वं प्रत्यसिद्धत्वात्। केचित्तु ग्रन्था-
विमुक्तौ शक्तिर्भातिगति स्तुवाद्यान्तरित्वमुपवर्तयन्ति। सम्मते जडत्वेन अकारे। निजभ्याम्। निजिभः। अद्वय-
म्। इत्युत्तम्। अर्थम्। निजश्च। अतः कुरित्ति कुरुत्वे तु न भवति। अद्वयस्यासिद्धत्वात् ॥ मातृपुत्रमासादूर्वा
मांसपुत्रयो वाच्याः सातारं वा * ॥ पृतः। पृताः। पृथ्वायम्। पथे सुहि च रमायम्। गोपा विश्वपायम्।
मतिः प्रविण हरिम्। स्त्रीत्याजस्यभायः। मतीः ॥ नात्वं न मदा ॥

295. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Therefore निज+सु (Loc. Pl.)=निष+सु=निह्+सु=निह्+सु=But the
application of this rule would be wrong, for the जङ् rule is considered as *asiddha*
for the purposes this rule.

Some explain the last Sūtra by confining it to roots only, they read
the anuvṛtti of घातोः in that Sūtra from the previous Sūtra, VIII. 2. 32
S. 325. According to them, there will be जङ् when जङ् rule is applied. Thus
निजभ्याम्; निजिभः। In fact, according to this opinion, there is no substitution of
ष and so निज+भ्याम् is changed to निज्+भ्याम्, Therefore, according to them, the
Loc. Pl. will be निह्+सु=निह्+सु=निह्+सु=निह्+सु. The ष् is not changed to
क by VIII. 2. 30 S. 378, because the जङ् substitution is considered as *asiddha*.

Vārtika. Before the affixes of the Acc. Pl. and the rest the words
मांस, पुत्रमा and सातु are optionally replaced by मांस्, पुत्रः and सद्.

Therefore Acc. Pl. of पुत्र् will be पुतः; Instr. Sg. पुता; Instr. Dual पुत्र्+भ्याम्
In the other alternative and in the strong cases, namely the first five inflec-
tional cases पुत्रमा is declined like रमा. The Feminine गोपा is declined like विश्वपा ॥

The Feminine मतिः is declined like हरि except in the following cases :—
The Acc. Pl. is मतीः; there is no म because it is Feminine. Similarly the
Instr. Sg. is मदा and not मतिमा because VII. 3 120. S. 244. does not apply to
Feminine nouns.

Before the हिङ् affixes, मति is governed by the following rule.

२९६। छिति ह्रस्वञ्च। १। ४। ६ ॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्रीस्यभिर्भौ दिव्यस्त्रीलिङ्गावीदृती इत्ये च इवर्णौ विधां वा नदी सप्तौ स्त्री-
छिति परे ॥ आण् नद्याः ॥ मय्य ममये। नद्याः। मत्तः। नदीस्त्वपञ्च भौदिति छेदेचै मति ॥

296. When a case-affix having an indicatory *ñ* (ñit) follows, then feminine words ending in short इ and उ are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long ि and ु which admit of iyañ and uvañ : but not so the word stri, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long ि and ु have been defined as nadi, words in

short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition, if they take iyañ and uvañ. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory ङ are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have :—

Dative मत्तये or मत्तै, धनवे or धेनै, मित्रे or मित्रै ; Ablative and Genitive मत्ते or मत्ताः, धेनो, or धेन्वाः, मित्र्यः or मित्र्यः ; Locative मत्तौ or मत्ताम्, धेनौ or धेन्वां, मित्रि or मित्र्यां ॥ So also भुवे or भुवि &c. But stri is always द्विष्यै &c.

When the word मत्ति is treated as a Nadi word, then the Loc. Sg. requires औ by VII. 3. 118, S. 256. But this is prevented by the following rule,

२६७ । इदुद्भ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११७ ॥

मत्तिचक्षुःशब्दाभ्यानिदुद्भ्यां परस्य डेचाम् स्यात् । पक्षे ञश्च धेः । मत्ताम् । मत्तौ । एवं भुतिस्मृत्या-
दयः ॥

297. After the Feminine nadi words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg.

When this rule does not apply, then it is treated as a वि word and rule VII. 3. 19 S. 247 applies. Thus Loc. Sg. is मत्ताम् or मत्तौ.

The words भुति, स्मृति &c. are declined like मत्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of feminine nouns ending in स्त्र like तिष्ठ, and चतुस्त्र the feminine of त्रि and चतुर which are formed by the following Sūtra.

२६८ । त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिष्ठचतुस्त्र । ७ । २ । ६६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गयोरेतयोरेतयावेवौ स्त्री विभक्तौ परतः ॥

298. तिष्ठ is substituted for त्रि and चतुस्त्र for चतुर in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

२६९ । अचि र ऋतः । ७ । २ । १०० ॥

तिष्ठचतुस्त्र एतयोर्ऋकारस्य रेफादेशः स्यादचि । गुणदीर्घोच्चात्तात्पर्यावः । तिष्ठः २ । मत्ति गुणपरेति जुह ॥

299. र् is substituted for the ऋ of तिष्ठ and चतुस्त्र before case-affixes beginning with a vowel

In the Genitive there is the augment हुद् under Vārtika VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus तिष्ठ + हुद् + आम् = तिष्ठ् + नाम्. Here the Sūtra VI. 4. 3. S. 209. requires the lengthening of the ऋ but it is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३०० । न तिसृचतसृ । ६ । ४ । ४ ॥

एतयोर्नामि वीथौ न स्यात् । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु । स्त्रियाभित्ति विचतुराधिकोपनामेष्ट । प्रियास्त-
यस्त्रीणि वा यस्याः सा प्रियविः मत्तिवत् । यामि तु प्रियनसाणाभिति विशेषः । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य स त्सुलं प्रियविः । स्वर्ण-
स्तुका लुप्तत्वेन प्रत्ययलक्षणभावात् तिस्रदिशः । न लुप्तत्वेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे प्रियतिसृ । * रादेष्टान्
पूर्वविभक्तिधेवेन युम् । प्रियतिसृणी प्रियतिसृणि । वृत्तीयादिषु वक्ष्यमा मर्तुवज्ञावधिकल्पारथ्यादेण युम्भावौ ।
प्रियतिस्रा । प्रियतिसृणा । इत्यादि । हेरत्वे सत्वाप । हे २ । इत्ताम् ३ । इयोः २ । गौरी । गौर्यौ । गौर्यः ।
नदीकार्यम् । हे गौरि । गौर्यै इत्यादि । एवं धात्रीनप्यादयः । प्रातिपदिकपक्षेण लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि भङ्गादनङि
णिङ्ङाच्च च प्राप्ते ॥ विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टामङ्गम् ॥ सखी । सख्यौ । सख्यः इत्यादि गौरिवत् । अङ्गन्तत्वात्
सुलोपः । तक्षी । तक्ष्यौ गौरिवत् । एवं त्रीतिन्त्यादयः ॥ स्त्री । हे स्त्रि ॥

300. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

The Loc. Pl. is तिसृषु.

The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies वि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, though the anga may be feminine, yet if वि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place: as प्रियास्तयस्त्रयाः or प्रियाणि वीथि वा अस्याः त्रयस्त्रयाः = प्रियविः 'a Brāhmanī to whom three are beloved.' dual. प्रियवाः, Pl. प्रियवदः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वारः. प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वारः ॥ The word प्रियवि will be declined like मत्ति. The only distinction being that the genitive Pl. will प्रियविद्याणाम्.

Similarly the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter; when वि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine; as प्रियास्तिस्रो त्रयस्त्रयोस्त्य त्रयस्त्रयः = प्रियतिसा त्रयस्त्रयः (VII. 1. 94) प्रियस्तिस्रो. प्रियतिस्रः ॥

If the compound is analysed as प्रिया तिस्रो यस्य त्सुलं, namely, if the compound refers to a neuter word, then the form will be प्रियवि. Here the Nom. and Acc. case endings सु and अम् are elided by VII. 1. 23 S. 319 by using the word सुल. Therefore, there being no प्रत्यय लक्षणे (See I. 1. 63. S. 263), there will be no तिसृ substitution. But if the Sūtra I. 1. 63. S. 263 be considered as not of universal application, then the तिसृ substitution will take place and the Nom. and Acc. Singular will be प्रियतिसृ. The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Plural will be formed by the following Vārtika:—

Vārtika:—The guṇa of VII. 3. 110 S. 275 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 S. 299 and therefore there will be the augment दृष्ट by VII. 1. 73 S. 320. Thus the forms are प्रियतिसृणी and प्रियतिसृणि.

Before the Instrumental and other case-endings there will be optionally युम् or the इ substitution, because the word may be treated optionally as Neuter or Masculine. Thus प्रियतिस्रा or प्रियतिसृणा &c.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun द्वि. The इ of द्वि is replaced by अ according to Sūtra VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it assumes the form वृ. To this is added the Feminine affix णाप् and thus we get the form वृण. It is always Dual and is declined as द्वे; द्वे; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्; द्वयोः; द्वयोः।

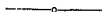
Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun चोरी. Its Nominative: forms are चोरी; चौर्यै; चौर्यैः। Its Voc. is हे चोरि according to VII. 3. 107 S. 267. Its Dat. will be चौर्यै by VII. 3. 112 S. 268 and VI. 1. 90 S. 269.

The Feminine Nouns दाणी and नक्षी &c. are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of the Fem. Noun सखी. There arises the doubt as to whether this word should take the affix अनङ् under Sūtra VII. 1. 93 S. 248 and the affix should be treated as णिङ् by VII. 1. 92. S. 253 on the maxim that "A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." For the above rules only use the Prātipadika form सखी, and so according to this maxim, they may apply to the Noun सखी when it is Feminine. But this is not the case, however, when a Vibhakti is to be added, because then the above maxim is set aside by the following.

Paribhāṣā:—"A Prātipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prātipadika before a case-termination after the Prātipadika, does not denote a crude form derived from the Prātipadika by the addition of an affix denoting gender."

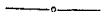
Thus Nom. forms of सखी are सखी; सख्यै; सख्यः. The rest of the declensions are like those of चोरी.



Now we take up the declension of दक्षी. As this word is not formed by the Feminine affix ई, therefore the Nom. Singular affix सु will not be elided, because the rule of elision taught in VI. 1. 68 S. 252 applies only to those Feminine words which are formed by the Feminine affix ई. The word दक्षी is an Unādi formed word. The long ई is not a Feminine affix. Thus Nom. Sing. is दक्षीः॥ The rest of the declensions are like those of चोरी.

So are the words तारी, तनूरी &c. declined.

Note:—Some consider the दक्षी to be formed by the Vārtika कृदिकारदक्षिणः under IV. 1. 45. S. 503. the affix दीप् is added to every कृदन्त word ending in इ or ई with the exception of the affix णिङ्. According to this view, दक्षी, तारी &c. are दीप् formed, and so the Nom. Sing. affix will be elided after them.



Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun चोरी. Its Nom. Sg. is चोरी. Its Vocative Sg. is हे चोरि.

In forming the Nom : Dual and Pl : the following rule applies.

३०१ । स्त्रियाः । ६ । ४ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीषट्स्थेयङ् स्वाङ्गादौ प्रत्यये परे । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

301. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः ॥

In the Acc : Dual and Pl : the following rule gives option as regard the इयङ् *ādeṣa*.

३०२ । वाम्शसोः । ६ । ४ । ८० ॥

अभि पति च स्त्रिया इयङ् वा स्वात् । स्त्रियम् । स्त्रीम् । स्त्रियै । स्त्रियः । स्त्रीः । स्त्रिया । सि स्त्रा
-स्त्रियाः २ । स्त्रियोः । परस्वात्तुद् । स्त्रीणाम् । स्त्रिणाम् । स्त्रियोः । स्त्रीषु । स्त्रियपतिव्रजान्तः । अतिस्त्रिः ।
अतिस्त्रियौ ॥

गुणनामादौस्त्वङ्भुभिः परस्वात्तुंसि वाध्यवे । स्त्रिये गुणा च स्त्रीषट्स्थेयङ्स्त्वङ्भुभायताम् ॥

असि च ॥ अतिस्त्रियः । हे अतिस्त्रिये । हे अतिस्त्रियौ । हे अतिस्त्रियः ॥ वाम्शसोः ॥ अतिस्त्रियम् ।
अतिस्त्रियम् । अतिस्त्रियौ । अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रीम् । अतिस्त्रिणा । वेर्हिनि ॥ अतिस्त्रियं । अतिस्त्रिः २ ।
अतिस्त्रियोः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् ॥ अप ये ॥ अतिस्त्री अतिस्त्रियोः, ॥

भोस्त्वौकारे च निधये स्वाङ्गमासोस्तु विभाषया । इयङ्देशोऽपि नाम्नाय स्त्रियाः पुंस्त्वपसर्जने ॥

स्त्रीवे तु गुम् । अतिस्त्रि । अतिस्त्रिणी । अतिस्त्रीणि । अतिस्त्रिणा । अतिस्त्रिणे । डेम्भुदायजारी
पश्यमानपुंश्रज्जात्यक्षे वाम्शङ्गम् । अतिस्त्रियं or अतिस्त्रिणे । अतिस्त्रिणः २ । अतिस्त्रिः २ । अतिस्त्रिणा २ ।
अतिस्त्रियोरिरादि । स्त्रियां तु मायेण पुंस्त्व । शसि अतिस्त्रीः । अतिस्त्रिया । किति इत्यधेति इत्यान्तस्त्व-
पुक्ता विकल्पः । अस्त्रीचि तु इयङ्गुणदस्थानागित्वस्यैव पदुपसर्गः । तन्तुवद्भ्योपानुत्तेदीर्घस्यायं निषेधो
नतु इत्यस्य । अतिस्त्रियै । अतिस्त्रिये । अतिस्त्रियाः २ । अतिस्त्रिः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् । अतिस्त्रियाम् ।
अतिस्त्री । स्त्रीः । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

302. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शम् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्रियम् or स्त्रीम् ; स्त्रियः or स्त्रीः

The Instr : Sing is स्त्रियै ; Dat : Sing स्त्रियै. Abl : and Gen : Sing :
स्त्रियाः ; Gen : Dual स्त्रियोः Gen : Pl. is formed by the addition of त् to the exclu-
sion of इयङ्, because त् is taught subsequently. Thus स्त्रीणाम्. The Loc. forms
are स्त्रियाम् ; स्त्रियोः ; स्त्रीषु.

Now, we take up the declension of अतिस्त्रि, which means "one who has surpassed the woman." Its Nom. Sing. is अतिस्त्रिः ; Dual अतिस्त्रियौ.

Verse :—The इयङ् substitution, being taught previously, is superseded by the following rules in the Masculine, because they are taught subsequently, viz. the rule of Guna (VII. 3. 109, S. 241; VII. 3. 111 S. 245.); the वा substitution in the Instr : (VII. 3. 120, S. 244); the औ substitution (VII. 3. 119 S. 247)

and the *सुट्* augment (VII. 1. 54. S. 208). In the Neuter the *सुप्* being subsequent replaces the *इयङ्*.

Thus the rule 'अतिथि' gives us the form अतिथिः. The Voc forms are हे अतिथे; हे अतिथियो; हे अतिथय. The Acc. forms are अतिथिम् or अतिथिम्; अतिथिम्; अतिथिम् or अतिथिन्. The Instr. Sing is अतिथिणा. The Dat. Sing is अतिथये (with the *गुण*, according to VII. 3. 111. S. 245). The Abl. Sing. is अतिथे; The genitive forms are अतिथेः, अतिथियोः; अतिथिणाम्. The Loc. Sing. is अतिथौ formed by *अञ्च* चैः (VII. 3. 119. S. 247) The Loc. Dual is अतिथियोः.

Verse :—The *इयङ्* substitution taught above, is compulsory before the affixes of the Gen. and Loc. Duals (Viz. *ओम्*) also the Nom. and Acc. Duals (*औ*) and optionally before the Acc. Sing. and Pl. *अम्* and *चस्* and nowhere else when the स्त्री becomes the secondary member of a compound which denotes a Masculine.

When the compound अतिथि denotes a Neuter, then the declension is as follows :—Nom. and Acc. forms are अतिथिः, अतिथिणी; अतिथिणि. The augment *सुप्* is added to the affixes of the Dual and Plural by VII. 1. 72 and 73 S. 314 and 320. The Instr. Sing. is अतिथिणा; VII. 1. 73. In the dative and the rest, the Neuter is optionally treated like the Masculine according to VII. 1. 74 S. 321. Thus the Dat. Sing. is अतिथये or अतिथिणे. The Abl. Sing. is अतिथे; or अतिथिणः and so also is Gen. Sing. The Gen. and Loc. Dual अतिथियोः or अतिथिणोः &c.

When the word अतिथि is Feminine then it is declined almost like the Masculine अतिथि with the following exceptions :—The Acc. Pl. is अतिथीः; Instr. Sing. अतिथिणा. Before the स्त्रि case affixes, the rule of I. 4. 6 S. 296 applies and there is the option. The word अस्त्री of the Sūtra I. 4. 4. S. 303 which is read by *anuvritā* in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 is confined to that form of स्त्री which takes the substitution *इयङ्*. Therefore the prohibition regarding the non inclusion of the word स्त्री in the Sūtra I. 4. 6. S. 296 refers to that form of स्त्री which ends in long ई and not to short ई as in अतिथि. The result is that the rule I. 4. 6. S. 296 will apply to the word अतिथि and it will be optionally treated as a *Nadi* word. Therefore, the Dat. Sing. is either अतिथिदे (as a *Nadi*) or अतिथिदे (as a *ghī*). The Abl. and Genitive Sing. forms are either अतिथिदाः (as a *Nadi*) or अतिथिः (as a *ghī*). The Genitive Pl. is अतिथिणाम्. The Loc. Sing. forms are either अतिथिणाम् or अतिथौ ॥

—10:—

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun स्त्री. Its Nom. forms are स्त्री; स्त्रियो; स्त्रियः

The Vocative is governed by the following rule :—

३०३ । नेयडुवड्स्थानावस्त्री । १ । ४ । ४ ॥

इयडुवड्ढः स्थितिर्योस्तापीतुता नदीसंज्ञो न स्तो नतु स्त्री । हे श्रीः । श्रिये । श्रिये । श्रियाः । श्रियः ॥

303. Feminine words ending in *i* and *ū* which admit the substitute (इयड्) *iyāṇ* and (उवड्) *uvāṇ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called *Nadi*; except the word *strī*, (which is called *nadi* notwithstanding its substituting *iyāṇ*).

The Vocative Singular is therefore हे श्रीः ॥

The Dative Sing is श्रिये or श्रिये; Abl: Sing is श्रियाः or श्रियः by I. 4. 6. S. 296.

But in the Gen; Pl: the following Sātra applies:—

३०४ । वामि । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इयडुवड्स्थानोऽप्ययस्यै वृ धामि वा नदीसंज्ञो स्तो नतु स्त्री । अस्मिन् । श्रियाम् । श्रियि । श्रियाम् । प्रधीशब्दस्य तु वृत्तिकारणीनां मते लक्ष्मीवद्भूषम् । पदान्तरं विनापि श्रियां धर्ममानस्यं नित्यस्त्रीत्वमिति स्त्रीकारान् । लिङ्गान्तरानभिधाद्यकत्वं तदिति कैयटेनेन तु पुंवद्भूषम् । प्रकृष्टा धीरिति विमोहं तु लक्ष्मीयत् । अति शक्तिं च प्रथमं द्रव्य इति विशेषः । सुप्तु धीर्यस्याः सुप्तु ध्यायति चेति विमोहे तु वृत्तिमते सुधीः श्रियन् । मतान्तरं पुंवत् । सुप्तु धीरिति विमोहे तु श्रियहेव । वामणीः पुंवत् । मानस्यमस्योत्सर्गितः पुंघर्मेतया पदान्तरं विनापि श्रियाम् प्रवृत्तेः ॥ एवं लक्ष्ययनादेरपि पुंघर्मस्त्रीत्वोत्सर्गिकं बोध्यम् । धेनुर्धनवत् ॥

304. Feminine words ending in *i* and *ū*, though admitting *iyāṇ* and *uvāṇ* substitutes, are optionally termed *Nadi*, when the affix *ām* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strī*, which is always *Nadi*.

श्री + आम् = अ इयड् + आम् = श्रियाम्; or श्री + आम् = श्री + इड् + अम् (VII. 1. 54.) = श्रीणाम्;

The Loc. Sing. is श्रियि or श्रियाम् ।

The word *प्रधी* is declined like *लक्ष्मी* according to the author of *वृत्तिकार* and others, because it is taken to be a word which is always Feminine; and which by its own annotation is Feminine without the help of any other word. But according to *Kaiyata* it is to be declined as a Masculine Noun, because it does not denote any gender. When this word is analysed as *प्रकृष्टा धीः* then it is to be declined like *लक्ष्मी*. The only peculiarities being in the Acc: Sing and Plural, where the forms are *प्रथमम्* and *प्रथमः* :

The word *सुधी* when analysed as, *सुप्तुधीर्यस्याः* "that woman whose understanding is good" or when analysed as *सुप्तुध्यायति या* 'She who meditates well', then it is declined as *श्री* according to *वृत्ति* author. According to others it is

to be declined as a Masculine Noun. But when it is analysed as a कर्मधारय Compound सुधु धी: 'Good intelligence' it is always to be declined as a Feminine Noun like स्त्री.

The Feminine Noun **ग्रामिणी** 'a female head of a village' is to be declined like the Masculine Noun **ग्रामणी**; because leadership of a village is, as a general rule, the duty of a male person, and so the word **ग्रामिणी** in exceptional cases only denotes a female, and then it must have some epithet used along with it to indicate that it refers to a woman. Similarly, the word **स्वामि** 'a sweeper' applies primarily to a male person though a woman may occasionally take up that work.

Declension of Feminines ending in च.

The Feminine Noun **बेहु** is declined like **मति**. We take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **कोटु**. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३०५ । स्त्रियां च । ७ । १ । ६६ ॥

स्त्रीयायी कोष्ठुश्चन्द्रमन्तद्वयं लभते ॥

305. The word क्राष्टु is treated as if it ended in कृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

And because क्रोड् is treated as if it was क्रोह्, the feminine will be formed by the affix डीप् by IV, 1, 5, as given below :—

३०६ । ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥

अदन्तेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च खियां झीप् स्यात् । कोट्टी । कोट्ट्यै । कोट्ट्यः । यधुगैरिवत् । भूः श्रीवत् ।
 हे मुधुः । कथं तर्हि खचितः कसि श्वे सुवृत् इति भट्टिः । प्रमाद एवायमिति वद्वः । खलपूः पुंश्रुत् । पुनर्भूः ।
 इत्युक्तेति यथा उपद्वेः साधनान्नियतुष्यदिति निषेधो न । हे पुनर्भू । पुनर्भवम् । पुनर्भवी । पुनर्भवेः ॥

306. The affix **ङिप्** is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in **ङ्** or in **न** !

Thus मोह becomes मोही and is declined as Nom : मोही ; मोहिसे ; मोहिष्यः ।

Declension of Feminine nouns endings in ङ.

The Feminine Noun वधू is declined like नौरी; धृ is declined like श्री. Its Voc. Sing. is हे मधुः । How then does the Bhatti use the Voc. Sing. as वधू in the following passage दा विनः प्ताति हे वधू ? The Bhatti has misapplied Sūtra I. 2. 48 S. 656 which is not applicable because धृ is not formed by any Feminine affix but by the affix दृ added to the root ध (See Upādi II. 68) If he has not applied that rule, he might have applied the Sūtra VII. 3. 107. S. 267

and so shortened the vowel in the Vocative. But वृषू is not a Nadi word, because of the prohibition I. 4. 4. S. 303 and so the rule of shortening will not apply to it. The use by Kālidāsa of the form वृषु in the sentence विमाने वृषु विनगृहे कृतः is also erroneous.

The Feminine Noun खलू is to be declined like the Masculine Noun खलू ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun पुनर्भू. By the *Vārtika* under VI. 4. 84. S. 282, the ङ is replaced by न् and thus the स्वङ्, substitution is prevented, and therefore the prohibition of the *Sūtra* I. 4. 4. S. 303 does not apply to पुनर्भू which is declined like a Nadi word. Thus the Voc. Sing. is हे पुनर्भू. The Acc. forms are पुनर्भूम्; पुनर्भूः; पुनर्भूः.

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule will apply.

३०७ । एकाञ्चत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

एकाञ्चत्तरपदे यस्य सप्तित् सप्तवि पूर्वपदस्याङ्गित्वात्प्राप्तस्य प्रातिपदिकान्तदुग्धभक्तिस्यस्य नस्य नित्यं णत्वं स्यात् । आत्मसप्तमर्थाङ्गित्वत्वे सिद्धे पुनर्णपदं स्वार्थम् । यत्नं वाधित्वा परत्वात्तुद् । पुनर्णणम् । वर्षाभूः । भेकजाती नित्यस्त्रीत्वाभावात् । हे वर्षाभूः कैयटमते । मतान्तरे तु हे वर्षाभूः । पुनर्न-
वायां तु हे वर्षाभूः । भेक्यां पुनर्नवायां स्त्री वषाभूर्वद्वरे पुनाति निति साधकः । वर्षाभूः । वर्षाभिः ।
स्वयंभूः पुनर्भूः ॥

307. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prātipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Text:—The ण is repeated in this sūtra merely for the sake of distinctness, (and not to make the sūtra obligatory as is the view of the author of the *Kāśikā*). Because the sūtra would be an obligatory rule even without it, because, the very fact that a separate sūtra is commenced, shows that it is not an optional rule like the sūtras VIII. 4. 10 and 11. S. 1054. and 1055. The augment नुम् is added, because it is subsequently taught and supersedes the न् of the *Vārtika* under VI. 4. 84 S. 282. Thus पुनर्णणम् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun वर्षाभू । When the word means a frog, it is both a Feminine and a Masculine and hence according to the opinion of Kaiyata, the Voc. Sing. will be हे वर्षाभूः । According to others, the Voc. Sing. is हे वर्षाभू ॥

According to the Lexicographer Yādava, वर्षाभू is feminine when denoting a frog or the herb called Punarnavā; and it is masculine when meaning a frog only,

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are वर्धन्वौ ; वर्धन्वः ॥

The declension of the Feminine Noun स्वसृ is like that of the Masc : Noun.

—:—:—

Declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in स् ॥

We take up the declension of the Feminine nouns स्वसृ &c. In the declension of these Nouns the following rule applies.

३०८ । न पदस्वस्त्रादिभ्यः । १ । १ । २० ॥

पदस्त्रादिभ्यः स्वस्त्रादिभ्यश्च ङीष्वापौ न स्तः ।

स्वसा तिस्रसस्तस्य ननान्ता इतिता तया । यासा मातेति सौमिने स्वसादय उवाहताः ॥

मातृमिति वीर्येः । स्वसा । स्वसातौ । स्वसारः । माता पितृवत् । अस्ति मातृः । व्यापावत् । पुंवत् ॥ नौर्नीवत् ॥

308 The feminine affixes ङीप् and वाप् are not employed after the stems called 'पद्' (I. 1, 24), 'स्वसृ' &c.

The following seven words belong to the Svasrādi class:—स्वसा 'a sister', इतिता 'a daughter'; ननान्ता 'a husband's sister', यासा 'a husband's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three', चतस्रः 'four'.

There is lengthening of the penultimate Vowel by VI. 4. 11. S. 277. in the case of स्वसृ ॥ Thus the Nom : forms are स्वसा ; स्वसातौ ; स्वसारः ॥

The feminine Noun मातृ is declined like पितृ ॥ In the Acc : Pl : the form is मातृ ॥

—:—:—

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ऐ ॥

The feminine Noun ऐ is declined like the Masc : Noun ऐ ॥

—:—:—

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

The feminine Noun ओ is declined like the Masculine Noun ओ ॥

—:—:—

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in औ ॥

The feminine Noun औ is declined like the Masculine Noun औ ॥

—:—:—

Here ends the declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in Vowels.

रमा

	Nom.	Acc.	Inp.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	रमा	रमाम्	रमया	रमायै	रमाद्यः	रमायाः	रमाद्याम्	हे रमे
Dual	रमे	रमे	रमभ्याम्	"	"	रमयोः	"	हे रमे
Plural	रमाः	रमाः	रमानिः	रमाभ्यः	"	रमाणाम्	रमारु	हे रमाः

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	सर्वा	सर्वाम्	सर्वया	सर्वस्यै	सर्वस्याः	"	सर्वस्याम्
Dual	सर्वे	सर्वे	सर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	सर्वयोः	"
Plural	सर्वाः	"	सर्वाभिः	सर्वाभ्यः	"	सर्वास्ताम्	सर्वास्तु

उत्तरपूर्वा N. E.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	उत्तरपूर्वा	उत्तरपूर्वाम्	उत्तरपूर्वया	उत्तरपूर्वस्यै	उत्तरपूर्वस्याः	"	उत्तरपूर्वस्याम्
				or	or		or
			उत्तरपूर्वयै	उत्तरपूर्वायाः			उत्तरपूर्वायाम्
Dual	उत्तरपूर्वे	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	उत्तरपूर्वयोः	"
Plural	उत्तरपूर्वाः	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभिः	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्यः	"	उत्तरपूर्वास्ताम्	उत्तरपूर्वास्तु
						or	
						उत्तरपूर्वाणाम्	

जरा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जराया	जरस्यै	जरस्याः	"	जरस्याम्
Dual	जरी	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरीयोः	"
Plural	जराः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जरास्ताम्	जरास्तु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जराया	जरस्यै	जरायाः	"	जरायाम्
Dual	जरी	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरीयोः	"
Plural	जराः	"	जरीभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जराणाम्	जरास्तु

नासिका

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	नासिका	नासिकाम्	नसा	नस्यै	नसः	नसः	नसि
Dual	नासिके	"	नासिकाभ्याम्	"	"	नसोः	"
Plural	नासिकाः	नसः	नासिभिः	नासिभ्यः	"	नसां	नसु

निशा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	निशा	निशाम्	निशा	निशे	निशाः	निशाः	निशि
Dual	निशे	"	निशाभ्याम्	"	निशोः	"	"
			or				
			निशाभ्याम्				
Plural	निशाः	निशः	निशिभिः	निशिभ्यः	"	निशां	निदस्तु
			or				or
			निशिभिः	निशिभ्यः			निदस्तु
							or
							निदस्तु

अथाजन्त नपुंसक लिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER X.

DECLENSION OF NEUTER NOUNS ENDING IN VOWELS.

We take up the declension of the Neuter Noun ज्ञान ॥ In forming Nom : Sing the following rule applies.

३०६ । अतोऽम् । ७ । १ । २४ ॥

अतोऽज्ञान् । श्रीवाल्मीक्यः स्यात् ॥ अणि पूर्वः ॥ ज्ञानम् ॥ दृढद्वयस्वार्थि ह्रस्वाभलोपः । हे ज्ञान ॥

309. After a Neutral stem in **अ**, **अम्** is substituted for **सु** and **अम्** the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

Thus ज्ञान + अम् = ज्ञानम् (See VI. 1. 11 7. S. 194)

In forming the Voc. Sg. the consonant only of the Nom : Sg. is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus हे ज्ञान ; i. e. the **अ** of अम् is elided and not the **अ**

३१० । नपुंसकाच्च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

श्रीवाल्मीक्यः श्री स्यात् । भसंज्ञायाम् ॥

310. After a neutral stem, **ई** is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ and the base gets the designation of *Bha*.

Note:—By Sūtra I. 1. 43. S. 229 the affixes coming after Neuter bases are not *Sarva-vāna Sthāna*, consequently the base before such affixes is *bha* by I. 4. 18 S. 231 if such affix begins with a Vowel. **श्री** is such an affix and therefore the base before this affix is *bha* and hence the following rule applies.

३११ । यस्येति च । ६ । ४ । १४८ ॥

अस्यैवर्णार्णयोर्लोपः स्यादिकारे तद्धिते च परे । इत्यकारलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ औष्ठः इयं प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ ज्ञाने ॥

311. The final **इ** and **अ** (both long and short), of a *bha* stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix **ई** ॥

Thus ज्ञान + श्री = ज्ञान् + ई = ज्ञानी But this is not the correct form. The elision of **अ** is prevented by the following *Vārtika*.:—

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (स्त्री), when it is the substitute of ओ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter and of certain feminines in long ञा ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and ञ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus ज्ञान + ई = ज्ञाने ॥ It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra.

In forming the Nom. and Acc. Plurals, the following rules apply

३१२ । जदशसोः शिः । ७ । १ । २० ॥

स्त्रीवाचनयोः शि स्यात् ॥

312. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and षस्) ॥

Thus ज्ञान + जस् or षस् = ज्ञान + शिः. Now, this शि gets the designation of *Sarvanāma Sthāna* as taught in the next Sūtra and being so called, the Sūtra after that applies to it; by which a न् is inserted.

३१३ । शि सर्वनामस्थानम् । १ । १ । ४२ ॥

शि इत्येतदुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

313. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called *sarvanāma-sthāna*.

३१४ । नपुंसकस्य झलच् । ७ । १ । ७२ ॥

ज्ञानन्तस्याऽञन्तस्य च झीङ्स्य जुमागन् स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधाशीर्षः । ज्ञानानि । तत्तद्धन् । शेषे रामवन् । एवं धनवनफलादयः ॥

314. The augment जुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus ज्ञान + शि = ज्ञान + जुम् + शि = ज्ञान । न् + इ = ज्ञान + नि = ज्ञानानि. The penultimate vowel is lengthened by VI. 4. 8. S. 250.

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. The rest are declined like those of राम ॥

Thus are to be declined the Neuter Nouns धन, वन, फल &c.

Now we take up the declension of the word कतर. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३१५। अद्द् इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः । ७।१।२५ ॥

एभ्यः क्लीबेभ्यः स्वमोरद्दादिभ्यः स्यात् ॥

315. अद्द् is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and भम् after the five Pronouns इतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. इतर, and 2. इतम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

Note :—These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanāmāns are read together (See I. 1. 27, S. 213)—इतर, इतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अद्द् = कतरत् (the अ of katarā elided by इ) : as कतरत् सिद्धन्ति. कतरत् पदम् ॥

The force of this indicative letter द् in the affix अद्द् is to elide the final vowel by the following Sūtra.

३१६। ऐः । ६।४।१४३ ॥

इति परे मस्य ऐर्लोपः स्यात् ॥ यावत्तमे ॥ कतरत् । कतरद् । कतरे । कतराणि । मस्येति किम् । पञ्चमः । ऐर्लुप्तत्वाद्यनयोरेति पूर्वसर्गवर्षे एङ्गस्यादिति संयुद्धिनोपध न भवति । हे कतरत् । पुनस्तद्गत् । रोषं पुंवत् । कतमत् । इतरत् । अन्यत् । अन्यतरत् । अन्यतमशब्दस्य तु अन्यतममित्येव ॥ एकतमशब्दतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ एकतरम् । सोमारेषे कृते संनिपातपरिभाषया न जरद् । अजरम् । अजरासी च अरे । परराज् जरति कृते हास्यत्वान्नुम् ॥

316. Before an affix having an indicative द्, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided in the case of a *bha* Stem.

Thus कतर + सु or मप् = कतर + अद्द् = कतर + अद् = कतरद् or कतरत् (द् is optionally changed to त् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.)

The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Pl. forms are कतरे; कतराणि.

Why have we read the anuvṛtti of *bha* in this Sūtra? Observe पञ्चमः

Note :—The anuvṛtti of *bha* is read into this Sūtra from VI. 4. 129. S. 233. the word पञ्चम is formed by adding the affix इद् to the word पञ्चम् with the augment नद् (V. 2. 48 & 49. S. 1819 and 1850) Thus पञ्चम् + इद्. The affix इद् does not cause the elision of the न् of पञ्चम् but the न् is elided because it is final in a *padā* (See VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

Why do we make the affix have an indicative द्? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular : as कतर + भम् = कतरम् by VI. 1. 102. In the case of the accusative, भम् being the substitute of भम् will be sthanivat, and give us कतरम् by VI. 1. 107 even without

इ ॥ Why not make the affix merely इ and not अइ; it would give कतरम् &c. without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple इ would not give us the Vocative हे कतरम्. The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprkta. See however VI. 1. 1. 69. S. 193.

If in the sūtra VI. 1. 69, there is the anuvṛtti of the word 'aprkta' then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e. the vocative of members in अम् will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if however, the anuvṛtti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरम् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरम् but हे कतर). Therefore, by reading the affix अम् with an indicatory इ i. e. reading it as अइ, we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अम् in कतरम् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरम्, which would have been the form had there been no इ).

Thus the Voc: Sing. is हे कतरम्.

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. In the rest the declension is like that of the Masculine.

The declension of कतम्, इतरम्, अन्यम् and अन्यतरम् is like that of कतरम्. Thus कतम्; इतरम्, अन्यम् and अन्यतरम् ॥ The word अन्यतरम् forms its Nom: and Acc: Sing अन्यतमम् and not अन्यतम् ॥ Therefore it is a mistake to say सामान्यादि-अन्यतमस्य ॥

Vārtika:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to the word एकतरम् although it is formed with the affix इतर. Thus its Nom: Sing is एकतरम् and not एकतरम्.

—10:—

Now, we take up the declension of the Neuter Noun अजरम् meaning 'one who does not decay' (अविद्यमाना जरा यस्य). The जा of जरा is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. Thus we get the form अजरम्. Thus अजरम् + इ = अजरम् + अम् (VII. 1. 24. S. 309). At this stage Sūtra VII. 2. 101. S. 227 requires the substitution of अस् in the place of अम्, but this is prohibited by the maxim सन्निपातस्यो विधिविधिरिति तद्विधातस्य that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination. For अम् is added to अजरम् as it ended in अ and since अ' has caused the production of अम्, this latter affix though beginning with a vowel will not cause अस् to be substituted for अम् ॥

Thus Nom. Singular is अजरम् dual is अजराखी or अजरो,

In the case of Nom. Plural there is affix सि. and when अस् is substituted, then we have the augment जुम् (VII. 1. 72. S. 314) because सि is Sarvanamasthiāna. This जुम् must be added after the अस् substitution has taken

place, because जस् substitution is taught by VII. 2. 101 S. 227. which is latter in order of the Ashtādhyāyī than जुस् augment which is taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314.

Thus अजर + सि = अजरोस + जुस् + इ = अजस्त् + इ ॥ At this stage, applies the following Sūtra,

३१७ । सान्तमहत्तः संयोगस्य । ६ । ४ । १० ॥

सान्तसंयोगस्य महत्तः यो नकारस्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थान परे । अजरांसि अजराणि । अग्निं लुक्लोपवाङ्मन्भावं वाधित्वा परस्थाङ्जस् । सन्तः संनिपातपरिभाषया न लुक् । अजरासम् । अजरास् । अजरासी । अजरो । अजरांसि । अजराणि । शेषं पुंषत् । परञ् इति ह्रस्वोत्कास्यानां एङ् उङ् भ्रातृ । छन्ति । हृदा । हृदयामित्यादि । उदानि । उम्ना । उद्भ्यामित्यादि । आसन्ति । आम्ना । आसन्त्यामित्यादि । मांसि । मांसा । मान्त्यामित्यादि । वस्तुतस्तु प्रश्लेषप्रहणे प्रकाशार्थमित्युक्तम् । अत एव भाष्ये मांसवन्त्या ङङ्गाया-इत्युदाहृतम् । जयस्यावित्त्वेन भव्यासंयोगान्तलोपी न । परञ् इत्यत्र हि छङ्सी-स्वतुषान्तिं वृत्तौ तथाप्यधीवीत्यत्र मास्यछन्वसीति वार्तिके छन्दोमहणसामर्थ्याल्लोकऽपि कश्चिदिति कैषेदोक्तरीत्या प्रयोगननुसृत्य पदार्थः प्रयोक्तव्य इति बोध्यम् ॥

317. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it; and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases.

Thus अजरांसि. When जस् substitution does not take place, the Nom Pl. will be अजराणि In the Acc: Sing.; we have अजर + अम्.

Here three rules present themselves simultaneously; first luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1. 23, (2) then the अम् substitution n by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, जस् for जर by VII. 2. 101 Of these लुक्-elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23; and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जस् of VII. 2. 101 जस् being substituted for जर, we have अजस्, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अजरांसि ॥

When there is no जस् substitution, the Acc. Sing. will be अजरम् ॥

The Acc: Dual will be —सी or अजरे and Pl: अजरांसि or अजराणि ॥

of this नुम् intervention. And though sadantavidhi applies in these chapters (पदादन्तर्गतिकरि तस्य च सदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदिना भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जर which forms only a portion of a full word जररः. Even if the substitution does take place, the नुम् would be fensed after the म् of जरस्. Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule; and having done so, the नुम् should be added after-wards under VII. 1. 72.

The form जररन् is thus evolved. We have जरर + नुम्. Here on the maxim एकदेशधिकृतस्य अन्यद्वयान्, we substitute जरस् for जर also, (for जर and जरर are considered as one). Then appears VII. 1. 23. ordaining the luk. of नुम् and VII. 1. 24. teaching जरम्. The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

Now, we take up the declension of हृदय &c referred to in Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

The word हृदय is replaced by हृद्; वक्त्र by वक्त्रम् and आस्य by आसन् and मांस by मांस्.

Thus in the weak cases (that is, Acc. Plural and onwards) the forms are हृन्नि हृन्, हृन्म्याम् &c; वक्त्रि वक्त्रम्; उद्ना, उद्न्याम् &c; आसनि, आसा, आसन्म्याम् &c; मांसि, मांसा, मांस्याम्, &c.

In fact, the word प्रवृत्ति is used in the Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. in order to indicate method, so that not only the words mentioned in that sūtra, but other words also take such substituted forms before the weak cases. Therefore the author of *Mahābhāṣya* gives the example of 'मांसवचन्य उखायाः' Here there is not the elision of the final of the conjunct consonant.

Note:—मांसवचन्यः is thus formed. From the root वच् we form वचन with the affix स्तुच् in the sense of instrument and location, under Sūtra, III. 3. 93. S. 3271. meaning the vessel for cooking. To वचन is added the feminine affix डीप्. मांसस्य वचनी = मांसवचनी. Here in forming the compound the genitive sign is elided by लुक् and the affix so elided leaves no trace behind by the Sūtra I. 1. 68. S. 263 and therefore मांस् would not have been substituted for मांस, but for the fact of our having explained the word प्रवृत्ति in the sense प्रकाश.

By taking this compound under I. 4. 20. S. 3390 and taking it to be a *bha*, there is not संयोगान्न होष. Moreover, if in the Sūtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. the anuvritti of छन्दसि be read from the Sūtra VI. 1. 60 S. 3514, yet these words are formed in secular literature also. Because, in Sūtra VII. 4. 48. S. 442, the author of *Mahābhāṣya* has read the following Vartika. मासद्वन्द्वसि meaning द् is substituted for the final of मास before a *bha* affix in the Chhandas. Now गोपानि (VII. 4. 48. S. 442) is a rule of Chhandas. Therefore the repetition of

छन्दस् in the *Vārtika* indicates by implication that छन्दस् rules are not confined to the Vedās only but are found in secular literature also. In fact, this is the opinion of *Kaiyat* who says that the inclusion of मास in VI. 1. 63, S. 263, is for the purposes of *Chhandas* only. The repetition of the word 'Chhandas' in मासश्छन्दसि *Vārtika* under Sūtra VII. 4. 48, S. 442, indicates that षट् &c substitution take place in secular literature also.

३१८ । ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य । १ । २ । ७७ ॥

श्रीवे प्रातिपदिकस्याऽनन्तस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । श्रीप । शानवत् । श्रीपाय । अत्र संनिपातपरिभाषणं भन्ते धातोर्नित्याकारलोपे न ॥

318. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

Thus श्रीपा becomes श्रीप which is declined like शान् ॥ The Dative Sing. is श्रीपाय ॥ Here आ is not to be elided by rule VI. 4. 140: S. 240 before the affix डे on the maxim 'संनिपात लक्षण &c. (See S. 316)

—————:O:—————

Now, we take up the declension of वारि ॥ Thus Nom : Sg. वारि + सु ॥ Here applies the following rule,

३१९ । स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् । ७ । १ । २३ ॥

श्रीवातङ्गात्स्वमोर्लुक् स्यात् । वारि ॥

319. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

Thus वारि + सु = वारि + O = वारि ॥

The Nom : Dual is वारि + ओ ॥ At this stage, the following, rule applies,

१२० । इकोऽचि विभक्तौ । ७ । १ । ७३ ॥

इगन्तस्य श्रीनस्य नुमायमः स्वाक्षि विभक्तौ । वारिणी । वारिणि । ननुमतेति निर्वधस्यानित्यतात्पर्यं संबुद्धिनिमित्तौ गुणः । हे वारि । हे वारि । आढो न । वारिणा । विकृतीतिगुणे प्राप्ते ॥ वृद्धवोऽस्तस्य-आयगुणभ्यो नुम पूर्वप्राप्तित्वादेन * ॥ वारिणे । वारिणः । वारिणोः । नुमक्षिरेति लुट् । नमीति ईर्ष्यः । वारीणम् । वारिणि । वारिणोः । इडाक्षौ वारिवत् ॥

320. The augment नुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वारि + नुम् + ओ = वारि + नुम् + री (VII. 1. 19, S. 310) = वारिणी ॥ The Nom : Pl : is वारिणि ॥

The Voc : Sing : has two forms हे वारे or हे वारि ॥ हे वारे is formed by the guṇa of इ under rule VII. 3. 108. S. 242 and though the affix is elided, still it leaves its effect behind, in spite of the rule I. 1. 63. S. 263 which declares that when an affix is elided by ह्र it leaves no trace behind. In fact, the rule I. 1. 63 S. 263 is *anitya*, according to one view. But if that rule is not considered *anitya*, then we have the next form हे वारि ॥

The Inst : Sing : is वारिण्य ॥

The Dat : Sing : is वारि + हे ॥ Here the rule वेङिनि VII. 3. 111 S. 245 requires guṇa. But the guṇa is set aside by the following *Vartika*.

Vartik. The augment इम् comes by superseding in anticipation the rules of Vriddhi, जौ substitution, वृद्ध्याव and guṇa. Thus वारिणे ॥

The Abl : and Gen : sing is वारिणः ॥

The Gen : dual is वारिणोः ॥

The augment इद् is added by the *Vartika* दुगधिर &c. under sūtra VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. in forming the Genitive Plural ; and the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 3. S. 209. Thus we get the Gen : Plural ; वारिणाम् ॥

The Loc : Sing : and Dual are वारिणि and वारिणोः respectively. Before the consonant beginning affix ह्र of the Loc : Pl : it is like that of इरि (VII. 3. 119. S. 247.) i. e. वारिदु ॥

————— 102 —————

Now we take up the declension of अनादि ॥ It may be a Masculine or a Neuter Noun. It is not exclusively a Neuter. Hence the following rule applies :—

३२१ । तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्भालवस्य । ७ । १ । ७४ ॥

प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तस्यै भाषितपुंस्कमिगन्तं क्लीबं पुंवद्भा स्याद्भावाच्च । अनादये । अनादिने । इत्यादि ।
शेषे वारिवत् । पीलुर्द्वैतस्त्वकले पीलु तस्मै पीलुने । अथ न पुंवद् । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमेवात् ॥

321. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gālava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

Thus the Dative Singular is either अनादये or अनादिने &c. The rest of the declensions is like those of वारि ॥

पीलु is the name of a tree and is of Masculine gender ; its fruit called पीलु is of neuter gender. This last word has only one form. Thus the Dative

Singular is वीलुने and not वीलवे ॥ This is because the word वीलु denoting 'fruit' has no corresponding Masculine word denoting fruit, for the corresponding Masculine वीलु refers to the tree, and not to the fruit; so this word वीलु cannot be said to be भाविनस्तुक्तः ॥

—107—

Now we take up the declension of the Noun दधि ॥ In the declension of this word the following rule applies :

३२२ । अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्षणात्मनस्तुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ७५ ॥

एषात्मनश्च स्याद्वादावचि स षोदात्तः ॥ अक्षोपोऽनः ॥ दध्ना । दधि । दध्नाः २ । दध्नोः २ । दधि । एषानि षेवं वारिवन् । एवमस्थिसक्थ्यक्षणि । तदन्तस्याप्यनश्च । अतिदध्ना । सुधि । सुधिनी । सुधनि । हे सुधे । हे सुधि । सुधिया । सुधिना । प्रच्छा । प्रधिना । मधु । मधुनी । मधूनि । हे मधो । हे मधु । एवमस्यावयः । सातुशब्दस्य स्तुर्वा । स्तुनि । सातुनि । मियकोदु । मियकोदुनी । वृज्वज्ञावास्तुर्वचिप्रतिपेदेन उप । मियकोदूनि दाशे पुनस्तुपक्षे मियकोदु । मियकोदुना । मियकोदे । मियकोदधे । अन्यत्र वृज्वज्ञावास्तुर्वचिप्रतिपेदेन तुनेय । मियकोदुना । मियकोदुने । तुनीधरेणि । तुह । मियकोदूनाम् । सुलु । सुलुनी । सुलुनि ॥ पुनस्तुतन् । सुल्वा । सुलुना । धातु । धातुनी । धातुनि । हे धातः । हे धातु । धावा । धावणा । एवं ज्ञातकर्णावयः ॥

322. The acutely accented अन् (अनश्च) is substituted for the finals of asthi, dadhi, sakthi, and akshi, before the affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it, which begin with a vowel.

Note :—Thus अस्थौ, अस्थे, दधौ, दधे, सक्थौ, सक्थे, अक्षौ, अक्षे ॥ The words अस्थि &c have acute on the first syllable, the substitute अनश्च would have been also anudatta, but for this sūtra. The stem getting the designation अ, we elide the अ (VI. 4. 134), the udatta अ being thus elided, the case-ending, which was anudatta before, now becomes udatta (VI. 1. 161). The stems ending with 'asthi &c' and though not neuter, are governed by this rule. As मियाक्ष्णा ब्राह्मणेन, मियदध्ना ॥ Why ' before the affixes of the Instrumental and the rest ? ' Observe अस्थिनी, दधिनी ॥ Before affixes beginning with a consonant, we have अस्थिभ्याम्, दधिभ्याम् ॥

Thus दधि + ञा (Ins-sing) = दध् + ञेन् + ञा = दध् + न् + ञा The ञे is elided by VI. 4. 134 = दधन्, so also D. S. दध् G. A. S. दधन्, G. and L. D. दध्नोः L. S. दधि, or दधनि ॥ In the remaining cases, it is like वारि as :—

N. S. दधि, N. D. दधिनी N. P. दधिनि ॥ Before consonantal affixes the form is दधिभ्याम् &c.

The चनश्च comes even after bases that are compound but which end in अस्थि &c as दधिदध्ना ॥

The word सुधि is thus declined :—

N. A. S सुधि, N. A. D. सुधिनी; N. Pl. सुधिनि; Voc. हे सुधे or हे सुधि ॥ I. S. सुधेय or सुधिनः (VI. 4. 85 S. 23) the Ins. S. of मीध however is मध्वा or मधिना (VI. 4. 82 S. 272)

The word मधु is thus declined : as N. A. मधु, मधुनी, मधुनि, Voc. हे मधो or हे मधु; D. S मधुने, never मधवे, and so on.

So also the words अमृ &c. The word साधु optionally assumes the form सु by the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 41 S. 295. Thus सूनि or साधुनि ॥

So also मियक्रोष्टु, मियक्रोष्टुनी ॥ The plural will have दुष् by prohibiting in anticipation the वृज्यस्त्व (VII. 1. 95. S. 274), as मियक्रोष्टुनि । In Ins. S and other cases, when the rule VII. 1. 74 applies, we have two forms as मियक्रोष्ट्रा or मियक्रोष्टुना, मियक्रोष्ट्रे or मियक्रोष्ट्वे ॥ In other cases there will be one form with दुम् alone, as मियक्रोष्टुना मियक्रोष्टुने ॥ There will be बुद् by दुषधिर as मियक्रोष्टुनाम् ॥

The Noun सुतु is declined as follows: Nom : and Acc : forms are सुतु, सुतुनी, सुतुनि ॥ Instr : singular is सुत्वा or सुतुना ॥

The Noun धातृ is declined as follows :—Nom and Acc : forms are धातृ, धातुणी, धातुनि ॥ The Voc : Sing. is हे धातः or हेधातृ ॥

The Instr : Singular is धात्रा or धातुना ॥

Similar is the declension of ज्ञातृ, कर्तृ &c.

Now we take up the declension of प्रथो ending in ओ ॥ In Neuter, the ओ is changed to इ in accordance with the following Sūtra :—

३२३ । एच इग्रस्वादेशे । १ । १ ४८ ॥

अदिभ्यसानेपु इत्थेपु मध्ये एच इग्रस्वात् ॥ प्रथु । प्रथुनी । प्रथुनि । प्रथुनेत्यादि । इह न पुंवत् ॥ यद्विगन्वं प्रथु इति तस्य भाषितपुंस्कत्वाभावात् । एवमप्येष्टि । प्रति । प्रतिनी । प्रीति । प्रीति । एकोदशवि-
कृतस्थान्यन्त्याद्वायो णीत्याद्यम् । प्रप्रायाप । प्रप्राभिः पुनश्चिरिति सुच्यात्वे प्रप्राणाभिति माधवः । वस्तुवस्तु
तन्निवातपरिभाषया जुष्वात्वं न । नापीति दीर्घस्थारम्भसागर्भ्यपरिभाषा बाधव इत्युक्तम् । प्ररीताम् ।
सुतु । सुतुनी । सुतुनि । सुतुना । सुतुने । इत्यादि ॥

323. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

Note :—This sūtra points out the इक् substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and ए respectively. *Time*, I. 2. 47 declares :—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a grade from provided it ends in a vowel." Therefore in compounding वति + ऐ, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have वतिदि 'extravagant' so नौ सतिङ् 'disembarked or landed,' श्री, उपशु 'near a cow,' Allavya-yibhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्' ? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. अति + खट्वा = अति खट्वा । अति + माला = अतिमाला ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted ?' Because when, प्लुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As द्वेदत्त O Devadatta ! द्वेदत्त !

Thus Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रद्यु, प्रद्युनी ; प्रद्युमि. The Instr : Sing. is प्रद्युना etc. This word is not treated like a Masculine one because it has no corresponding Masculine form. 'प्रदि' which is derived from the root दि to give with the prefix प्र. The दि being changed to रि by the present Sūtra. we get the form प्रदि. It is declined as follows :—Nom : and Acc : forms are प्रदि परिशी, प्रदीणि. Instr : Sing. प्रदिना. By the maxim एवदेव &c, that is "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this changesomething else, than what it was before the change had taken place," the rule applying to दि will apply to रि also. Hence the rule राद्ये हलि VII. 2. 85. S. 286 will apply to प्रदि also. Thus forms before चाम् and निः will be प्रराभ्याम् and प्ररामिः । According to Mādhava, the Genitive Pl : will be प्रराणाम्, the augment लुद् being added by the Vārtika लुमाचिर &c. But as a matter of fact, there is not आ before लुद् in accordance with the Maxim सानिपात ह्रस्वो विधिरनित्तं, i. e. That which is taught in a rule the application of which occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." That is to say this, maxim does not apply and it is not of universal application, as we have already shown under Sūtra VI. 4. 9 S. 209. There the correct form is प्रदीणाम् ॥

The word प्रद्यु which is the shortened form of प्रद्युनी meaning that which has a good boat, is declined in the Nom : and Acc : forms as प्रद्यु, प्रद्युनी, प्रद्युमि ॥ The Instr and Dat : Singular forms are प्रद्युनै, प्रद्युने respectively. &c.

Here ends the declension of Neuter Nouns ending in Vowels.

अथ हलन्तपुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XI.

DECLENSION OF MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

Now, we take up the declension of the word लिह् derived from the root लिह् 'to taste,' 'to lick' with the affix क्तिप्. The Nom. Sing. is लिह + क्तिप्. The ह is changed to ष by the following rule.

३२४ । होढः । ८ । २ । ३१ ॥

हृत्पठः स्वाध्यासि पदान्ते च । ह्रस्वभाविशि मुलोपः । पञ्चान्तमाज्ञस्य षः । जडत्वचर्त्वे । लिङ् ।
लिङ् । लिङी । लिङ्गः । लिङ्मः । निही । लितुः । लिशः । लिङ्भ्याम् । लिङ्सु ॥

324. ऌ is substituted for ए before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लिह् + झु = लिह् + ० (The झु is elided by ह्रस्वार्थ VI. 1. 68 S. 252.) = लिह् (The ह् is changed to ॠ because it is final in a pada) = लिह् (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84) or लिह् (VIII. 4. 56. S. 206).

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are लिहो ; लिहा ॥

The Acc : forms are लिहम्, लिहौ : लिहः ॥

The Instr : forms are लिहा, लिङ्-याम् लिङभिः ॥

The Loc: Pl: is लिङ्ग (The ण being optionally added by VIII, 3. 29. S. 131) or लिङ्ग ॥

:0:

Now we take up the declension of शान्तिह् ॥ It is derived from the Denominative Verb शान्तिह्यति (शान्तिह्यमाशान्तिच्छति one who desires a शान्तिह्) Here the following sūtra is inapplicable, though the root शान्तिह्य begins with ह् ॥

३२५ । द्वावेधर्मातोर्यः । ८ । २ । ३२ ।

उपदेशो यत्तेर्धातोर्हस्य यः स्थाञ्जलि पदान्ते च । उपदेशो किम् । अन्धोतीत्यथ यथा स्थात् । धाम-
लिहमास्थानं वृच्छात्ते वामलिह्यति । ततः किञ्चि वामलिट् । अथ मा भूत् ॥

325. Of a root beginning with द्, in original enunciation, the द् is substituted for द, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

But दामलिङ् does not become दामलिङ् because the anuvritti of the word दवङ्ग is understood in the above Sūtra and as in the Dhātupāṭha there is no root like दामलिङ्, so this rule is inapplicable (See the Not given below).

Why have we used the word upadesa in explaining the present sūtra ? So that there may be व substitution in अथेच् which does not begin with व in its conjugated form, but the root of which begins with व ॥

*Note:—*For the final व् of a व-beginning root, व is substituted under similar circumstances. As दम्भा, दम्भम्, दम्भ्यम्, काष्ठकुञ्ज, दौर्भाग, दौर्भ्यम्, दौर्भ्यम्, मोक्षम्, from दृक् and दुक् ॥ For the व् of the affixes व् &c. व is substituted by VIII. 2. 40, before which, the व becomes व by VIII. 4. 53. For the व in काष्ठद्व is substituted व by VIII. 2. 39, or व् by VIII. 4. 56, and व becomes व by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with व" ? Observe लेख, लङ्, लेख्यम्, सुदलिङ् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धर्मोः is not to make it in apposition with the word वीङ्; but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole : so that it means "the word which begins with व and forms part of a root, for the व of such a part is substituted व्." What does follow from it ? The letter व is substituted in अथेच् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धर्मोः यो वीङ्गस्तद्वयवद्वय इकारस्य &c.), the व् would have come in examples like नाम धीङ्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगोपदेशः will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

३२६ । एकाक्षो यशो भप् भवन्तस्य स्थोः । ८ । २ । ३७ ॥

धातोः स्योः य एकाक्ष् द्वयन्तस्तद्वयस्य यशः स्थाने भव् स्यात्सकारे ध्वस्ये वक्षन्ते च । एकाक्षो धातोरेति सामानाधिकरण्यानन्वये तु इह न स्यात् । गर्ह्यमाचष्टे गर्ह्यमिति । ततः क्विप् । जितोवः । गर्ह्यप् । क्षन्तीति निवृत्तम् । स्थोर्महत्तागर्ह्यात् । तेनेह न । दुग्धम् । क्षेम्धा । व्यपदेशिपञ्चमेन धात्वयस्यस्वाङ्ग-
भावः । अम्भस्पर्शे । धुक धुम् । दुहो । दुहः । पस्पस्पर्शे । धुह् ॥

326. For the letters य, ग, ड or द in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, or a portion of it and which ends in ऋ, भ, घ, ढ or च, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or च respectively in that portion of it which begins with यश् and ends with ज् before स or च्च, or at the end of a pada (word).

In explaining this sūtra, we have used the word भववद् or a member or a portion. The root itself may be of more than one syllable, but if there is any member in it, which satisfies the requirements of this sūtra, that is to say, which begins with य, य, ड or द and ends with झ, भ, घ, ढ, च, in other words, which begins with the third letter of the *Varga*, except ज and ends with the fourth letter of the *Varga*, then for झ is substituted घ, for य, घ, for ड, ढ, and for द, च ॥ But had we explained the sūtra by saying एकाक्षोधातोः, that is, of a root which is monosyllabic and satisfies the above qualifications then we could not have got the form गर्ह्यप् from the denominative root गर्ह्यमिति The word गर्ह्यप् is derived from the root गर्ह्यम् by the affix क्तिप् to the root and the elision of जि ॥ The द is changed to च ॥

The anuvṛtti of वृत्ति ceases here and is not to be read in the sūtra This had commenced from VIII. 2. 26 of the *Aṣṭā dhyāyī*.

By taking the letters स and च्च in the sūtra, the substitution does not take place before any other letter, such as in दुग्धम्, क्षेम्धा ॥ Here द् is not changed to च ॥

By applying the maxim व्यपदेशिपदेकस्मिन्, that is " An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach ;" the rule will apply to simple roots like to दुह् &c. also. Therefore दुह् + झ = दुह् + ० = दुघ् + ० = घुघ् = घुम् or घुक् ॥ The Nom : Dual and Pl : are दुघे; दुहः ॥

In forming the Loc : Pl : the present sūtra will apply and we get the form घुह् ॥ (घ् being changed to ह् by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212)

In declining ' द्रह् ' the following rule applies.

३२७ । वा दृहमुहण्णुहणिहाम् । ५ । २ । ३३ ॥

एषां इत्यत्र वा षः स्याज्ज्ञानि पदान्ते च । पक्षे वः । ध्रुक् । ध्रुग् । ध्रुद् । ध्रुवः । ध्रुवो । ध्रुवः । ध्रुवाम् ।
ध्रुव्याम् । ध्रुवुः । ध्रुवस्तु । ध्रुवस्युः । एवं सुहृण्युसहितानाम् ॥ विभवाद् । विभवद् । विभवशी । विभवशः ।
विभववर्ष । विभववारी ॥

327. The ऋ of *druh*, *muh*, *snuh*, and *snih* is optionally changed to ॠ before a *jha'* letter or at the end of a word.

The **इ** of these words is changed to **ए** optionally ; in the other alternative it would be changed to **ऋ** ॥ Thus Nom : Sing is **भूय** or **भृय** or **भ्रय** or **भृय** ॥

Instrumental, Dative and Ablative Dual is **धुग्भ्याम्** or **धुग्भ्यान्**. Locative Pl : is **धुग्भ्यः** or **धुग्भ्योः** (VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or **धुग्भ्यम्** ॥

Similar is the declension of **गृह**, **सुहृ** and **शिहृ** ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विश्वदाह ॥ The Nom : forms are विश्वदाह् or विश्वदाहः; विश्वदाहो, विश्वदाहः; Acc : Sing and Dual are विश्वदाहम्, विश्वदाहौ ॥

In forming the Acc : Pl : the rule after the following applies, because the base gets the designation of ' bha ' before this affix ; that is the semi-vowel *व* is changed to *वः* || This change is called *संस्कारः* (Samprasāraṇa) or vocalisation, which is defined in the following sūtra.

३२८ । इत्ययं संप्रसारणम् । १ । १ । ८ ॥

यजः स्थाने प्रयुज्यमानो य इक्षु स संयसारणसंज्ञः स्थातु ॥

328. The *ik* vowels which replace the semivowels *ya* are called *samprasāraṇa*.

३२६ । वाह ऊह । ६ । ४ । १३२ ॥

मत्वा वाह-संप्रसारणस्य स्यात् ॥

329. The व् in वाह् is vocalised to ऊ (ऊह), when the compound stem is Bha.

३३० । संप्रसारणाच्च । ६ । १ । १०८ ॥

संप्रसारणादपि परे पूर्वस्यपेनकोदयः स्यात् ॥ एत्येवमृद्धस्य ॥ विश्वीहः । विश्वोदेत्यादि ।
अन्त्येव विश्वीहि पक्षे लिङ्गान्तादिभ्यः ॥

330. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi-vowel and the subsequent vowel.

Thus विश्ववाह् + स्य् = विश्व + ऊ + ओह् + स्य् = विश्व + ऊह् + स्य् = विश्वोहः (The Vridhhi is according to VI. 1. 89. S. 73) The Instrumental Singular is विश्वोहा and so on.

If वाह in विश्ववाह् be considered to have been formed by the affix वि under sūtra III. 2. 64 S 3410, then there will be affix विच् after it by sūtra III. 2. 75. S 2980.

Note :—The word वाह् is a विच् formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus विश्वोहः ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + वा (of वा) = ऊ; and then विश्व + ऊह् = विश्वोह् the Vridhhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus : वृह् + वृह् + स्य् = वृह् + वृह् + स्य (VI. 1. 108) = वृह् + ओह् + स्य (the affix विच् III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = वृहोहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact विच् is never added to वृह् (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in व् and that व् + ओ of वा will always produce ओ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊह्, indicates the existence of the following maxim: आसिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गं; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaraṅga operation: therefore, we can never get the form ओह् ॥

—X—

Now we take up the declension of अनडुह्. In its declension the following rule applies :—

३३१ । चतुरनडुहोरासुवात्तः । ७ । १ । ६८ ॥

अनवीर्यस्य त्याज्यस्यैवामस्याने स चोदात्तः ॥

331. चतुर and अनडुह् get the acutely accented augment आ (आम्) after the ड in the strong cases.

Thus अनडुह् + सु = अनडूह् + सु ॥ Then applies the following rule.

३३२ । साधनद्वयः । ७ । १ । ८२ ।

अस्य तुम् स्यासी परे । आदिस्थितिकाएवर्गाल्लयेऽथे तुम् । अतो विशेषविहितेनापि तुमा आम् न बाध्यते । अमा च तुम् न बाध्यते । सीर्त्तवः । तुम् विधिसामर्थ्यादुक्तमिति वक्ष्ये न । संवागान्तलोप-
स्थासिद्धस्थानलोपा न । अनङ्गान् ॥

332. अनङ्गुह gets the augment तुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By the last अनङ्गुह gets the augment आ after उ in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1. 99). It thus becomes अनङ्गाह् and अनङ्गह् ॥ By the present sūtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI. 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII. 2. 23. Thus we have अनङ्गान् Nominative Singular; and अनङ्गान् in the Vocative Singular. The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede तुम्, nor are they superseded by तुम् ॥

The तुम् is specifically taught by this Sūtra, the ह् is not changed to ह् by VIII. 2. 72 S 334. The final न् is not elided, because the elision of ह् by VIII. 2. 23. S 54 is not perceived by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236, requiring the elision of न् because of the rule VIII. 2. 1. S 12. So the न् is not elided. Thus the Nom: Sing is अनङ्गाह्. In forming the Voc: the following rule applies.

३३३ । अम् संबुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ८२ ॥

अतुरनङ्गोऽस्य स्यात्संबुद्धौ । आगोपवादः । हे अनङ्गान् । अनङ्गाह् । अनङ्गाहः । अनङ्गाहः ॥

333. चतुर and अनङ्गुह get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule. As, हे अनङ्गान्, हे अनङ्गाह्, अनङ्गाहः ॥

The Instr: Sing. is अनङ्गाह.

Before the affixes भ्याम्, मिः &c, the ह् is changed to ह् by the following rule.

३३४ । चतुर्ल्लस्यस्वनेद्वयं ह् । ८ । २ । ७२ ॥

सामान्यस्वनेत्यस्य संज्ञादिभ्यः ह् स्यात्पदान्ते । अनङ्गद्वयनिष्पत्तिः । साम्नेति किम् । विद्वान् । पशामि इति किम् । पशाम् । पशाम् ॥

334. ह् is substituted for the final स् of a word formed with the affix चस् and ending in स् and for the final of ल्लस्, ल्लस् and अनङ्गुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 17).

Thus अनङ्गाह्याम् &c.

dicatory letter ऋ and is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as विद् ॥ The nominal-stem derived from विद्, does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom. Sg. of which is वुः as वसवुः (See VI. 4. 19, and VI. 1. 131).

The rule VI. 1. 68 S 252, required the elision of वु; but this is prevented, because औ is not स्थानिदन् to वृ for the purposes of अव्ययि rule VI. 1. 68. S 252. Thus the Nom: forms are वुचोः, वुद्वौ, वुद्विबः. The Acc: forms are वुद्विबम्, वुद्विबौ &c.

Before भ्याम् and नि: the following rule applies:—

३३७ । दिव उक् । ६ । १ । १३१ ॥

विशेषज्ञादेश उकारः स्यात्पदान्ते । वुचुभ्याम् । वुचुभिः । चत्वारः । चतुर्भिः । चतुर्थः ॥

337. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

Note:—The portion वृ of the word पदान्त must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = शुक्राम्, शुक्राम्, दिगन्तु विन्, शुक्राम्, वुभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servil letter (anubandha) and should have been read as विद् ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for वृ by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अचतुर्भ्याम्, अचतुर्भिः ॥ The उक् with a न् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊट (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊट substitution the form will be शुक्राम्, वुभिः ॥ The ऊट also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवो, दिवः ॥

Thus Instr: Dual and Pl. are वुचुभ्याम् ; वुचुभिः.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in वृ ॥

—10:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in वृ.

We take up the declension of चतुर् which is always Plural. Its Nom: Pl: is चतुर + ऋट् = चतुर + जाट् + ऋट् (S. 331) = चत्वारः । Its Acc; Instr: Dat. and Abl: Pl: are चतुरः, चतुर्भिः, चतुर्थः, चतुर्थः respectively.

In forming the Gen: Pl: the following rule applies:—

३३८ । चतुर्भ्याम् ॥ ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

चतुर्भ्याम् चतुर्भ्याम् चत्वारो वृत्तान्तः स्यात् । जाट् । द्विद्वि । चतुर्णाम् ॥

338. The augment न् is added before the Genitive pl. ending भ्याम् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after चतुर ॥

Text:—The न् is changed to ञ् by VIII. 4. 1. S. 235 and this ञ् is optionally doubled by VIII. 4. 46. S. 59.

As चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in र is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

Note:—This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमपण्याम्, परमपण्यानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but विद्यपण्याम्, विद्यपण्याम्, विद्यचतुर्णाम्, where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

In forming the Loc. Pl, the following is held in abeyance, because the विसर्जनीय taught there applies to that र which is derived from इ and not to every र.

३३६ । लोः सुपि । ८ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तमीबहुवचने परे सरेव विसर्जनीयो नान्यरेकस्य । पत्यम् । पत्य द्वित्वे प्राप्ते ॥

339. Visarjaniya is substituted for the रु called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

This rule not applying, we have चतुर् + सु = चतुर् + सु by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. Then rule VIII. 4. 46 S. 59 requires optional doubling, but this is set-aside by the following.

३४० । शरोऽस्मि । ८ । ४ । ४६ ।

अधि परे शरो न द्वे स्तः । चतुर्षु । विद्यपत्याः । हे विद्यपत्यः । विद्यपत्यसि । विद्यपत्यारः । मौजस्वे तु लुङ् नेत्यते । विद्यचतुर्णाम् । माधान्ये तु स्यादेव । परमचतुर्णाम् । कर्मलं कर्मलं वा भाषभाषः कर्मलं । कर्मलः । कर्मलः । पश्यं । कर्मल्यु ॥

340. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर), when a vowel follows,

Note:—The word न is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule VIII. 4. 46. S. 59. Thus कर्षति, कर्षति, आकर्षः, जगद्दर्शः ॥

Why do we say अधि 'when a vowel follows? Observe इदमेते ॥

Text:—Thus चतुर्षु.

Now, we take up the declension of विद्यचतुर् which may be declined in all numbers. (See Note under S. 338). विद्यचतुर् + सु = विद्यचतु + सु + र + सु (VII. 1. 98. S. 331) = विद्यपत्याः. In the Voc. Sing, instead of भाष there will be अधि by VII. 1. 99. S. 333. Thus हे विद्यपत्यः । The Nom. Dual and Pl. are विद्यपत्यसि; विद्यपत्यारः. As चतुर् here is a secondary member of a Compound, the augment उद् required by VII. 1. 55. S. 338 is not added to the formation of the Gen. Pl. Thus we have विद्यचतुर्णाम्. But if the compound be not a Bahuvrīhi, and चतुर् be a principal member, then the Genitive Pl. will be चित्चतुर्णाम् ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in र ॥

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in स्.

Now we take up the declension of कर्मन्. This is derived from the Noun कमलम् or कर्मन् by passing through the चुरादिगण under the rule तत्कसेति सदाचष्टे, that is, when the sense is कमलं कमला वा यथायथः that one speaks of Kamala or Kamalā. Thus कमलं + णिच् (of चुरादिगण). To this we add the affix दिवच्, when the णिच् is elided by VI. 14. 51. S. 2313. Thus we get कर्मन्. Its declension is Nom. कर्मन्, कर्मलौ, कर्मसः, Its Loc. Pl. is कर्मण्यु. (The स् being changed to ण्).

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in स्.

There is no noun ending in ञ्. Therefore we take up the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ञ्. In the declension of these nouns, the following rule applies.

३४१ । मोनो धातोः । ८ । २ । ६४ ।

धातोर्नित्य नः स्यात्प्रधाने । नत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जलोपो न । प्रथम्यतीति प्रधान् । प्रथामौ । प्रथामः । प्रधान्-धामिण्यादि ॥

341. न is substituted, at the end of a Pada. for the final म of a root.

As प्रधान्, this is formed by adding क्तिप् to the root धाम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. S. 2556. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.

The word प्रधान् is understood here also. So we have प्रधानौ, प्रथामः where न् is not at the end of a pada.

The Nom. forms are प्रधान्, प्रधानौ प्रधानः ; The Instr. Dual is प्रधान्यधाम् &c.

—101—

Now, we take up the declension of क्तिम् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies ;—

३४२ । क्तिमः कः । ७ । २ । १०३ ॥

क्तिमः कः स्याद्विभक्तौ । अकस्मिन्सहितस्याप्यवनादेशः । कः । कौ । के । कम् । कौ । कान् इत्यादि सर्वत्र ॥

342. क is substituted for क्तिम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के, कम्, कौ, कान् ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकस्मिन् is added. Therefore, the substitute is here क and not क्ति which latter would have been sufficient for क्तिम् ॥ For न् of क्तिम् being
1 by ३१ (VII. 2. 102), the र् would be left, which would be replaced

by म्, had the sūtra been किञ्चिदन्त and the forms would have been the same (क् + च + म् = क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c. The rest of the declension is similar to that of सर्व ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies.

३४३ । इदमो मः । ७ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदमो मः स्यात्सौ परे । स्वशाकस्वापवादः ॥

343. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the न् substitution of VII. 2. 102. At this stage applies the next sūtra.

३४४ । इदोऽयं पुंसि । ७ । २ । १११ ॥

इदम् इदोऽयं स्यात्सौ पुंसि । सौलोपः । अयम् । स्वशाकस्व पररूपत्वं च ॥

344. अयम् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sing. masculine.

As अयम् ॥

The case ending सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In other cases, sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. would apply and there will be Para-rupa (VI. 1. 97. S. 191) and so इदम् will assume the form इद् ॥

At this stage, will apply the following rule.

३४५ । इदम् । ७ । २ । १०९ ॥

इदमो इत्य मः स्वादिभक्तौ । इमो । इमे । स्वशदिः संबोधनं नास्तीत्युत्तरार्धः ॥

345. And म् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमो, इमे, इमम्, इमो, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम् + अम् = इदम् + अम् (VII. 2, 102 S. 265.) = इमम् + अम् (VII. 2. 109 S. 345.) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, S. 191).

It is a general rule that there is no Vocative case of स्वशादि words.

In forming the Instrumental and other cases, the following rule applies:—

३४६ । अनाप्यकः । ७ । २ । ११२ ॥

अककारश्चेदम् एदोऽयं स्वाशपि विमर्शः । आभिति च इदकारश्च सुपः पकारेण प्रत्यहाराः । अनेन ॥

346. अन् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क् is added by V. 3. 71"? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आवि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg), and प् of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

Before consonantal affixes, the following rule applies.

३४७ । हलि लोपः । ७ । २ । ११३ ॥

अककारस्येवम इति लोपः स्यादोपि एतादौ ॥ नानर्थकोऽन्यथिधिरनभ्यासीयकारे ॥

347. The इद् of इदम् is elided before an āp case-affix beginning with a consonant, provided that the augment अकच् is not added.

Here applies the maxim—"The rule I. 1. 52. S. 42, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the genitive case, is not valid where what is exhibited in the genitive is meaningless, provided the rule teaching the substitution does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable."

Having elided इद् of इदम्, the only portion that remains now is च् which is replaced by अ VII. 2 102 S. 265. Thus we have only अ left. Thus अ + भ्याम् ॥ Now VII. 3. 102 S. 202 declares that a final अ is lengthened before a case affix beginning with यच् ॥ But the solitary अ is initial and cannot therefore be final and so it should not be lengthened. To remove this doubt, we have the following Sūtra.

३४८ । आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् । १ । १ । २१ ॥

एकस्मिन् क्रियमाणं कार्यमाश्रयिष्यान्त इव स्यात् । आभ्याम् ॥

348. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

Thus अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ॥

In forming the Instr : Pl : the following rule applies :—

३४९ । नेदमदसोरफोः । ७ । १ । ११ ॥

अककारस्योस्तिनदसोरभिर्ल ऐत् न स्यात् । एत्वम् । एभिः । अत्वम् । नित्यत्वात् डः स्तौ । पश्चादाली-
लोपः । अस्मै । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्मात् । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्व । अगद्योः । एषाम् । अस्मिन् ।
अनयोः । एतु । वकारयोगे तु अयकम् । इमको । इमके । इमकम् । इमकी, इमकाच् । इमकेन । इमक्य
भ्याम् । इमकैः ॥

349. This substitution of ऐस् (required by VII. 1. 9 S 203) does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क् ॥

Thus अ + िभिः = ऐभिः (VII. 3. 103 S 205) The dative forms are thus

to read the *Vedas*." or again "of these two (*anayoh*) the family is illustrious and their (*anayoh*) wealth is great." The cases in this form are:—*Acc.* एनम्, एनौ, एताम्, Instr: Sing: एनेन; Gen: & Loc. Dual एनयोः ।

Here ends the declension of Masc: Nouns ending in म्.

—————:0:—————

There is no Masculine noun ending in ङ्. Now we take up the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ण् e. g. सुगम् which is formed by the affix विच् added to गण् (III. 2. 75 S. 2980). Its Nom: forms are सुगम्, सुगमौ, सुगमः; Loc. Pl. is सुगम्वद्भ्यः, सुगम्वद्भ्यः or सुगम्वद्भ्यः.

If it be formed with the affix चिच् (III. 2. 76 S. 2983), then by VI. 4. 15 S. 2666, there is lengthening. Thus the forms will be सुगम्, सुगम्वौ, सुगमः; the Loc: Pl: is सुगम्वद्भ्यः, सुगम्वद्भ्यः, or सुगम्वद्भ्यः.

Here ends the declension of Mas: Nouns ending in ण्.

—————0—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

Now, we take up the declension of राजन्. Its Nom: Sg. is राजन्+सु= राजान्+सु (The penultimate being lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S. 250)=राजान्+O (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.)=राजा (the न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.).

In forming the Voc: the following rule applies:—

३५२ । न ङिसंयुद्धयोः । < । २ । < ॥

नस्य सोपो न स्यात् ङौ संयुद्धौ च । राजन् । ङौ तु ङन्त्युदाहरणम् । सुपां सुलुभिति हेतुं । निषेधसामर्थ्यस्य यत्नः । परे व्योमन् ॥ ङानुत्तरपदे प्रविशेधो यत्नः * ॥ चर्माणि तिला भस्म धर्मः तिलः । ङग्राणि निद्रा भस्म ङग्राणि । राजानौ । राजानम्, राजानम् । राजानौ ॥ गङ्गापानः । द्रुत्वद् । न पादोपः स्थानियन् । पूर्वपादौ तन्निषेधात् । नापि बहिरङ्गतादिसिद्धिः । यथादेशपक्षे पादौ परिभाषा प्रति द्रुत्वत्तत्प्राप्तिस्तथाऽन्तर्ङ्गाभावेन परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्तेः । जमोद्गः । राजः । राजा ॥

352. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debar the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. The examples of non-elision of न्, in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas. As परे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39). Here the sign of the Locative, namely, ङ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1. 39 S. 3561. In the Vocative singular the न् is not elided; as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (Jñāpaka), that a word does get the designation of pada, though an affix has been elided after it by using सुक्, yet such elided affix does sometimes produce its effect inspite of I. 1. 63. S. 263.

Vart:—Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound. That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpuruṣa, the न् is elided: as, चर्मणि विज्ञा जस्य = चर्मणि विज्ञा, ब्रह्मणि निष्ठाभास्य = ब्रह्म निष्ठाः ॥

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are राजानौ ; राजानः ।

The Acc. Sing and Dual are राजानम् ; राजानौ ।

The Acc : Pl. is thus formed :—राजन् + शस्. Here राजन् gets the designation of *bha* by I. 4. 18. S. 231. and therefore the न् of राजन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. and the न् is changed to म् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. The elision of न् is not *Sthānivat*, because it is so prohibited in Sūtra VII. 2. 1. S. 12. Nor can the elision be considered *asiddha* on account of its being bahiranga. There are two aspects under which संज्ञा or technical terms, and *Prabhāshās* may be viewed in Pāṇini's Grammar. One is यथोद्देश्यपञ्च and the other is कार्यकालपञ्च. The former i. e. यथोद्देश्यं संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught;" and the latter, i. e. कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjñās and Paribhāshās are attracted by, or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain operations, provided that Samjñās occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhāshās concern them."

Here we take the first alternative and the change of न् into म् being *asiddha* in the view of the rule I. 1. 94. S. 38, there is no *antaranga*-hood and so the Paribhāsha which declares that "antaranga is stronger than bahiranga" finds no scope for application. Therefore न् and म् combining form झ. Thus we get the Acc. Pl. राज्ञः Inst. Sing is राज्ञा

Similarly परस्मै व्योमन् ॥ Here व्योमन् is in the Locative case. व्योमन् + हि = व्योमन् + O (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) Here the affix is elided by using the word लुक्, and therefore there will be no pratyaya-lakshana (I. 1. 63 S. 263). The result would be that the word व्योमन् would not get the designation of णे (सुप्रसिद्धमण्डपणे) because it has no लुक् after it, so the rule न् शेष (VIII. 2. 7. S. 236) will not hold good, and therefore there will be no elision of न् of व्योमन् ॥ But in that case the present Sūtra would have been useless. But the very fact that this sūtra is made, indicates that the rule नं लुक्तादृश्य is not *nitya*, and so, there will be pratyalakshana. That being the case, the word व्योमन् becomes णे, and so rule VIII. 2. 7 would have applied to it, but for this Sūtra.

Although न् संज्ञा excludes and debars णेसंज्ञा but in this case it has been superseded by the former.

Now we take up the formation of Acc. pl. Thus राजन् + शस् = राजन् + O + न् + शस् (ब्रह्मणोऽन) Here the zero will be *sthānivat* (by अच्: परस्मैन् I. 1. 57 S. 50) That being the case, न् will not be changed to म्: and so we could not get

the form राज्ञः ॥ But the ropavesa is not sthānivat, because of the vārtika पूर्वस्यसिद्धे न स्थानिवत् (See Mahābhāṣya I. 1. 58 and Siddhānta VIII. 4. 1)

If it be said that the lopa rule is Bahiranga, because it takes place on account of the affix ह्यत् which is out side; and the change of न् into ह्य is inside it, or antaranga; and therefore the lopa will be asiddha with regard to ह्यत्, then we reply that there is no relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga here. The Paribhāṣā असिद्ध बहिरङ्ग &c. is derived from the Jāpaka of बाह ऊह (VI. 4. 132 S. 329.) which belongs to the VIth Adhyāya and consequently does not see the ह्यत् vidhi of the VIIIth Adhyāya (VIII. 4. 41 S. 111.) by the sūtra पूर्वस्यसिद्धे, and so there will be no antaranga Bhāva. This proceeds on the view of व्याख्येय Pakṣa.

३५३ । नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुन्विधिषु कृति । ८ । २ । २ ॥

सुप्तिथौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ कृतिरुन्विधा च नलोपोऽसिद्धः नान्यत्र । राजाद्य इत्याद्यो । इत्य-
सिद्धत्वात्त्ययेस्त्वित्त्वं च न । राज्ञ्यात् । राजनिः । राज्ञे । राज्ञ्यः । राज्ञः । राज्ञोः । राज्ञात् । राज्ञि ।
राजादि । प्रतिस्वीक्यतीति प्रतिदिवा । प्रतिदिवा नौ । प्रतिदिवा नः । अस्य भविष्येऽक्षेपेकृते ॥

353. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment त् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it : as सुप्तिथि, स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि, सुप्तिथि is that of ordaining the existence of something : e. g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when न् is to be added to it, (भाषसाधन) ॥ The compound सुप्तिथि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुप्तिथि—As राजनिः, तथादिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तथात् being asiddha, the सिच् is not changed to ऐच् by VII. 1. 9. S. 203. So also राज्ञ्यात्, तस्यर्थो, राजसु, तथासु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तस्य are not lengthened before भ्यो by सुप्तिथि (VII. 3. 102 S. 202.) nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 2. 103 S. 205) : as in नारथ्यो and नरेषु of the stem ending in न् ॥

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2. 7 S. 236. would be asiddha by the general rule VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजाद्ये (राजन् + क्यप् + से = राज + य + से = राजयिसे III. 1. 8. S. 2657 VII.

4. 33 S. 2658). There would not have been long ई had the सञ्ज्ञा been asiddha. So also राजाद्यन्ते there is lengthening, (VII. 4. 25 S. 2298,) and राजाद्य there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101 S. 85).

355. The झ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus Acc: Pl: यज्वनः ॥ Instr: Sing and dual यज्वना, यज्वभ्याम् &c. Similar is the declension of ब्रह्मन् ॥ Nom. ब्रह्मा, ब्रह्मणो, ब्रह्माणः, Acc. ब्रह्माणम्, ब्रह्मणो, ब्रह्मणः; Ins. ब्रह्मणा, ब्रह्मभ्याम्, ब्रह्मभिः ॥

—:0:—

Now, we take up the declension of वृषहन् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies:—

३५६ । इन्द्रहन्पूषार्थेभ्यां शौ । ६ । ४ । १२ ॥

एषां शाक्योपधाया क्षीर्यो नाम्बन् । इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ॥

356. The penultimate vowel is lengthened only before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्थमन् and nowhere else.

To this prohibition is the exception contained in the following sūtra.

३५७ । सौ च । ६ । ४ । १३ ॥

इन्द्रादीनामुपधाया शीर्षं स्यादसंज्ञौ । सौ परे । वृषह । हे वृषहन् । एका लुक्तरपदे इति जत्वम् । वृषहणौ । वृषहणः । वृषहणम् । वृषहणौ ॥

357. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्थमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus वृषह, ॥ The व् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In the Vocative singular we have हे वृषहन् ॥

The व् is changed to श् by VIII. 4. 12 S. 307. Thus we get the following forms N. D. वृषहणौ ; N. Pl: वृषहणः, Acc: Sg. and Dual: वृषहणम् and वृषहणौ respectively.

In Acc: Pl: the झ of हन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 and the ह is changed to guttural by the following Sūtra.

३५८ । ह्रोहन्तेर्जिण्येषु । ७ । ३ । ५४ ॥

मिति मिति च प्रत्यये चकारे च परे हन्तेर्हकारस्य कुत्वं स्यात् ॥

358. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicatory ञ्, or ण् and before न् ॥

The next Sūtra हन्तिस्त्वर्यस्व is divided by the author into two parts. Viz, first, हन्ते and then हन्तिस्त्वर्यम् ॥

३५६। हन्तेः। ८। ४। २२॥

उपसर्गस्यान्तिमितान्परस्य हन्तेर्नस्य णत्वं स्यात्। प्रहण्यात्॥

359. The न्, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

As प्रहण्यात्॥ This requires the न् of वृक्हन् to be changed to ण्। But to this the second half of the above Sūtra makes an exception.

३५९ क। अत्पूर्वस्य। ८। ४। २२॥

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्यैव नस्य णत्वं नान्यस्य। प्रपन्नति। योगविभागसामर्थ्यादन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो चेति न्यायं चापेक्षा एकाह्यन्तरपरे इति णत्वनपि निवर्त्यते। नकारे परे कुत्वविधिसामर्थ्यादत्रोपो न स्यादित्यत्। वृक्कः। वृक्कः इत्यादि। अक्षु वृक्कः इत्यादौ वैकल्पिकं णत्वं माधवेनोक्तं सङ्गाध्यवार्तिकविच्छेदम्। एवं चार्द्धिन् यस्त्वित्त्रयं नभूपन्। यस्त्विति विस्मयस्ये इतोऽनर्थकत्वेऽपि इन्हन्तिरस्य घर्णं भवत्येव। अग्निस्त्वस्य घणान्ययत्ता आनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजन्यतीति वचनात्। गर्भणि। गर्भनणि। पूष्णि पूषणि।

359 A. The न् of हन् is changed to ण when it is preceded by short अ and in no other case, that is to say, when हन् retains the form हन् and not when the अ is elided and हन् assumes the form घ्न or when the अ is lengthened.

Thus प्रपन्नतिः॥ This interpretation is given because it is possible to div de this Sūtra into two by the maxim योगविभागाद्विच्छिद्दि ३. ६, "from a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we are allowed to derive only such results as may be desirable."

Paribhāṣhā :—"A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything, either enjoins or forbids only that which is nearest to it in some other rule."

This maxim being set aside by the fact of the योगविभाग, the Sūtra VIII. 4. 12. S. 307. ordaining णत्वं also ceases. The elision of अ is not sthānivat because otherwise the ह् will never be followed by न् and so there will be no scope for Sūtra VII. 3. 54. S. 358. Thus Acc. Pl. is वृक्कः. Instr. Sing. : वृक्कः &c.

But the optional form वृक्कः with a cerebral ण instead of dental न्, according to the opinion of Mādhava is a mistake, because it is opposed to Kātyāyana and Patanjali. The न् is never changed to ण.

The nouns चार्द्धिन्, यस्त्वित्, गर्भन्, पूषन् are similarly declined.

यस्त्वित् is formed with the affix त्विन् and not हन्. The हन् portion in यस्त्वित् has no meaning; and so the rules VI. 4. 12. S. 356 and VI. 4. 13. S. 357. should not apply to it. However these rules are applied, in accordance with the following *Paribhāṣhā*,

Paribhāṣā:—"Whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Gramhar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning".

Loc : Sing of अर्चयन् is अर्चयिष् or अर्चयामि ॥

Loc. Sing of पूषन् is पूषिष् or पूषामि ॥

—o—

Now, we take up the declension of मघयन्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३६० । मघवा बहुलम् । ६ । ४ । १२८ ॥

मघयन्स्यस्य वा तु इत्यन्तदेशः स्यात् । ऋ इत् ॥

360. तु is diversely substituted for the final of मघयन् ॥

ऋ of तु is इत्. And thus we get मघयत्.

Here applies the next Sūtra, showing the force of this indicatory ऋ.

३६१ । उगिद्वां सर्वनामस्थानेऽध्यातोः । ७ । १ । ७० ॥

मघादीरुगितो नलोपिनोऽन्त्येन गुमांगमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । मघयान् । इडे ईष कर्त्तव्ये संयोगान्तलोपस्यातिष्ठत्वं न भवति बहुलमहनात् । तथा च अन्त्युत्पत्तिरिति निवासात्तन्मघयन्तुपस्य भाषायामपि शब्दद्वयसिद्धिमाश्रित्येतत् सूत्रं प्रत्यक्षयातमाकरे । इतिर्लक्षिते निःशङ्को मघेषु मघयानसां चिति मग्निः । मघयन्तोः । मघयन्तः । हे मघयन् । मघयन्तम् । मघयन्तो । मघयतः । मघयता । मघयद्भ्यामि-त्यादि । गुत्वाभावे मघया । छन्दसीयनिषौ चाति यनिवन्तं मध्योक्तं छन्दस्येव, अन्तोक्तं तु लोकोऽपीति विशेषः । मघयानो । मघयानः । सुवि राजवत् ॥

361. Whatever has an indicatory उ, ऋ and लृ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem यच्, (यञ्चति) get the augment लुम् in the strong cases.

Thus Nom : Sing. is मघयान्. The penultimate य् is lengthened by VI. 4. 14. S. 425. The affix लृ is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and the त् is elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54.

The form being मघयन्, the elision of त् takes place by the Tripādi rule संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and therefore this elision is not perceived by the इडे rule of the Sixth Book of Pāṇini (i.e. VI. 4. 14. S. 425). The य् of यन्, therefore not being penultimate will not be lengthened, as it is not lengthened in Verbal Nouns like कुर्वन् &c, where also the elision of त् is held to be asiddha. Why do we lengthen it in the case of मघयन्? Because of the word बहुलं in the last Sūtra VI. 4. 128 S. 360.

In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies.

३६४ । अर्धेण ह्यसाधनजः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

मग्ना रहितस्याव्यञ्जन्तत्वाद्भूत्य तृ इत्यन्तविशेषः स्यान्न तु सौ । उगित्वान्नुम् । अवन्तो । अर्वन्तः ।
नन्तम् । अर्वन्तो । अवन्तः । अर्वन्ता । अर्वन्तुभ्यामित्यादि । अनयः किम् । अनर्वा । यद्यप्यवन्तः ॥

364. **इ** (which is changed to **ऋ** in the strong uses, and forms the feminine in **ई** unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem **अर्वन्**, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is **त्**, the **ञ** is for the sake of making this an **म्**, so that in *sarvanāmasthāna* cases we have **नुम्** augment VII. 1 70. 361. Thus **अवन्तौ, अवन्तः, अवन्तम्, अवन्तौ, अवन्तः, अवन्ता, अवन्तभ्याम्, &c.**

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe नी (N. S). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यज्जन्त ॥

In the declension of पयिन्, गयिन् &c. the following rules apply :—

३६५ । पथिमय्यभुक्षामात् । ७ । १ । ८५ ॥

एषामाकारोऽन्त्यादेशः स्यात्तौ परे। आ आदिति प्रश्नेषेण शुद्धाया एव व्यत्तेर्निधानाप्रामाण्योक्तः ।।

365. अत् (अ) is substituted for the final of 'pa-in', 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthānin here is a nasal (i. e. ण्), yet the substitute ण is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (i. e. 50. 39) but to be pronounced as a pure ण. The reason for this is that the substitute ण is really ण + ण्, indicating that pure ण is to be used and not the nasal णं.

The Inst : Sg. and Dual of मधवन् are मधोना, मधवभ्यां &c. Similar is the declension of ध्वन् ॥ Thus धुनः (Acc. Pl.), धुना (Instr : S.); श्वशान् (Instr: Dual) &c.

Now we take up the declension of युवन् ॥

युवन् + वस = यु + व + न् + वस ॥ Here the व of यु would also require to be vocalised. But this is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३६३ । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । ६ । १ । ३७ ॥

संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणे न ह्यान् । इति यकारस्य नेत्वम् । अतः एव ज्ञापकादन्तस्य यणः पूर्वे संप्रसारणम् । धूनाः । धूना । युवभ्यामित्यादि । अर्वा । हे अर्बन् ॥

363. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

So य् of युवन् is not vocalised. Therefore, by the inference to be drawn from this rule, the final semivowel is vocalised.

Thus Acc : Pl : is धूनाः ; Instr : Sg. and Dual are धूना, युवभ्यां and so on.

Note :—Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found preceding a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñāpaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the य् being changed to व, the व is not changed as धूना ॥ It might be objected that when व् of यु, and व् the samprasārṇa of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two व's and this is sthānivat to the original, the य् and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good ; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58 S. 51). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Now, we take up the declension of अर्बन् ॥ Its N. S. is अर्बः ; Its Voc :

In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies.

३६४ । अर्धेण स्रस्तावनजः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

मन्त्रा रहितस्यार्धवन्तस्याङ्गस्य तु इत्यन्तादेशः स्यात्तु सौ । उगिस्वान्तम् । अर्धन्तौ । अर्धन्तः । अर्धन्तम् । अर्धन्तौ । अर्धन्तः । अर्धन्ता । अर्धन्तुभ्यामित्यादि । अनजः कित् । अनजा । यज्ययन् ॥

364. न् (which is changed to न्त् in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्धन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is न्त्, the ङ्ग is for the sake of making this affix an ङगिन्, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have तुङ्ग augment VII. 1 70. S. 361. Thus अर्धन्तौ, अर्धन्तः, अर्धन्तम्, अर्धन्तौ, अर्धन्तः, अर्धन्ता, अर्धन्तुभ्याम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न्? Observe अनजा (N. S). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यज्यन् ॥

In the declension of पथिन्, मथिन् &c. the following rules apply :—

३६५ । पथिमथ्युमुक्षामात् । ७ । १ । ८५ ॥

एवानाकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे । आ भाविति प्रत्ययेण मुखाया एव व्यक्तेर्विधानात्तानुनासिकः ।

365. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin' 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthānin here is a nasal (i. e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (I. 1. 50. 39) but to be pronounced purely for the आत् of the sūtra is really आ + आत्, indicating that pure आ is to be taken and not the nasal औ ॥

३६६ । इतोऽस्तसर्वनामस्थाने । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

पथ्यदिर्विकारस्याङ्कारः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

366. ञ् is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and rbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Note :—Though the anuvṛtti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI. 4. 9.S. 2541. by which in the case of ऋमुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋमुक्षणम् and ऋमुक्षणम् ॥

३६७ । ण्यः । ७ । १ । ८७ ॥

पथिमथोस्थस्य ण्यदेशः स्यात् सर्वनामस्थाने परे । ण्याः । ण्यामी । ण्यातः । ण्यान्तम् । ण्यान्तौ ॥

367. *न्* is substituted for the *थ्* of pathin and mathin, in the strong cases.

Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

३६८ । अस्य ढेलोपः । ७ । १ । ८८ ॥

अस्य कस्य पथ्यविडेलोपः स्यात् । पथः । पथा । पथिभ्यामित्यादि । एवं मन्थाः । ऋमुक्ताः । त्रिधा नान्तकृत्तव्यं ङीप् भत्वाङ्गिलोपः । सुपथी । सुमथी नंगरी । अनृमुक्ती सेना ॥ आत्वं नपुंसके न भवति । न लुपनति प्रत्ययलक्षणनिवेधान् । सुपथि वनम् ॥ संकुञ्चौ नपुंसकानां नलोपो वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे सुपथिन् । हे सुपथि । नलोपः सुपथ्येति नलोपस्यातिप्रत्ययाद्भवस्य सुलो न । द्विपञ्चने भत्वाङ्गिलोपः । सुपथी । औ सर्वानामस्यानस्यान् सुपन्थानि । पुनरपि । सुपथी । सुपथी । सुपन्थानि । सुपथा । सुपथे । सुपथिभ्यामित्यादि ॥

368. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin, and rbhukshin, before an affix beginning with a vowel or य (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, नथः, मथा, मथे, ऋमुक्ताः, ऋमुक्ता, ऋमुक्ते ॥

In the Feminine the affix ङीप् will be added by IV. 1. 5. as पथिन् + ङीप्, and the इन् is elided before the affix ङीप् by the present Sôtra. Thus सुपथी नगरी, and अनृमुक्ती सेना.

In the Neuter, there is not lengthening of VII. 1. 85. S. 365. because the affix is elided by using the word लुक् (VII. 1. 43. S. 319) and therefore the affix लु leaves no trace behind by I. 1. 63. S. 263. Thus सुपथि वनम्. Thus सुपथिन् + लु = सुपथिन् + O = सुपथि (The final न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

In the Vocative Sing. of the Neuter Noun सुपथिन्, the elision of न् is optional, according to the following *Vârtika* :—

Vârtika :—In the Voc. Singular of the Neuter nouns, the elision of final न् is optional.

Thus हे सुपथिन् or हे सुपथि.

The short इ of सुपथि is not gunated (as it is gunated in हे हरे) because of the prohibition contained in VIII. 2. 2. S. 353 by which the elision of न् is asiddha in the case of case-endings.

In the Nom. Dual, the base being bha, the वि portion of पथिन् is elided before the Dual affix ची. Thus सुपथी ॥

In the Nom. Pl. (ति) which is a Sarvanâmasthâna affix (I 1. 42. S. 313) there is no elision and the rules VII. 1. 86 and 87 S. 367 and 368. apply and so we get the form सुपन्थाति ॥

The Acc. forms are the same as the Nominative ones, as सुपथि, सुपथी, सुपन्थानि ॥

The Instr : Sing : and Dual are सुपया, सुपयिभ्याम् ॥

The Dative Sing : is सुपये &c.

Now, we take up the declension of पञ्चन. It is a षट् word by the following definition.

३६९ । णान्ता षट् । १ । १ । २४ ॥

षान्ता नाम्ना च संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥ षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ पञ्च २ । संख्या किम् । विप्रश्नः । पानानः । शतानि सहस्राणीति च संनिपातपरिभाषया नै लुक् ॥ सर्वनामस्थानसंनिपातेन कृतस्य जुमस्तद्विपातकत्वात् । पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्धेवेति षट् ॥

369. The Sankhyās having ष or न as their final are called षट्.

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22. S. 261). Thus षं च पञ्च ॥ Why do we say संख्या ॥ Observe विप्रश्नः and पानानः ॥

Note :—This sūtra defines the form षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group sankhyā. Those Sankhyās which end in ष or न are called षट् ॥ The word sankhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word णान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sankhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely षचन 'five,' षट् 'six,' सप्तन, 'seven,' अष्टन 'eight,' नवन 'nine,' दशन 'ten.'

The word अन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be anupadesika i. e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्रानि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided ; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

In forming Nom : Pl : of शत we have शत + सि Then we add नुप् by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. Thus we get शतन् + सि Here the word is a sankhyā and ends in न् ॥ Why should not this सि be elided by VII. 1. 22. S. 261. This is not elided by the maxim संनिपात परिभाषा ॥ For the maxim, see VII. 1. 13. S. 204. Because it was the presence of सि that caused the insertion of न् and now this न् cannot cause the destruction of its originator. Thus we get शतानि ॥ सहस्रानि is also similarly formed.

The Instr, Dative and Acc : plurals are पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः, षड्भ्यः respectively.

The augment न् is added by VII. 55. S. 338 in forming the Gen. Pl: Then the following sūtra comes into operation.

३७० । नोपधायाः । ६ । ४ । ७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया रीर्षः स्यान्नमि परे । नलोपः । पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चसु । परमपञ्च । परमपञ्चानाम् । गौणस्य तु न लुगुर्दी । म्रियपञ्चा । म्रियपञ्चानौ । म्रियपञ्चानः । म्रियपञ्चानम् ॥ एवं सप्तन् नवन् दशन् ॥

370. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1. 55. S. 338) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7. S. 370.) = पञ्चानाम् (न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

The Loc. Pl. is पञ्चसु. Similar is the declension of परमपञ्च. Thus N, Pl. परमपञ्च. Gen : Pl. is परम पञ्चानाम्.

When पञ्च is a secondary member of a compound, there is neither लृक् of Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261. nor the लृच् augment of VII. 1. 55. S. 338. Thus म्रियपञ्चन् is declined as Nom : म्रियपञ्चा, म्रियपञ्चानौ, म्रियपञ्चानः ; Acc. म्रियपञ्चानम् ॥

Similar is the declension of सप्तन्, नवन् and दशन्. In the declension of षट् the following rules apply.

३७१ । अष्टन आ विभक्तौ । ७ । २ । ८४ ॥

अष्टन आत्वं स्याद्वलादी विभक्तौ ॥

371. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending beginning with a consonant.

३७२ । अष्टाभ्य औत् । ७ । १ । २१ ॥

कृताकारादष्टनः परयोऽष्टाभ्योऽसौ स्यात् । अष्टाभ्य इति वक्तव्ये कृतास्वनिर्देशो जसृशसौर्षि आत्वं ज्ञापयति । वैकल्पिकं चेदमष्टन आत्वं । अष्टनो रीर्षाविति सूत्रं रीर्षमवगच्छापकात् । शटौ : परमाष्टौ । अष्टाभिः । अष्टाभ्यः २ । अष्टानाम् । अष्टासु । आत्वाभावे । अष्ट । अष्ट । इत्यादि पञ्चवत् । गौण एवात्वाभावेऽनवत् । शसि मियाद्गुः । इह पूर्वस्मादपि विधावलोपस्य स्थानियज्ञावात्र हुत्वम् । कार्यकालप यद्विरुद्धस्यालोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् । मियाद्गु इत्यादि । अष्टासोरनुमीयमानत्वात् प्राधान्य एव न तु गौणत्वात् । तेन मियाद्गो ह्यलक्षित्वं वैकल्पिकत्वात् । मियाद्गुः । मियाद्गुभिः । मियाद्गुभ्यः २ । मियाद्गुः ।

मियाद्गोः सप्तमसर्वे शाश्वत्वापरं एति ॥

अपभाषः । अष्टनपत्ये । मुन् । मुद । कुपौ । कुपः । कुपा । मुद्वपम् । मुस्तु ॥

372. After the stem अष्ट (the form assumed by अष्टन् VII. 2. 84) औत् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

Why have we taken the form अष्ट and not षट् ? Observe अष्ट तिङ्गिणि षट् पदम् ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of षट्पञ्चा) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of षट् takes place in Nom : and Acc. Plural ; and that it is also optional, which we infer from

the jñāpaka of VI. 1. 172, S. 3718. where the word द्विव indicates that there are two forms of अहन् ॥ This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the sūtra VII. I. 22, S. 261. by which the plural Nom. and Acc. endings are elided after the numerals called वच् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4. 71, S. 650, is not, however, barred by this rule ; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not. Thus अहवृत्तः, अहभार्यः ॥

Note :—The use of दीर्घान् in sūtra VI. 1. 172, S. 3718 indicates that the word अहन् has two forms, and the substitution of long आ taught in VII. 2. 84, S. 371, thus becomes optional, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घान् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अहन् would always end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घान्, namely, it makes the word अहान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of वच् ॥ For if अहान् was not to be called a वच्, like अहन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अहान् while it would be barred in the case of अहन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to वच् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घान् would become useless.

The regular declension is as follows :—

अद्यौ, अद्यौ, पत्न्याद्यौ, अद्याभिः, अद्याभ्यः, अद्याभ्याम्, अद्याङ् ॥

When there is not the lengthening of अ of अहन्, that is when the base is not अहान् then we have अह, अह, इ. ए. अहन् is then declined like वृद्धन् ॥

When अहन् forms a secondary member in a compound, it is declined like राजन् ॥ Thus the Acc. Pl. : is म्रियान् ॥ The न् is not changed to ञ् because the elided अ is considered as sthānivat, because of I. 1. 57, S. 50 where the word पूर्वविधि is explained as पूर्वस्थाविधि ॥ And as here, because of the prior (पूर्व) letter ङ, the subsequent letter न् requires to be changed to ञ्, the elided अ becomes sthānivat and prevents the change.

Moreover the form may be evolved by following the maxim of कार्यकालपक्ष then the elision of अ of अहन् being considered as a bahiranga for the purposes of the antaranga rule of ष्टुल्य (VII. 4. 41, S. 113) then also there will be no change.

Because the elision rule VI. 4. 134. applies to an operation brought about by an external cause like हच् while the change of न् to ञ् is internal, therefore the latter is antaranga to the former, and does not perceive it.

So also Ins. S. म्रियान् &c.

The lengthening of अ in to आ which we have inferred in the case of अहन् before अच् and णच् (see above) is to take place then only when अहन् retains its primary sense and not when it is a secondary member in a Bahuvrīhi compound. As in the compound म्रियान् meaning "he who loves eight persons," the word अहन् is secondary, the principal word being the lover : there-

fore we do not get at all the lengthening of व in वियाद्वत् before जन् and एन् ॥ While there will be *optional* lengthening before affixes beginning with consonants. As वियाद्वाम् or वियाद्वाम् ॥

Verse :—This word वियाद्वत् resembles एवत् in all the cases, except the cases beginning with a consonant where it resembles ह्यत्. Before consonantal cases, the base is वियाद्व ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in व्

—:O:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ध्

Now we take up the declension of बुध्. It is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the root बुध्. The व is changed to ब by VIII. 2. 37. S. 326 ; then ध is changed to द, optionally to न, by कलाञ्जलि (VIII. 2. 39. S. 84). Thus N. S. is बुध् or बुध् Nom. D. बुधो. N. P. बुधः Ins.; S. बुधा. Ins.; D. बुधाय Loc. Pl. बुधु.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ध्.

—:O:—

Declension of Masculine nouns ending in ज् ॥

Now we take up the declension of युज्. It is formed irregularly by adding the affix क्तिन् to the root युज् by the following Sūtra.

३७३ । ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्तन्दिगुणिगञ्जुजिक्कुञ्जां च । ३ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यः क्तिन् स्यात् । बलाच्चानिक्कवि क्तिप्सिक्तार्थे विपातनाम्भ्यते । निरुपपदाद्युभेः क्तिन् ।

373. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्तब्ध् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उज्जिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन्; and so also after the verbs अञ्जु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and कुञ्ज 'to approach', the affix क्तिन् is employed.

The affix क्तिन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्जु, and कुञ्ज ॥ Being read along with the above-mentioned five irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्तिन् to these verbs.

The affix क्तिन् comes after युजि and कुञ्ज when these are uncombined.

Note :—Otherwise in combination the affix would be क्ति (III. 2. 61. S. 2975). The difference between क्तिप् and क्तिन् is that the latter gives us the Nom. S. बुध्; while the former will give us the N. S. बुध् as in बुध्बुध् ॥

Of the affix क्तिन् the ण् and न् are indicative (इत्); the affix is really इत् ॥ This is a कृत् affix or the affix from which a nominal stem is formed directly from the verb. कृत् is defined in the following sūtra.

३७४ । कृत्तिङ् । ३ । १ । ६३ ॥

सनिहिते धात्वधिकारे तिङ्भिन्नः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञः स्यात् ॥

374. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत् ॥

The Kṛit affix वि is elided by the following sūtra,

३७५ । वेत्तृक्तस्य । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपृक्तस्य वस्य लोपः स्यात् । कृत्तल्लितेति प्रातिपदिकत्वात्स्वाद्यः ॥

375. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

Note :—The affix वि includes विवृ, विवृन्, विद् &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikṭa (I. 2. 41 S. 231), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, धृणत् (III. 2. 87 S. 2998). Here the affix विवृ is elided. So also वृत्तस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58. S. 432). Here the affix विवृन् is elided. So also वर्धभाक्, पावभाक्, तुरीभाक् (III. 2. 62 S. 2976). Here the affix विद् is elided.

Why do we say “of an aprikṭa—an amx consisting of a single letter”? Observe हविः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जामुदिः formed by विवृ, see Uṇādi Sûtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely, the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus विद् words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

The word कृत् being a कृत्स्न word gets the designation of Prātipadika by I. 2. 46 S. 179 and therefore we add to it the case affixes सु &c. Thus N. S. कृत्+सु ॥ At this stage comes the following sūtra for application.

३७६ । युजेरसमाप्ति । ७ । १ । ७१

युजेः सर्वनामस्थाने युप् स्यादसमाप्ते । सुलोपः । संदीगान्तस्य लोपः ॥

376. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus यु+न्+सु+सु=यु+न्+सु+O (the न् being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.)=यु+न्+O (the सु being elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54).

Thus we get युज् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra,

३७७ । किन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः । ८ । २ । ६२ ॥

किन्प्रत्ययो यस्मात्तस्य कवर्गेऽन्तविधेः स्यात्प्रत्यये । नस्य कुत्वनानुनासिकी ङकारः । पुह् । मबापदान्तस्येति दुमोऽनुस्वारः परसवर्गः । तस्यासिद्धत्वाद्योः कुरिति कुत्वं न । युञ्जी । युञ्जः । युञ्जन् । युञ्जौ । युञ्जः । युजा । युभ्यामित्यादि । अतनासे किम् ॥

377. A stem formed with the affix किन् under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

Note :—The word पश्य is understood here. The word किन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrīhi meaning 'that stem which has kvin as its affix.' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As वृत्स्वक् (III. 2. 58), हत्स्वक्, गन्तस्वक् ॥

The न् being changed to guttural, we get ह् Thus युन् becomes युह् (Nominative Singular).

In forming N. Dual the न् is changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24 S. 123, and this anusvāra is changed to ङ being the nasal letter belonging to च वर्गः. But the anusvāra as ordained by the subsequent Tripādi rule VIII. 3. 24 S. 123, is asiddha for the purposes of the application of VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 which required the anusvāra to be changed to guttural.

Thus युञ्जी (N. D.), युञ्जः (N. Pl.) Acc: forms are युञ्जन्, युञ्जौ, युञ्जः; Instr: forms are युजा, युभ्याम् &c.

Why do we say अतनासे in the sūtra VII. 1. 71. S. 376. Because in compounds like युज्वा, there is no युन् augment. In declining this word the following rule applies—

३७८ । चोः कुः । ८ । २ । ३० ॥

चवर्गस्य कवर्गः स्याङ्गालि पदान्ते च । इति कुत्वम् । किन्प्रत्ययस्येति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । युह् । युज्वा । युञ्जौ । युञ्जः । युञ्जेति धातुवाङ्मण्डितकारविधिद्वयानुकरणं न त्विका निर्देशः । तेनेह न । युञ्जते समाधत्ते इति युक् । युज समाधौ देवादिक् वात्मनेपदी । संयोगात्तलोपः । सन् । सञ्जो । सञ्जः । इत्यादि । अथेति पन्चम् । जद्वज्जत्वे । राट् । राज् । राजो । राजः । राह्व । राह्व । एवं विभ्राट् । रेवेट् । रेवेजो । रेवेजः । विश्वसृट् । विश्वसृज् । विश्वसजो । विश्वसृजः । इह सृजियञोः कुत्वं मेति ह्रस्वि रक्षते । परिसृट् । पत्यविधौ राजिसाहचर्यात् द्वन्वाद् दीप्तादिति कणादिरेवं गृह्यते । यस्तु दृष्टेदृश्यादृशादिति तस्य कुत्वमेव । विभाट् । विभाज् । विभाग्यामित्यादि ॥ परी ब्रजे पः पदान्ते ० ॥ पराशुपदे ब्रजेः किम् स्वादृशीर्षच पदान्तादिविधे पदं च । परित्यज्य सर्वं व्रजतीति पाठ्याद् । परिब्राजो । परिब्राजः ॥

378. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before *ihal* letter or at the end of a word.

This requires the change of ज् to a guttural *i. e.* of क class. The क्ता ordained by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 is asiddha or not perceived by the present Sūtra, which is antecedent to VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 in the order of enunciation

by Pāṇini. In the case of विश्वसृज् and देवेज्; the ज् is not changed to a letter of the क् class even when we take words to be formed by the affix क्तिन् under Sūtra VIII. 2. 62 S. 377. The reason for this we shall explain under Sūtra अह् VIII. 2. 68. S. 443 in declining the Neuter noun.

Thus Nom. forms are सृजुक् or सृजुक्, सृजुजौ, सृजुजः ॥ In the Sūtra VII. 1. 71, S. 376, the root is exhibited as युजे: showing that that root of the Dhātupāṭha should be taken which ends in ह, *viz.* the root युजि- योजे, the 7th root of the रुधादि class. Therefore it does not apply to the root युज् सभाषी the 10th root of the इवादाव class and is Ātmanepadī. In the latter case, the form will be युक्.

Now we take up the declension of खञ्ज्. It is derived from खञि 'to move' and 'to feel done up' by adding the affix क्तिप् ॥

The ह of खञि is elided because it is हल्, leaving behind खञ् to which the augment लुप् is added by VII. 1. 58. S. 2262. Thus we get ख+लु+ञ्. Then ज् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54. Thus we get खल्. In the N. S. the affix लु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. Thus the N. S. remains as खल्. The N. Dual and Pl. are खञ्जौ and खञ्जः &c.

Now we take up the declension of राज्. By VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. the ह of राज् is changed to र्. Then the र् is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56. S. 206. Then इ is changed to ह्. Thus we get N. S. राह् or राह्. The N. D. and Pl. are राजौ, राजः ॥ Loc. Pl. is राह्लु or राह्लु. Similarly is declined विश्राज्. So also देवेज्. Its Nom. forms are देवेह्, देवेजा, देवेमः ॥ The Nom. forms of विश्वसृज् are विश्वसृह् or विश्वसृह्, विश्वसृजौ, विश्वसृजः ॥

With regard to सृज् and वज् there is not gutturalisation as will be further explained under Sūtra VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. The N. S. of वसिष्ठ् is वसिष्ठ् ॥

The word विश्राज् given above is formed from that root श्राज् which belongs to कणादि subdivision of भ्रादि gaṇa, *i. e.* the root श्राज् 'to shine' भ्रादि 875. and not the root श्राज् number 20 of the भ्रादि where it is exhibited श्राजि-योजि. This we do, because the root श्राज् is read along with root राज् in the कणादि subd. division; and as the VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. mentions राज् and श्राज् together, the श्राज् here should be taken as the श्राज् of the कणादि class, where also both are enunciated together and not the other श्राज् which is shown along with सृज्, मेज् and श्राज्, (Dhātupāṭha भ्रादि 193, 194 and 195). In the case of this श्राज् there will be कृत् and not पठ्. Thus N. S. is विश्राह् or विश्राह्. Instr. D. विश्राज् ॥ &c.

Vārtika. When वज् is preceded by upapada परि there comes the affix क्तिप् and the व is lengthened and ज् is changed to व्. When it is final in a Pada. Thus N. S. of वसिष्ठ् is वसिष्ठ्व् which means one who has gone out leaving every thing. The N. Dual and Pl. are वसिष्ठ्वौ and वसिष्ठ्वः, respectively.

Now, we take up the declension of विश्वराज्. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३७९ । विश्वस्य वसुराजोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वराजस्य दीर्घः स्यादसौ राट्पदके च परे । विश्वे वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । राजिति पदान्तोप-
सक्तप्रत्ययम् । चर्त्तमविवक्षितम् । विश्वाराट् । विश्वाराह् । विश्वराजोः । विश्वराजः । विश्वाराह्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विश्वावसुः, *i. e.* one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form : as विश्वराजोः, विश्वराजः ॥

The राट् is taken in the Sūtra only as an illustration of its Padānta form. It does not mean that the form विश्वाराह् is not valid. Thus N. S. has both forms, *i. e.* विश्वाराह् and विश्वाराज्.

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Now, we take up the declension of भञ्ज. In its declension the following rule applies.

३८० । स्फोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च । ८ । २ । २६ ॥

पदान्ते भञि च परे यः संयोगस्तदर्थोः सकारककारयोरन्तः स्यात् । भृद् । भृङ् । सस्य दधुत्वेन
राः । तस्य गदत्वेन जः । भृज्जी । भृज्जः । भ्रतिगित्यादिना भ्रत्वाङुपपदेः यनेः क्तिच् । क्तिन्नन्त्याङुत्वेन ।
भ्रत्विक् । भ्रत्विग् । भ्रत्विगी । भ्रत्विजः । रास्त्वयेति नियमात् संयोगान्तोपः । ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग । ऊर्जी ।
ऊर्जः । त्वराद्यर्थं परस्परं च ॥

380. The स् or ङ्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root भृञ् we add the affix दिङ् and the र is vocalised into ऋ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412, and then the स् being elided by the present Sūtra, ङ् is changed into ञ् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294, which is again changed into ह् or ङ् as in the case of राट् already shown above under VII. 1. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is भृह् or भृङ्.

In forming N. Dual, the स् is changed to ह् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This ह् is again changed to ङ् by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is भृङ्गो. N. Pl. is भृङ्गः.

Now we take up the declension of भ्रतिङ्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix दिङ् to the root भृञ् with the upapada (subsidiary term) भृञ् in combination. (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The दिङ् formed word is finally changed to guttural by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is भ्रतिङ् or भ्रतिङ्. N. D. and Plural भ्रतिङ्गो and भ्रतिङ्गः ॥

Now we take up the declension of कर्त्तृ. By Sûtra VIII. 2. 24. S. 80. no consonant after र् is elided except ह्. Therefore क् is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after र by VIII. 2. 33, the special mention of स् after र shows, that this is a *niyama* rule. So that any other letter than स् following after र will not be dropped. Thus कृक् from कर्त्तृ + विशप् (III. 2. 177S. 3157), here कृ is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. and to क by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206 Thus N. S. is कर्त्तृ or कर्त्तृ. N. D. and Pl. are कर्त्तृ and कर्त्तृ: n

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in अ.

There are no Masculine nouns ending in क्, ग् or ङ्.

We take up now the declension of **स्यद्**. The **द्** of **स्यद्** is replaced by **म** by VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. Thus we get the base **स्य** before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom. Sing. the following rule applies :—

३८१ । तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः । ७ । २ । १०६ ॥

स्यद्वादीनां तत्कारणकारयोरनन्त्ययोः सः स्यात्सौ परे । स्यः । सौ । स्वे । स्यम् । सौ । स्याम् । सः ।
 सौ । मे । परमसः । परमसौ । परमते । द्विपर्यन्तानामित्येव । मेद् । स्वम् । मभ्य तत्कारणकारणसामर्थ्यान्नेति
 याच्यम्, अतिस्यमिति शैले परितोषस्तान् । संज्ञायां शौण्डे आत्मसम्पन्न । त्यद् । त्यदी । त्यवः । अतित्यद् ।
 अतित्यदी । अतित्यवः । यः । यौ । ये । एयः । एतौ । एते । अन्नादिषु तु, एनम् । एने । एताव । एनव ।
 एनयोः २ ॥

381. For the non-final च् and ढ् of ल्यङ् &c. there is substituted झ in the Nominative Singular.

As तद्+सु=त्+अ+सु (VII. 2. 102)=त्य+अ+सु (VII. 2. 106)=त्यः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from तद्, एषः from एतद् as एतद्+सु=एत्+अ+स् (VII. 2. 102)=एत्+अ+स् (VII. 2. 106)=एषः (VI. 1. 97). So अस्मै from अस् by the sūtra, VII. 2. 107. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69. S. 193.

This rule only applies to स्यद्वादि words, which as we have already shown, begin with स्यद् and end with दि in the list of saryanāmas. Therefore this will not apply to सम् which is not included in the स्यद्वादि class.

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the ह् of स्त. for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching स्त substitution in the place of ह् by VII. 2. 94 S. 384. That sūtra could have been made as स्तही स्त instead of स्तही स्त for it would have been better to say at once let ह् be

Now, we take up the declension of विश्वराज्. In its declension, the following rule applies:—

३७९ । विश्वस्य वसुराजोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वराजस्य कीर्त्यैः स्याद्वसु राजस्यै च परे । विश्वं वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । रात्रिं पशन्तोप-
सक्षप्रार्थम् । पर्यगपिवाक्षितम् । विश्वाराह् । विश्वाराह् । विश्वराजो । विश्वराजः । विश्वाराह्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राह् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विश्वावसुः, i. e. one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राह् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

The राह् is taken in the Sūtra only as an illustration of its Padānta form. It does not mean that the form विश्वाराह् is not valid. Thus N. S. has both forms, i. e., विश्वाराह् and विश्वाराज्.

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Now, we take up the declension of संयोगाद्योः. In its declension the following rule applies,

३८० । स्फोटोः संयोगाद्योः स्फुटोः च । ८ । २ । २६ ॥

पशन्ते भ्रातृ च परे यः संयोगस्तथायोः सकारककारयोर्लोपः स्यात् । भृद् । भृज् । सस्य दधुत्वेन
राः । सस्य गदत्वेन यः । भृजोः । भृजः । भ्रातृपितृभ्यादिना भ्राताद्युपपत्तेः यजेः क्तिन् । क्तिन्नन्तत्वात्कुत्सम् ।
भ्रातृक । भ्रातृप् । भ्रातृजोः । भ्रातृजः । रास्यस्येति नियमान्न संयोगान्तलोपः । ऊर्जः । ऊर्जः । ऊर्जोः ।
ऊर्जः । रास्यस्यैव परस्परस्यै च ॥

380. The स् or फ्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root भृज् we add the affix स्फिप् and the र is vocalised into ऋ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412, and then the स् being elided by the present Sūtra, ऋ is changed into ए by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294, which is again changed into ह् or ङ as in the case of राह् already shown above under VII. 2. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is भृह् or भृङ्.

In forming N. Dual, the स् is changed to ए by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This ए is again changed to ह् by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is भृहो. N. Pl. is भृहः.

Now we take up the declension of कृतिम्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix कृति to the root कृ with the upapada (subsidiary term) कृत् in combination (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The कृतिम् formed word is finally changed to कृत्तुर् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is कृत्तिह् or कृत्तिम्. N. D. and Plural कृत्तिभ्यं and कृत्तिभः ॥

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज. By Sūtra VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. no consonant after ॠ is elided except स्. Therefore ज् is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant.

Though the final स् would have been elided even after ॠ by VIII. 2. 23, the special mention of स् after ॠ shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after ॠ will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्ज् from ऊर्ज् + क्तिप् (III. 2. 177 S. 3157), here ज् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII. 2. 30. S. 378. and to क् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206 Thus N. S. is ऊर्ज or ऊर्ज्. N. D. and Pl. are ऊर्जी and ऊर्जः ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ॠ.

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There are no Masculine nouns ending in ॡ, ॢ or ॣ.

We take up now the declension of लव्. The ॠ of लव् is replaced by ॡ by VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. Thus we get the base ल before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom. Sing. the following rule applies :—

३८१ । तदोः सः सावनस्ययोः । ७ । २ । १०६ ॥

लवादीनां तकारवकारयोरनस्ययोः सः स्यास्ती परे । स्यः । ली । ले । लम् । ली । लान् । सः । लो । ने । परमसः । परमसो । परमने । द्विपर्यन्तानामित्येव । नेह । स्वम् । नञ् तकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्यामिति थाव्यम्, अतिस्वमिति गौणे स्वरितार्थत्वात् ॥ संज्ञायां गौणत्वे चास्वसन्निधे । लव् । लवो । लवः । अतिलव् । अतिलवो । अतिलवः । वः । वी । वे । एषः । एतो । एते । अम्वादेशे ह्रस्व, एनम् । एनो । एनाव । एनेन । एनयोः २ ॥

381. For the non-final ॠ and ॡ of लव् &c. there is substituted स in the Nominative Singular.

As लव् + सु = ल + व + सु (VII. 2. 102) = लव + व + सु (VII. 2. 106) = लवः (VI. 1. 97). Similarly सः from लव्, एषः from एतव् as एतव् + सु = एष + व + सु (VII. 2. 102) = एष + व + सु (VII. 2. 106) = एषः (VI. 1. 97). So अलो from अवल् by the sūtra VII. 2. 107. Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69. S. 193.

This rule only applies to लवदि words, which as we have already shown, begin with लव् and end with ॠ in the list of sarvanāmas. Therefore this will not apply to लम् which is not included in the लवदि class.

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the ॠ of ल्व, for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching ल्व substitution in the place of लव्व by VII. 2. 94 S. 384. That sūtra could have been made as ल्वो ली instead of लवो ली for it would have been better to say at once let ल्व be

the N. S. of युष्मद्, instead of first making it स्वप् and then changing the form into स्वे ॥ To this argument we reply, that the rule of स्वे substitution will find its unrestricted scope in words like अतिस्वप्, where स्वप् is a secondary member only. In the case of स्वप् the present rule would have applied. When these words i. e. स्वद् &c. are used as proper nouns or sanjñās (संज्ञा) or when used as secondary members of a compound, the rules of अस्व VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and स्वप् VII. 2. 106 S. 381, will not apply because they are sarvanāmas, for see explanation under sūtra I. 1. 29. S. 222. Thus स्वद्, स्वही, स्वद् ; अतिस्वद्, अतिस्वही अतिस्वद् &c.

The pronoun यद् is declined as यः, यौ, ये ॥ एतद् is declined as एषः, एतौ, एते ॥

In re-employment or अन्वोद्देश for which, see II. 4. 34. S. 351, we have Acc. forms एवम्, एनौ, एतान्, Instr. Sg. एनम्; Genitive and Loc. : Dual-एवयोः ॥

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Now we take up the declension of युष्मद् and अस्मद्. In its declension, the following rules apply :—

३८२ । हे प्रथमयोरम् । ७ । १ । २८ ॥

यष्मद्वत्पूर्वा परस्म्य हे इत्येतस्य प्रथमाद्वितीययोश्चाभावोः स्यात् ॥

382. अम् is substituted for the Dative case-affix ए and for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note :—The हे the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII. 1. 13, हेः) प्रथमयोः means] of the first and second cases. Thus युष्मद् + हे = तुभ्यद् + हे (VII. 2. 96) = तुभ्य + हे (VII. 2. 90) = तुभ्य + ञम् VII. 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VII. 1. 107 or 97); similarly अस्मद् ॥

Then the rule after the following applies, to understand which the following rule is necessary.

३८३ । मपर्यन्तस्य । ७ । २ । २९ ॥

इत्यभिव्यक्त्य ॥

383. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII. 2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra and exerts governing influence on all the seven subsequent sūtras in the order of Aṣṭādhyāyī.

३८४ । त्यादी लो । ७ । २ । ३४ ॥

युष्मद्वत्पूर्वापर्यन्तस्य एव षाड् इत्येतादिसौ स्मः लो दो ॥

384. In the Nominative Singular ए is substituted for युष्म and षाड् for अस्म ॥

३८५। शेष लोपः। ७। २। ६० ॥

आत्वयस्वनिमित्तेतरविभक्तौ परतो युष्मदस्मदोरन्त्यस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ अतो युगे ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ स्वम् । अहम् । ननु स्वं स्त्री अहं स्त्री इत्यत्र त्व अम् अह अम् इति स्थिते अमि पूर्वरूपं परमपि बाधित्वाऽन्तरित्वाद्वाप्यप्रतीतिः । सत्यम् । अलिङ्गं युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तेन स्त्रीत्वाभावात् दाप् । यद्वा । केच हन्ति सप्तमी स्थानि-
नोऽधिकरणस्यविषया । तेन मय्यन्ताच्छेषस्य अद् इत्यस्य लोपः । स च परोऽप्यान्तरङ्गे अतो युगे कृते मय्यति । अदन्तत्वाभावात् दाप् । परमत्वम् । परमाहम् । अतित्वम् । अत्तहम् ॥

385. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted by VII. 2. 88. and 89. S. 387, 392.) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

Thus युष्मद् + सु = लुष्मद् + अम् (VII. I. 28 S. 342) = ल्वद् (VII. 2. 94. S. 384) + अम् = त्व + अम् (इ is elided by the present sūtra) = त्वम् (by VI. 1. 97. S. 191. and VI. 1. 107. S. 194). Similarly, the N. S. of अस्मद् is अहम् ॥

Why is not दाप् added in the feminine in 'स्वम् स्त्री' 'अहम् स्त्री' for त्व + अम् and अह + अम् the pūrvārūpa rule ordained by VI. 1. 97. S. 191 and VI. 1. 107. S. 194. though subsequent, is after all bahiranga, and would be set aside by the antaranga rule ordaining दाप् to be added to त्व and अह ?

True. But लुष्मद् and अल्वद् have no genders and therefore they have no feminine forms and consequently would not give occasion to the addition of the affix दाप्.

Or, in order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or इति portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the previous sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383 the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that remains (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

According to their view, the word शेष does not refer to the vibhakti or case affix, but the force of Locative in शेषे is that of a genitive, meaning "of the शेष (remaining)" and to point out the particular *sthāni* which is to be replaced. Therefore in युष्मद् and अस्मद्, the युष्म and अस्म portions have been already operated upon by other rules, the शेष that remains is अद् portion. In this view, the Sūtra should be translated as "In the remaining cases (i. e. where आ is not substituted as by VII. 2. 88. S. 387, nor य as by VII. 2. 89 S. 392. there is elision of the remaining (अद्) portion (I. 1. 64. S. 79) of these two (युष्मद् and अस्मद्)"

In the feminine, there is one more point to be considered even in the light of the second explanation. In युष्मद् + अम् = त्व + अत् + अम् if we follow the ordinary rule of विप्रतिषेध then अत् should be elided first by शेषे लोपः then should apply the rule of अतो युगे if at all. Then the form will be त्व + अम् ॥ Here त्व ends with व, and so would require यद् in the feminine, and the same difficulty

again recurs. To clear up this point, we state that the rule of elision (योग लोपः) is bahiranga, because its efficient cause lies outside in the affix अच् while the अतो युगे rule is antaranga, because the occasion for its application or the efficient cause is *within* the very form स्व+अम्. Therefore अतो युगे will apply first, we get स्वत्+अम्. Then अम् produces its effect *i. e.* अत् is elided, and we get स्व्+अम् ॥ As there is no अ in स्व्, it would not require दाप् ॥ Thus we get स्वम् in the feminine also.

So also परमस्वम्, परमाहम्, अस्तिस्वम् and अस्त्वहम्. In forming the N. Dual, the following rules apply.

३८६ । युवाद्यौ द्विवचने । ७ । २ । ९२ ॥

इयोरन्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य युवाद्यौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

386. युव is substituted for युष्म and आव for अस्म, when the bases themselves denote duality.

३८७ । प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम् । ७ । २ । ८८ ॥

इह युष्मदस्मदीकारोऽन्तरादेशः स्यात् । औडीलोप युवत्वम् । भाषायां किम् । युवं वच्चाणि । युवाय् । भाषाय् । नपर्यन्तस्य किम् । साकच्कस्य ना भूत् । युवकाय् । आवकाय् । स्वया मदेत्यत्र स्वया म्येति ना भूत् । युष्काभ्यामायकाभ्यामिति च न सिद्धयेत् ॥

387. आ is substituted for the final of युप्ताद् and अस्मद् before the ending of the Nom. Du. in the spoken language.

As युवाम्, भाषाम् ॥ It would have been better had the Sūtra been enunciated as "औडि." only. Why in the "spoken language"? Observe युवं वच्चाणि वीवता वसाधि in the Veda, so also आवाम् ॥

Why 'upto अ'? Observe युवकाय्, आवकाय् ॥ The क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026), is not replaced. Similarly VII. 2. 97 S. 389. teaches that स्व and म replace 'yushmad' and 'asmad' in the singular; by the sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383. 'yushm' and 'asm' are only replaced. Thus स्वया, मया the अद् portion remains for which म् is substituted by VII. 2. 89. S. 392. Had the whole been replaced, then the अ of स्व and म would have been replaced by य (VII. 2. 89 S. 392), and given us undesired forms like स्वय and मय ॥ Similarly the forms युष्काभ्याम् and आवकाभ्याम् would not have been evolved.

In forming the N. Pl. the following rule applies.

३८८ । यूयमयी जाति । ७ । २ । ६३ ॥

न्यत्तम् । युयम् । मयम् । परमयम् । अस्तिन्यत्तम् । अस्तिन्यत्तम् । इह वीदे लोपिऽन्त्यलोप इति वीदे । अयं यीः जाति । अह्मकार्ये कृते युयमोऽह्मकार्यमिति म् अयमिति । ई प्रथमयोऽत्यत्र मकारान्तात् क्षाभ्याम् अयम् अयम् । अयमिदमने ननु (वित्तमय इति ध्यात्वायाह ॥

388. In the Nom. Pl. **यूय** is substituted for **युष्म**, and **वय** for **अस्म** ॥

Thus **यूयम्**, **वयम्**, **परमयूयम्**, **परमवयम्**, **अतियूयम्**, **अतिवयम्** ॥

Now some one may object that **अस्** (Nom. Pl.) should be changed into **ही** (VII. 1. 17. S. 214); after **त्** in **युष्मत्** has been elided by **स्ये लोपः** in the first sense; for then the base is **युष्म** which ends in **म** which is the efficient cause for the application of **अस्** **ही** rule. To this we reply, that the following maxim prevents this incongruity:—

Maxim :—If one sūtra of the *Angādihikāra* (VI. 4. 1. to VII. 4. end) has once been applied, another sūtra of the same *Adhikāra* is not subsequently applicable.

Therefore **अस्** is not replaced by **ही**. Or we may say that in the sūtra **हे प्रथमयोः** (VII. 1. 28 S. 382) one more **म्** is understood, i. e. the sūtra is **हे प्रथमयोःम्**, which **म्** indicates that **अस्** will not be changed into any other form, but will remain always as **अस्** ending in **म्**.

३८६ । त्वमाद्येकवचने । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

एकस्थोक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्वनौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

389. **त्व** is substituted for **युष्म** and **म** for **अस्म** when the bases themselves denote a singular expression.

३८७ । द्वितीयायां च । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरानकारः स्यात् । त्वाम् । माम् । युवाम् । आशाम् ॥

390. **आ** is substituted for the final of **युष्मद्** and **अस्मद्** before the endings of the Accusative.

As **त्वाम्**, **माम्**, **युवाम्**, **आशाम्** ॥

३९१ । शसौ न । ७ । १ । २६ ॥

नेत्यविभक्तिकम् । युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्य शसौ नकारः स्यात् । अनौष्मदाः । अदिः परस्य । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । युष्माम् । अस्माम् ॥

391. **व** is substituted for the **म** of **अस्** the affix of the Accusative Plural after **युष्मद्** and **अस्मद्** ॥

व has been exhibited in the sūtra without any case affix. Thus **युष्मत्** + **अस्** = **युष्मवस्** = **युष्माव** + **न्** (the **स्** is elided by **संयोगान्तस्य लोपः** VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and **व** is lengthened by VII. 2. 87 S. 390.) The substitute **व** replaces the initial **म** of **अस्** on the maxim **अदिः परस्य** I. 1. 54. S. 44. because the operation is ordained *after* **युष्मद्**. Thus **युष्मवन्** and **अस्मवन्** ॥ This debars **वाम्** (VII. 1. 28. S. 382.)

३६२ । योऽचि । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्द्व्यकारादेशः स्यादनादेशोऽस्मादौ परतः । स्वया । मया ॥

392. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus स्वया, मया, त्वयि, मयि, कुवथोः, आथयोः ॥

३९३ । युष्मदस्मदीरनादेशे । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्द्व्यकारः स्यादनादेशे ह्यनादौ विभक्तौ । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् । शुष्माभिः । अस्माभिः ॥

393. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27—33. S. 399 &c. Thus युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, शुष्माभिः, अस्माभिः ॥

३९४ । तुभ्यमद्यौ ङयि । ७ । २ । ९५ ॥

अनयोर्द्व्यन्तस्य तुभ्यमद्यौ स्तो ङयि । अमविषः । शेषे लोपः । तुभ्यम् । मद्यम् । परमेतुभ्यम् । परममद्यम् । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमद्यम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

394. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मद्य for अस्म ॥

The affix अम् is substituted for ङे by VII. 1. 28. S. 382, the त् is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385.

Thus तुभ्यम्, मद्यम्, परमेतुभ्यम्, परममद्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमद्यम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥

३९५ । भ्यसोऽभ्यम् । ७ । १ । ३० ॥

भ्यसौ भ्यम् अभ्यम् वा आदेशः स्यात् । आद्यः शेषे लोपः स्यान्त्यलोपस्य एव । तत्राङ्गवृत्तपरिभाषया ह्येव न । अभ्यम् तु पक्षद्वयेऽपि साधुः । युष्मभ्यम् । अस्मभ्यम् ॥

395. भ्यम् or अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As तुभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sōtra is constructed (भ्यसौ भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding द् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding अभ्यम् ॥ It has been already shown in S. 385 that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another द् ॥ Similarly with अस्मभ्यम् we have also two cases, Thus we have four cases.

as (1) yushma + bhyam, (2) yushm + bhyam, (3) yushma + abhyam, (4) yushm + abhyam. In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मद्भ्यम् by VII. 3. 103. S. 205. This द् substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावधि निर्दिष्टितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angādhikāra has taken place, and another operation of the angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मद्भ्यम् (अ + म = द् by VI. 1. 97 S. 191). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मद्भ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udātta अ of yushmā being elided by the anudātta द् of द्भ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudātta अ. It should not be objected that in VI. 1. 161, the word अस्त of VI. 1. 159 S. 3680 is understood, and the accent will be on the final. We shall show in that sūtra, that the udātta will fall on the आदि (beginning) of the anudātta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

३९६ । एकवचनस्य च । ७ । १ । ३२ ॥

आभ्यां वचनस्यैकवचनस्य अस्मात् । एत् । मद् । हस्तेष्वेति युष्मद्भ्यम् । युष्माभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

396. This substitution of अद् is made in the singular number also of the Ablative, after yushmad and asmad.

As एद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of ए and म see VII. 2. 97 ; S. 389. and ए and म + द् = एद् and मद् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

It would have been better to have enunciated the Sutra as 'हस्तेद्वय'.

Abl. Dual युष्माभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्.

३९७ । पञ्चम्या अद् । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

आभ्यां वचनस्य पञ्चम्या भ्यसोऽस्त्यद् । युष्मद् । अस्मद् ॥

397. अद् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मद्, अस्मद् ॥ The द् is elided by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 before the case ending भ्यस and युष्म + द् = युष्मद् by VI. 1. 97. S. 191.

३९८ । त्वचनमौ हस्ति । ७ । २ । ९६ ॥

जनयोर्निर्वाचनस्य त्वचनमौ स्तो ऽति ॥

398. In the Genitive Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment स, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, S. 385 end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, S. 217 would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स; the present Sûtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening, but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97, S. 191. If you say 'the very fact that अकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rûpa and cause lengthening'; we reply, that the अ of अकम् would find its scope in preventing इ substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3. 103 S. 205).

Why has Pânini used the form साम् and not आम्? The objector may say there was no necessity of using साम् for the following reason:—युष्मत् + आम् as the base युष्मत् ends in a consonant, the sûtra आनि सर्वनामः सुद् (VII. 1. 52 S. 217) cannot apply here, as its efficient cause (i. e. an anga ending in a vowel) is absent. We reply to this, that after the elision of इ by सेवे लोपः, (VII. 2. 90, S. 385) the सुद् will come, because then the base ends in a vowel. To remove that स, Pânini has stated साम् आकम् ॥

But when the sûtra सेवे लोपः is taken in the second sense, there is no necessity of inserting स in the Present sûtra, as in that case, the base will end in a consonant whereby the sûtra सर्वनामः सुद् is prevented.

—:—

Verses:—When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denoting a unity or a duality in themselves are members of a compound, which may denote any number, then also ए and इद् will be substituted for युष्मद् and म and अय for अस्मद् ॥ (1)

But when they are followed by सु (Nom. S.) वत् (Nom. Pl.), के (Dat. S.), क्त् (Gen. S.), then युष्मद् will be replaced by ए, इय, तुभ्य and वय and अस्मद् by अय, वय, मय and नम ॥ (2)

Now these supersede इय, and अय by being taught subsequently to the rule teaching ए and अय substitutions. While ए and म are superseded by the above, by the rule of पूर्व दिग्निविधे ॥ (3)

When the compound denotes a singular or a dual number, and the component members युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote a plural number, then इय, अय, ए and म will not be substituted for them, as the efficient cause (one-ness or duality) is wanting here. (4)

—:—

I. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् SINGULAR.

Now we take अस्मिन् and अयम् ॥ When these compounds are analysed, they stand thus : एवम् अस्मिन् = अस्मिन् एवम्, अयम् अस्मिन् = अयम् अस्मिन् ॥

Here the component parts युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote singular number, and the whole compound means a third person. The compound is thus formed अस्ति + युष्मद् = अस्तियुष्मद् and so also अस्ति-अस्मद् ॥ These are dvitīyā Tatpuruṣa compounds : and consequently they get Prātīpadika samjñā and सु in the Nom. S. Thus अस्तियुष्मद् + सु ॥ Here the component number युष्मद् denotes a singular, and the compound itself is followed by सु, and so the rule contained in the second verse applies : and we have अस्तिस्वम् and अस्मद्वम् ॥

Now we take up अस्तियुष्मद् + मी (Nom. Dual.) = अस्तियुष्मद् + मम् (कं प्रथमयो-रम् VII. 1. 28 S. 382). Here the rule contained in the first verse applies, so we get अस्तिस्व + मम् = अस्तिस्वाम्. So also अस्तिनाम् ॥

Then अस्तियुष्मद् + जम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply, and we have अस्तिस्वय + मम् = अस्तिस्वयम् ॥ So also अस्तिवयम् ॥

Then in Acc. Sing and Dual we have अस्तिस्वाम् and अस्तिनाम् by the first verse. In Acc. Pl. we have अस्तिस्वाम् and अस्तिनाम् by the same.

The Ins. forms are derived by applying the first verse : as अस्तिस्वया, अस्तिस्वाम्, अस्तिस्वामिः &c. In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply, and thus we get अस्तिस्वयम् and अस्तिवयम् ॥ In the remaining numbers of the Dative, the first rule will apply.

In the Ablative, the first verse will apply. as अस्तिस्वत् (S), अस्तिस्वत् (D.) अस्तिस्वाम् (Pl.)

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply, and so we get अस्तिव्य and अस्तिव्यम् ॥ In the remaining numbers the first verse will apply.

In the Locative Sing, Dual and Plural the first verse will apply.

II. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् IN THE DUAL.

When the compounds अस्तियुष्मद् and अस्मद्वम् are analysed as अस्तिमन्ताः दुर्वा and अस्तिमन्ताः श्यावम्, then :—

अस्तियुष्मद् + सु = अस्तिस्व + मम् = अस्तिस्वम् and so also अस्मद्वम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply. In the Nom. Dual the first verse will apply, and we get अस्तिव्यम् and अस्मद्वम् ॥ In the Nom. Pl. the second verse will apply, and we have अस्तिव्यम् and अस्तिव्यम् ॥

In all numbers of the Acc. the first verse will apply. as अस्तिव्यम्, and अस्तिव्यम्, and अस्मद्वम् and अस्मद्वम् ॥ In the plural we have अस्तिव्यम् and अस्मद्वम् ॥

In the Ins. numbers the first verse will apply : and we have अस्तिव्यया अस्तिव्यया and अस्तिव्ययाः, and अस्मद्वया, अस्मद्वया and अस्मद्वयाः ॥

In the Dative Sing. the second verse will apply and we have अतिसुभ्यस् and अतिमह्यस्. The dual and plural are formed by the first verse : as अतिसुवाभ्याम् and अतिसुवभ्यम् and अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Ablative, the first verse applies : as अतिसुवत्, अतिमहत्, and अतिसुवभ्यम् and अत्यावत्, अत्यामत् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Gen. S. the second verse will apply and in the Dual and Plural the first : and we have ; अतितव, अतिसुवयोः अतिसुवाकम् ॥ So also अतिमम, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावाकम् ॥

In the Loc. Sing. Dual and Pl. the first verse will apply and so we get :—अतिसुवयि, अतिसुवयोः, अतिसुवायु ॥ So also अत्यावयि, अत्यावयोः and अत्यावासु ॥

III. युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Plural.

When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote plural : as अतिक्रान्तः युष्मान् or अस्मान् ॥ Here the fourth verse will apply, and अतियुष्मद् and अति-अस्मद् will be declined as follow :—

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	अतिस्वस् अत्यह्	अतियुष्मास् अत्यस्मान्	अतियुष्मथा अत्यस्या	अतिसुभ्यस् अतिमह्यम्	अतिसुष्मत् अत्यस्मत्	अतितव अतिमम	अतिसुवयि अत्यस्यायि
Dual	अतियुष्मास् अत्यस्मास्	" "	अतियुष्माभ्याम् अत्यस्माभ्याम्	" "	" "	अतिसुष्मयोः अत्यस्योः	" "
Plural	अतियुष्मस् अतिवथस्	अतियुष्मास् अत्यस्मान्	अतियुष्माभिः अत्यस्माभिः	अतियुष्मभ्यस् अत्यस्मभ्यस्	अतिसुष्मन् अत्यस्मन्	अतियुष्माकम् अत्यस्माकम्	अतिसुष्मासु अत्यस्मासु

४०१ । पदस्य । < । १ । १६ ॥

401. Upto VIII. 3. 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase "of a word," or "to the whole of a word."

Note :—This is an adbhikāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII. 3. 55, in order of enunciation of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.

४०२ । पदात् । < । १ । १७ ॥

402. Upto VIII. 1. 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase "after a pada."

४०३ । अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ । < । १ । १८ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

403. Upto VIII. 1. 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse".

४०४ । युष्मदस्मदोः पष्ठीचतुर्थोद्वितीयास्थयोर्वानावौ । ८ । १ । २० ॥

पदात्पर्योरपादादौ स्थितयोरनयोः पष्ठप्रातिपदिसिद्धयोर्यानाथिद्यादेवौ स्तः । तौ चतुष्पदौ ॥

404. For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes it and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudātta.

All the three sūtras पृथक्, परान् and अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ are applicable here.

Note :—These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras.

४०५ । बहुवचनस्य वस्मन्सौ । ८ । १ । २१ ॥

उक्तविधयोः पष्ठप्रातिपद्वचनान्तयोर्वस्मन्सौ स्तः । वानावोरपवादः ॥

405. For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस्म् and नस्म् respectively, (when a word precedes, and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudātta)

This Sūtra debars the the substitutes वाम् and नौ taught in the previous Sūtra.

४०६ । तेमयावेकवचनस्य । ८ । १ । २२ ॥

उक्तविधयोरनयोः पष्ठीचतुर्थेकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्तः ॥

406. For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse and these are anudātta).

४०७ । त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः । ८ । १ । २३ ॥

द्वितीयकवचनान्तयोस्तया मा एतौ स्तः ।

श्रीरास्त्राऽपतु मापीह वचनान्ते मेऽपि हर्मे सः । स्वामी ते नेऽपि स हरिः पातु त्वामि नी विभुः ॥१॥
सुखे वां नौ ददास्वीद्यः पतिर्वामेऽपि नौ हरिः । सौ अयादौ नः शिशं चो नौ दद्यात्स्वोऽप
यः स नः ॥ २ ॥

पश्याम्योः किम् । याज्यमौ मा भूम् । स्यां पातु । मां पातु । अपादादौ किम् । वेदेदेवेः सेवेयो-
ऽस्मान्मृत्युः रावेदापतु ।

अथमदगापतु गमागुविभक्तिकयोरेऽ । नेह । इति युष्मत्पुनो अर्थानि । इत्यम्पुनो अर्थानि ॥

गमागपाम्यं विधातुल्लग्नश्मद्देशा वक्तव्याः * ॥ एकनिह दाक्यम् । तेनेह न । श्रीद नं पप
सप भविष्यति । इह तु स्यादप । शास्त्रीनां ते श्रीदने अस्मादीनि ॥

एवं योगावाप्ये पादेषा अनन्यदिशे वा वक्तव्याः * ॥ अन्यदिशे तु निशं ह्युः । पाता ते भन्ते-
ऽस्मि । पाता एव भन्तेऽस्मिनि वा । ममा ते मम इति ॥

407. For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्व and मा respectively, under the same circumstances.

Verses.—"May the Lord of *Śrī* preserve thee (tvā) and me (mā) also here—may He give to thee (te), and to me (me) also, felicity!

That Hari is thy (te) Lord and mine (me) also.

May the Omnipresent preserve you two (vām) and also us two (nau)

May God give felicity to you two (vām) and to us two (nau).

Hari is the Lord of you two (vām) and also of us two (nau)

May He preserve you (vaḥ) and us (naḥ), may He give prosperity to you (vaḥ) and to us (naḥ)

He is the object of worship here of you (vaḥ) and of us (naḥ)."

Why do we say "यद्वात्" *i. e.* after a Pada? So that the substitutions may not take place when pronouns are in the beginning of a sentence. As एवं पातु and not त्वा पातु. Similarly मां पातु also.

Why do we say "अवाहो" *i. e.* when not at the beginning of a hemistich? Observe देवेदेवेः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ॥ Here we have अस्मात् and not यद्वात् ॥

The word स्य in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution. Therefore, not here: इति शुष्मशुषः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case, yet यः substitution (VIII. 1. 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided.

Vārt:—The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as VIII. 1. 19 and VIII. 1. 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence, with the latter word. The word वाक्य or "sentence" means that which contains one finite verb. Therefore not here;—आवने यच्च, तच्च भविष्यति । आवने यच्च, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee. Cook the food it will be for me." That is, the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself. Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII. 1. 22) for yushmad and asmad. But the rule will apply here:—आनीनां ते आवने शस्वामि ॥ In the last example, the verb and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the substitution takes place, in spite of the general maxim सन्धेः पदविधिः (II. 1. 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction.

For कालीनां is not in construction with ते, but with ओद्नं i. e. कालीनां ओद्नं ते दास्यमि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad. Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence.

Vart:—It should be stated, that the substitutes वा, नो &c. are *all* optional, when not employed in anvādesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not; but when there is anvādesa, then the substitution is *compulsory* and not optional. Thus धाता ते, भक्तोऽस्ति or धातानवभक्तोऽस्ति ॥ But in anvādesa, we have only one form, as तस्मै ते नमः ॥ Which means “Brahmā is Thy (ते or तव) worshipper.” But in the sequel, “to Thee (ते) that art such, our reverence is due,” the form ते alone is admissible.

४०८ । न चचाहाऽहैवयुक्ते । ८ । १ । २४ ॥

चाहपञ्चकयोगे तेने आदेशाः स्युः । हरित्वां नां च रक्षतु । कथं त्वां नां वा न रक्षेदित्यादि । युक्तमदणत्वाक्षरयोगेऽयं निषेधः । परंपरासंबन्धे तु आदेशः स्यादेव । हरे हस्तिच मे स्यामी ॥

408. The above substitutions do not take place, when there is in connection with the pronouns, any of these five, viz :—च, ‘and’ वा, ‘or’ ह, ‘oh ! अह ‘wonderful’, or एव ‘only’.

Thus हरित्वां च मां च रक्षतु ॥ कथं त्वां नां वा न रक्षेत् &c.

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction. Therefore, where the conjunction is not direct, but intermediate, the employment would be of the shorter forms. Thus हरे हस्तिमे स्यामी ॥ Here the word च connects हर and हरि and not the pronoun in the above word. Therefore the prohibition does not apply.

४०९ । पदार्थस्त्वानाख्येने । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

अथाशुपज्ञागार्थिर्धातुभियोगे एते आदेशा न स्युः । तेनसा त्वां समीपते । परम्परासंबन्धेऽप्ययं निषेधः । भक्तस्तव रूपे प्रयायति । कालीनां ते तु भक्तस्तथा पदमिति चक्षुषा ॥

409. The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of “seeing” when physical seeing is not denoted, but “knowing” is meant.

Thus चेतसा स्वांतरीभते, भक्तस्वरूपं ध्यायति ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe भक्तस्वा पश्यति अक्षुषा ॥

Ishti :— With regard to verbs of "Seeing" the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct : as. भक्तस्तथ रूपं ध्यायति ॥

४१० । सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा । ८ । १ । २६ ॥

विद्यमानपूर्वाख्यमान्तात्पर्योरनयोऽन्यादेशोऽप्येते भाविता वा ह्युः । भक्तस्त्वन्यद्दे तेन हरिस्त्वां जायते स माम् । स्वा मेति वा ॥

410. When the pronoun follows after a Nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally even in anvâdeśa.

Thus भक्तस्त्वन्यद्दे तेन हरिस्त्वां जायते स माम् ॥ Here the alternative forms स्वा and मा are admissible.

—:O:—

We have already said that युष्मद् and अस्मद् substitutions do not take place when they are in the beginning of a pāda. To this, however, there is an exception, when the first word is a Vocative, technically called आमन्त्रितम् which is defined in the next sūtra, then also though युष्मद् and अस्मद् may not really be in the beginning of a pāda, yet the substitutions will not take place by the sūtra after next.

४११ । सामन्त्रितम् । २ । ३ । ४८ ॥

संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तमामन्त्रितसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

411. The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or Vocative.

४१२ । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वप्रविद्यमानवत् । ८ । १ । ७२ ॥

स्वप्नम् । जग्मु तव । देवास्मान्पाहि । अग्ने नय । अग्न इन्द्र यज्ञ । इह युष्मदस्मद्वैरादेस्तुङ्गमनिपात आमन्त्रितनिपातश्च न । सर्वदा रक्ष देव न इत्यत्र तु देवैर्यस्याविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि ततः प्राचीनं स्त्री-स्येतदाश्रित्यादेशः । एवम् इमे मे गच्छे यदुते इति गच्छे यदुत इत्यादिभ्यः प्राचीनामन्त्रितविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि मेघाङ्गनिवाश्रित्य सर्वेषां निपातः ॥

412. A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) ॥

Thus अग्ने! तव ॥ देव! अस्मान्पाहि ॥ अग्ने! नय ॥ अग्न! इन्द्र! यज्ञ! ॥ Here तव and अस्मान् cannot get the shorter form, though they are not at the beginning of a hemistich, because they are preceded by the आमन्त्रित words अग्ने and देव ॥

Similarly in अग्ने नय the verb नय does not become accentless as it would otherwise have become by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935.

In अग्न ! इन्द्र ! वरुण ! the rule VIII. 1.19 S. 3654 does not apply.

Note :—Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent ? They are (1) the absence of the accent-less-ness of the subsequent Vocative, which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII. 1. 19. S. 3654. As देवदत्त ! यज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI. 1. 198. S. 3653 (2) The accent less-ness of the verb required by VIII. 1. 28 S. 3935 is prevented : as, ईवेदत्त पंचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII. 1. 20-23 S. 404 &c. is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) भानः स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) भानः स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII. 1. 37. S. 3944 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb; such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb : as, यादद् देवदत्त पश्यसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII. 1. 47, S. 3954 though a Vocative may precede ज्ञातु, the latter is still considered as अवशिष्टमानपूर्वम् and VIII. 1. 47 applies, as देवदत्त ज्ञातु पंचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII. 1. 49, S. 3956 as आहो देवदत्त पंचसि, अताहो देवदत्त पश्यसि, no option is allowed here by VIII. 1. 50. S. 3957

In ' सर्वदा रक्ष देव नः ' although the word देव is non-existent, yet taking रक्ष as a preceding word नः is used.

In इम मे गच्छे यदुने सरस्वति शतुद्धि the first Vocative गच्छे is considered as non-existent with regard to यदुने, and, therefore, यदुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यदुने becomes anudātta, not because of गच्छे, but because of मे. In other words, the intervention of the Vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥ This nighāta or accentlessness is heard in Pāda-Pātha only, i. e. when the words are read separately, and not in Sanhitā-reading. In Sanhitā there will be eka-sruti of I. 2. 39 S. 3668.

४१३ । नामन्त्रिते समानाधिपकरणे सामान्यवचनम् । ८ । १ । ७३ ॥

विशेष्ये समानाधिपकरणे आनन्विये परे नातिवचनान्वयस्यात् । हेरे इत्यलो नः पठि । अग्ने तेजसिन् ॥

413. A preceding Vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former.

Thus हेरे इत्यलो नः पठि " O Hari! O Merciful! protect us." अग्ने तेजसिन् " O Agni! O powerful!" Here तेजसिन् is all anudātta by VIII. 1. 19 S. 3654, because it is preceded by a word, though that word is Vocative.

Note :—Why do we say सामान्यवचनम्, 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus ईशदेवेति सौमतेति ईश

कौन्वे विद्मे एतानि ते अख्य नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Sarasvatī, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI. 1. 198). According to Pāṇini the reading given in Taittiriya Br. is:—इडे रत्नेऽङ्गि सरस्वति प्रिय प्रेयसि महि विद्मते, एतानि ते अङ्गिदे नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term'. When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply.

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first. Thus ध्वने गृहणे, मौनवक्त्रादिलकाध्यापक ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, the second vocative loses its accent.

Why do we say 'the vocative subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पंचसि here the *cerē* does not lose its accent. Why do we say 'standing in apposition' or सामानाधिकरणे? Observe देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञदत्त, here the word पण्डित qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent.

Then applies Sūtra VIII. 1. 74. S. 3655 which for the sake of convenience we repeat here.

४१३ (क) । विभाषितं विशेषवचने । ८ । १ । ७४ ॥

अत्र भाष्यम् । बहुवचनमिति वक्ष्यमीति । बहुवचनान्तं विशेष्यं समानाधिकरणे आसन्नित्ते विशेषणं परे अवशिष्टमानवहा । शून्यं प्रभवः । देवाः सरण्याः । दुष्मान् भजे वो भजे इति वा । इहान्तादेशोऽपि वैकल्पिका आदिताः । सुपाद् । सुपाद् । सुपादी । सुपाद् । सुपाद् । सुपादी ॥

413. A. When the preceding Vocative is in the plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term.

Here the author of the Mahābhāṣya states:—"The word *bahuvachanam* should be added to the sūtra to complete the sense." That is the sūtra should run as विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ We have therefore translated the sūtra with this emendation of Pāṇinī.

Thus शून्यं प्रभवः, देवाः सरण्याः । दुष्मान् भजे or वो भजे ॥ Here even in anvādeśa there is optional substitution of *वो* for *दुष्मान्* ॥

—O—

Now, we take up the declension of सुपाद्. In the strong, *i. e.* in the first five cases it is declined as:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom :	सुपाद् or सुपाद्.	सुपादी	सुपाद्.
Acc.	सुपाद्.	सुपादी.	

In the formation of the Acc: Pl. and the rest, the following rule applies.

४१४ । पादः पद् । ६ । ४ । १३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्तं यस्मिन् न तत्पदस्य पाच्छब्दस्य पदार्थः स्यात् । सुपदः । सुपदा । सुपाद्भ्यामित्यादि । अग्निं मन्यन्तीत्यग्निमन् । अग्निमद् । अग्निमयी । अग्निमथः । अग्निमद्भ्यामित्यादि । कृत्विमित्यादिसूत्रेणाञ्चेः सुप्सुपदे क्षिप् ।

414. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

Note.—The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिष्टवसानस्यार्थेना भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥

Thus the Acc. Pl. is सुपद्ः ॥ Instr: Sing and Dual are सुपदा, सुपद्व्याम् &c.

—O—

Now we take up the declension of अग्निमथ् meaning 'kindling fire.' It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	अग्निमत्, or अग्निमद्	अग्निमथौ	अग्निमथः

Instr: Dual is अग्निमद्व्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्

—O—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्.

Now we take up the declension of प्राञ्च्.

According to Sūtra III. 2. 59. S. 373, the affix क्तिप् is employed after the verb अञ्च् to make it a Prātipadika, before the case terminations.

Thus, having got the noun प्राञ्च्, in its declension, the following rules apply.

४१५ । अभिदितां ह्युपधायाः किति । ६ । ४ । २४ ॥

एतन्नागार्थीगरिणाम्नामुपधाया नस्य शेषः स्यादिति द्विति च । दगिद्व्यामिति द्वम् । संयो-
गान्तरस्य शेषः । युगे नकारस्य द्विग्यत्वस्य युगिति कुर्येन ङकारः । प्राह् । अतुभ्यात्पत्यर्थौ । प्राज्ञौ ।
प्राज्ञः । प्राज्ञम् । प्राज्ञौ ॥

415. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by च्,—this च् not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory द् (VII. 1. 58)—the च् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or द् follows.

By Sūtra VII. 1. 70. S. 361, the stem अच् gets the augment उप in the strong cases

Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54, the last consonant is dropped. By VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. which says that 'a stem formed with the affix लिप्न् substitutes at the end of a word, a guttural for the final Consonant' we get the N. S. as प्राक् thus:—प्राक् + सु = प्राच् (VI. 4. 24 S. 415) + सु = प्रा + च् (VII. 1. 70. S. 361). + च् + सु = प्राच् च् + O (सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). = प्राच् च् = प्राच् (च् being elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54) = प्राह् (च् turned to ह् by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377).

The N. Dual &c. are formed by changing the च् into anuswāra, and then the anuswāra into न् by VIII. 4. 53. S. 124.

Thus प्राचौ, प्राचः; Acc. प्राचम्, प्राचौ.

In forming the Acc. Pl. &c. the following rules apply.

४१६ । अच् । ६ । ४ । १३८ ॥

लुप्तकारस्याञ्चतिर्भस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

416. the अ of अच् (when अच् loses its nasal,) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138 : S 417.

४१७ । औ । ६ । ३ । १३८ ॥

लुप्तकारनकारोऽञ्चती परे पूर्वस्याणे दीर्घः स्यात् । प्राचः । प्राचा । प्राग्भागित्यादि । प्रत्यङ् । प्रत्यङ्चौ । प्रत्यङ्चः । प्रत्यङ्चम् । प्रत्यङ्चौ । अच् इति लोपस्य विदेशान्तरद्वयोऽपि यण् न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूह इति परिभाषया । प्रतीचः । प्रतीचा । अक्षुप्तञ्चतीति विग्रहे । अच् अच् इति स्थिते ॥

417. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च्, having lost its nasal and the vowel अ ॥

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्राचः; Instr : Sing or Dual are प्राचा, प्राग्भागम् &c.

Now we take up the declension of प्रत्यङ्च् ॥ In strong cases, it is declined as प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यङ्चौ, प्रत्यङ्चः ॥ प्रत्यङ्चम्, प्रत्यङ्चौ, In weak cases, अ is elided by VI. 4. 138 S 416. and though this lopa is a bahiranga process, while the यण् or semivowel Sandhi is an antaranga process, yet this lopa is not considered asiddha for the purposes of this sandhi. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहः &c. See under Sūtra I. 3. 11 S. 46. Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतीचः, Instr : Sing is प्रतीचा ॥ &c. प्रति + अच् + शच् = प्रति + अच् + अञ्च ॥ Here two sūtras simultaneously appear for application, viz. इकोऽणश्चि and अच् ॥ Now इकोऽणश्चि is antaranga, because the efficient cause अ of अच् is inside that of शच्; and the efficient cause शच् by which अ of अच् would be elided is outside; therefore यण् ādeśa should take place first, thus प्रति + अच् + शच् = प्रत्य् + अच् + शच् ॥ After this अ should be elided : as प्रत्य् + च् + शच् ॥ This however gives us no form, and so relying on the maxim अकृतव्यूहः

&c. the अन्तरङ्ग यण् substitution is set aside. Now, we take up the declension of अङ्च् as compounded with the pronoun अदस् meaning अमुम् अञ्चति ॥ Thus we have अदस् + अङ्च् + क्तिम् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

४१८ । विष्वादेवयोश्च ढेरद्युश्चनौ वप्रत्यये । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

अनयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च ढेरद्युदिशः स्वाहमत्वयान्तेऽश्चनौ परे । षत्तद्वि अङ्च् इति स्थिते यण् ॥

418. In the room of the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वाक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च has no visible affix following it.

Thus अदस् + अङ्च् = अदद्रि + अङ्च् = अदद्वा + अञ्च. At this stage, applies the following sūtra.

४१९ अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः । ८ । २ । ८० ॥

अदसोऽसुतास्य दात्वस्य उदुनो स्तो इत्य ष मः । उ इति द्वस्वदीर्घयोः समाहारद्वन्द्वः । आन्तरम्यादस्वञ्चञ्जनयोर्ह्रस्वो दीर्घस्य दीर्घः । अमुमुयङ् । अमुमुयञ्चनौ । अमुमुयञ्चः । अमुमुयञ्चम् । अमुमुयञ्चनी । अमुमुयङ् । अमुमुयङ्वा । अमुमुयङ्म्यामित्यादि । पुनस्त्वातिदस्वात्र यण् । अन्यथा धेऽन्त्यमञ्चाम्नेनि परिभाषामाश्रित्य परस्यैव मुख्यं यदतां मते अङ्मुयङ् । अः सेः सकारस्य स्थाने यस्य सः भवितिरिति व्याख्यानम् । व्यङ्ग्यस्यविषय एव पुण्यं नाम्येवेति पते अङ्मयङ् । उक्तं च ॥

अदसोऽष्टेऽमुयङ् मुख्यं कोचिविच्छन्ति लत्ववन् ॥ केचिदन्त्यसदेशस्य नेत्यकेऽवेहि दृश्यत इति ॥ विष्वादेवयोः क्तिम् । अश्वाची । अपनी क्तिम् । विष्वायुक् । पप्रत्यये क्तिम् । विष्वायन्तम् । यप्रत्ययप्रहणं ज्ञापयति. अन्यत्र भातुपट्णे तदादिविधिरिति । तेनाऽयस्कारः । अतः कृकमीति सः । उयङ् । उयँ । उयँचः । ज्ञातायपि ॥

419. When the pronoun अदस् does not end in स् then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म for र् ॥

The short उ in the sūtra is a samāhāra dvanda compound including both the short उ and long ऊ. By the rule of antartama I. 1. 50 S. 39, the short vowel and the consonant following it will be replaced by the short उ; and the long vowel with the consonant following it will be replaced by the long ऊ. Thus अदस् + अञ्च = अमुमुयङ् + अञ्च i. e. the first द् and अ are changed to म् and ङ, and the second द् and र् are also changed to म् and ङ; so the declension is,

	Nom.	Acc.	Inx.
Sing.	अमुमुयङ्	अमुमुयङ्म	अमुमुयङ्ता
Dual.	अमुमुयङ्गौ	अमुमुयङ्गौ	अमुमुयङ्गान् &c.
Pl.	अमुमुयङ्च	अमुमुयङ्च	&c.

The ङ being considered as asiddha, there is no sandhi in अमुमुयङ्च or

in अद्भुतं च, for the Sandhi rule इकोयणचि is contained in the Sixth Book of Panini, while this इ substitute is ordained in the Tripadi portion of Ashtadhyāyī. Hence the Sūtra VIII. 2. 1. S. 12 applies.

Some, by applying the following maxim, get the form अद्भुतम् ॥

Paribhāṣā :—“When a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final.” The second class apply this maxim and make इ change only for इ which stands in proximity to the final.

There is a third form, अद्भुद् which is obtained by explaining the अस्ते in the Sūtra as अः सेर्यस्य सोऽयमस्ति, अथ सकारस्य अकारः कियते ॥ “The word अस्ति in the sūtra is a Bahuvrīhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स” ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the स् into अ by VII. 2. 102. and not to any other अद् ॥

Thus there are three views with regard to the application of the present sūtra :—

(1) the इ of अद्भुत्, and इ of अद्भि are both changed to इ by the present sūtra; (2), the first इ is not changed, but only इ; (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) अद्भुतम् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 23 and 62), अद्भुतं च, अद्भुतं च ॥ (2) Secondly, अद्भुतम्, अद्भुतं च, अद्भुतं च ॥ (3) Lastly अद्भुत्, अद्भुत्तं च, अद्भुत्तं च ॥ The above verse summarises this :

Verse :—Some ordain that इ should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ण (in चरीयस्यते see sūtra VIII. 2. 18 and VII. 4. 90 S. 2644) others would have इ only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i. e. for इ); while a third class would have no where, because they explain अस्ते of the sūtra by confining it to: VII. 2. 102.”

Note :—Thus दिव्यमन्त्रास्ते=दिव्यम्, This form is thus evolved. अन्त्र + विवन् = अन्त्र + 0 = अन्त्र + इम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ण्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the विवन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ण् and we have अद्भुत् which with दिव्यद्भि, gives the above form. दिव्यम्, तद्भुत्, अद्भुत् ॥ अद्भि and सद्भि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (ni pātana) in order to prevent the kṛit-accent. and when इ is changed into इ the following vowel becomes svarita (VII. 2. 4).

Note :—Why do we say of दिव्यम् and दिव्य ? Observe अन्त्रास्ते = अन्त्रमन्त्रास्ते, the feminine ङीव being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vāri*. The अ of अन्त्र is elided by VI. 4. 138, and the final of अन्त्र is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why ‘when अन्त्र follows’ ? Observe दिव्यम् ॥ Why do we say ‘when the affix इ follows’ ? Observe दिव्यमन्त्रम् ॥ The इ is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अमन्त्रय (अन्त्रनाशयत्ये) ॥ It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word अमन्त्रये or अमन्त्रये indicates by implication that in

other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अग्रव्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when *anah* followed, but when *anahana* ending in ह्नु also followed. The maxim धातुग्रहणं सदादि विधिरिव्यक्ते is illustrated in अयस्कृते and अयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into सृ when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ such as कारः and कृतः. Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृन् which is followed merely by the verb कृ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः.

Now we take up the declension of उद्भृ. It is declined in the Nominative as उद्भृः (S), उद्भृथौ (Dual) उद्भृथः (Pl).

Before the weak cases the following rule applies :—

४२० । उद् ईत् । ६ । ४ । १३९ ॥

उच्छ्रवणस्य लुप्तनकारस्यां च भेदस्याकारस्य ईत्स्यात् । उदीचः । उदीचा । उद्भ्यामिव्यादि ।

420. Long \ddot{e} is substituted for the अ of that (उद्भृ) where the nasal is elided after the word उद्भृ, when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उद्भ्याम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of सम्भृ. In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२१ । समि । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

सदृशव्यन्तेऽम्भृत्तौ परे । सम्भृत् । सम्भृथौ । सम्भृथः । समीचः । समीचा ॥

421. समि is substituted for सम्भृ, before this अञ्च when no visible affix follows.

Thus सम्भृत्, सम्भृत्, सम्भृथौ, सम्भृथः ॥

Ac : Pl :— समीचः ; Inst : Sing समीचा ॥

Now we take up the declension of सहृ+अञ्च ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

४२२ । सहस्य सध्रिः । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

सदृशव्यन्तेऽम्भृत्तौ परे । सहस्यञ्च ॥

422. सध्रि is the substitute of सहृ, before अञ्च followed by no visible affix.

Thus सहस्यञ्च, सध्र्यौ, सध्र्यः ; and सध्रीच, सध्रीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

Now, we take up the declension of त्रिवृ. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

Now, we take up the declension of कृच्. This word, as already mentioned in sūtra III. 2. 59 S. 373 is irregularly formed by adding the affix कृच् to the root कृच् meaning "to curve or make crooked" or "to be or become small". Thus it is declined :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	कृच्	कृचौ	कृचः
Instr :	Dual is कृच्-यश्च &c.		

Now, we take up the declension of पयोवृच्. In Nom : Sing. the च् is changed to the guttural, by Sūtra VIII. 2. 30 S. 378. It is declined as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	पयोमृक् or पयोवृच्	पयोवृचौ	पयोवृचः &c.

Now, we take up the declension of सुवृच्. It is thus formed :—सु + ब्रह् + कृच् in the sense of सुहृ ब्रह्मन्ति meaning 'that which cuts well'. The र् being vocalised by VI. 1. 16 S. 2412, it becomes सु + बृहच् + O. By VIII. 2. 36 S. 294, the च् is changed to र्. By VIII. 2. 29. S. 380, the initial सु is elided. * Thus we get सु + बृहच्. The र् is changed to क् and finally to ह् by VIII. 2. 39 S. 84. and VIII. 4. 56 S. 206. Thus its declension is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom :	सुवृह् or सुवृह्	सुवृह्या	सुवृह्यः
The Loc. Pl. is	सुवृह्यु or सुवृह्यु.		

* Note :—This would be true in the view that the original root was ब्रह् with a dental ह् which becomes ह् by ह्रस्वादेशु VIII. 4. 40 S. 111. This ह् substitution is asiddha for VIII. 2, 29.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in क्.

Now, we take up the declension of मरुक्. This word is formed by the Unādi affix मरि (Unādi sūtra II. 84) which means that the words वृक्, बृह्, मरुक् and जवृक् are irregularly formed with the affix मरि with the force of the present tense and are operated upon as if they were followed by कृच् affix. Since मरुक् is to be treated as if it was formed by the कृच् affix, therefore, the rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 would cause the insertion of हृच् and the sūtra VI. 4. 10, S. 317 would cause the lengthening of म. Thus,

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	महान्	महान्तौ	महान्तः
Voc.	हे महान्	"	"
Acc.	महान्तम्	"	महान्तः
Instr.	महता	महद्भ्याम्	महद्भिः
	&c.	&c.	

—:0:—

Now we take up the declension of धीमन्. It is formed with the affix मतृप्.

In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४२५ । अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः । ६ । ४ । १४ ॥

अत्वसन्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादातुभिन्नाऽन्तस्य चासंबुद्धौ तौ परे । परं नित्यं यं तुमं चाधिरूपा यत्पनन्तामध्यादेशो दीर्घः ततो हुम् । धीमान् । धीमन्तौ । धीमन्तः । हे धीमन् । धातोर्ल्य-
स्वन्तस्य दीर्घः । गोमन्तमिच्छति गोमानिवाचसीति वा स्वयन्ताश्चाराक्षिबन्ताहा कर्तरि क्तिप् । वगिद्-
व्यामिति वृद्धेऽङ्गमर्थं नियमार्यम् । धातोर्वेदाभित्कार्यं तर्ज्यचत्तेरेवेति । तेन सन् ध्वन् इत्यादौ न । अधा-
सोरिति तु अधातुभूतपूर्वस्यापि तुमर्थम् । गोमान् । गोमन्तौ । गोमन्तः । इत्यादि । भातेर्द्वयतुः । भवान् ।
भवन्तौ । भवन्तः । शब्दन्तस्य स्वत्वन्तत्वाभावात् दीर्घः । भवतीति भवन् ॥

425. In the Nominative Singular (with the excep-
tion of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is
lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the conso-
nant (व्यस्) does not belong to a root.

The हुम् (र्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation
has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the vowel no longer being
penultimate, will not be lengthened at all. This is because of the force of this
sūtra, which though precedent in the order of enunciation in Pāṇini's
Ashtādhyāyī, and therefore ought to have been superseded by the subse-
quent and *nitya* sūtra (VII. 1. 70 S. 361) ordaining हुम्, yet is not so. Thus
its declension is

	Singular	dual	Plural
Nominative	धीमान्	धीमन्तौ	धीमन्तः
Vocative	हे धीमन्		

Before the weak case terminations, it is declined like महन्.

Note :—अस् :—as सुवधाः, सुयशाः, सुयोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging
to a dhātu' ? Observe पिण्डमः where स् belongs to the root पृष् (पिण्डं पृशते), so also
चर्मवः चर्मं वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c. is also included
here on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or यस् or मन्, when they
are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there

they represent these combination of letters, both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning" (अनिवसन् महावि अर्थवत्ता चावर्थकेन न तदन्वयविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever ends in अन्त whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as जयन्तु, कवन्तु &c. or which assumes the form अन्त in grammatical inflection, such as गतुप्, which in upadesa ends in अन्तुप्, but becomes अन्तु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपदः this rule not applying there.

Even in the case of *Denominative* roots, the lengthening will take place. The prohibition of अथातोः in this sūtra applies to *original* roots and not to derivative roots from nouns. Thus गोमन्तुनिच्छति = गोमन्तुति "He wishes to have cows." The affix क्यच् is added to गोमन् in forming the derivative root by III. 1. 8. or III. 1. 10. with the force of "wishing" or "behaving." The root is गोमन्. It is a derivative root, and so it does not fall within the prohibition of this sūtra. Now गोमन् + क्यच् = गोमन्तु (अ is dropped by VI. 4. 48, and य् by VI. 4. 50). "One wishing to have cows." Here गोमन्तु ends with अन्तु (which was part of the original affix गतुप् added to गो) and here we will have lengthening as well as लृप् ॥

The लृप् will be added for the following reason :—

In the sūtra अन्तिवच् VII. 1. 70. S. 361 the root अञ्चु is taken for the sake of *niyama* or restriction, that is, the operations dependent upon ugit, when applied to roots, will apply to the root अञ्चु only, and not to any other root having an ugit. Thus in अञ्च and अञ्चत् there is no ugit operation. Therefore, we could have easily inferred that no other root except अञ्चु would take लृप् under that sūtra. The specific mention of अथातोः in that sūtra would have become redundant. But the fact, that Pāṇini has mentioned अथातोः in that sūtra, indicates that by अथातोः is meant the *original* root and not a derivative root.

Thus we have गोमन् "One who wishes to be possessed of cows."

Now we take up the declension of अञ्चत् not derived from अञ्च, but from अञ्च meaning 'to shine', (see Uṣādi sūtra I. 63) with the affix क्यच् ॥ T' us अञ्च + क्यच् = अञ्चत् (the अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 143 and I. 4. 18 because the affix has an indicative ङ). It is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	अञ्चत्	अञ्चतौ	अञ्चताः &c.

But when it is derived from the root अञ्च with the affix क्यच्, as it does not then end with the affix अन्तु, the penultimate is not lengthened. Thus in this case, the Nominative Singular is अञ्चत्.

Now, we take up the declension of अञ्चत् formed from the root अञ्च with the affix क्यच् ॥ The root is reduplicated. The reduplication is technically

called अथस्त as defined below, and because it is अथस्त, it does not get the augment नृच्, for the sūtra after next prohibits it.

४२६ । उमे अङ्ग्यस्तम् । ६ । १ । ५ ॥

वासुदेवमकरणे ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे समुदिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे स्तः ॥

426. Where reduplication is treated in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the two which are directed, both are collectively called *Abhyasta*.

४२७ । नाभ्यस्ताच्छतः । ७ । १ । ७८ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परस्य शतर्तुम् न स्यात् । दशतु । दशद्व । दशसौ । स्वतः ॥

427. The Participial-affix **रतृ** (अतृ-अन्तृ), does not take the augment **नुम्** after a reduplicate stem.

Thus: खलु, सद्यः, खलु ॥

Note:—This is an exception to VII. 1. 70, and applies of course to sarvanāsthāna or strong cases. The *सु* is to be read into this *sūtra* from VII. 1. 70; for the negation of this *sūtra* cannot apply to *ह* taught in the preceding *sūtra*, for *ह* is never ordained after *सु*: therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet *सु* is to be read here.

Now, we take up the declension of ज्ञान्, formed with the affix ह्य added to the root ज्ञ. Its declension is governed by the following Sâtra :—

४२८ । जक्षित्यादयः षट् । ६ । १ । ६ ॥

पङ्कधातवोऽस्येति जडितिश्च सप्तम एतेऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञाः स्तुः । जडन् । जडन् । यडन् । यडन् ।
 एवं अजडन् । वजडन् । धाजडन् । पकाजडन् । दीधीरेव्योर्किञ्चिदपि छान्दसत्वाद्भ्यव्ययेन परसौपरम् । वडिष्यन् ।
 देव्यन् । शुष् । शुष् । शुषो । शुषः । शुष्धातिव्यादि ॥

428. So also the six roots, with jakshi itself as the seventh, are called abhyasta.

Note :—The word *abhyasta* is understood here. The verb *jakahi* and the six verbs that follow it in the *Dhātupāṭha*, in all seven verbs, get this designation: These are जक्ष, अगृ, रुद्रिह, षकास्, शास्, दीक्षी and वेक्षी ॥ (Pāṇini has overlooked वेक्षी and mentions only the first six.) By getting the designation of *Abhyasta*, the participles derived from these verbs are declined like वदन् ॥

Thus जघत् (N. S) जघतौ (N. Dual) ; जघतम् (N. Plural) . Similar is the declension of आघत्, दधित्, शात्त्, चकात् ॥ वीथी and वेथी though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as वीथीश् and वेथीश् with an indicative श् and therefore, they ought to be आल्लेखनी by I. 3. 12. S. 2158, yet they are परल्लेखनी because of the Vaidic irregularities. These form their Nominative Singulars as वीथ्यन् and वेथ्यन्.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending **न**.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **घृ**. Now we take up the declension of **घृ** which is formed from the **घुरादि** root **घृ** with the affix **क्विप्**. The **आन्** of the **घुरादि** class is optionally elided by III. 1. 31. S. 2305. It is declined as

Nom : **घृ** or **घुव्**, **घुवो**, **घुवः** ; Instr : Dual **घुव्याम्** &c.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **घृ**.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **घ**.

Now, we take up the declension of **तादृक्** formed according to the following Sūtra:—

४२६ । त्वदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च । ३ । २ । ६० ॥

त्वदादिषुपदेष्वाकार्याद् दृशोर्धातोः कञ् स्याच्चात् क्विप् ॥

429. The affix **कञ्** as well as **क्विप्** comes after the verb **दृश्** 'to see' when it is in combination with **त्वद्** &c. which precede it, and when it does not signify perception.

Note :—The force of 'च' is that the **क्विप्** also comes under similar circumstances, **त्वद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see L. 1. 27., Thus **त्वद्दृश्** ॥

४३० । आ सर्वनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

सर्वनाम् आकारोऽन्तोदेशः स्याद्दृग्दृशवत्तुषु । कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भवति यः । तस्य जडत्वेन उः । तस्य कुत्वेन गः । तस्य अर्थेन पक्षे कः । तादृक् । तादृग् । तादृशी । तादृशः । पस्यापवादत्वात्कुत्वेन खकार इति कैयटः । ह्रस्वत्ताविति तु अस्वाभावपक्षे ख एव भवति ननु गः । अन्त्वं प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । विनाहिभ्यो वसिति निर्वेशानासिद्धत्वमिति या बोध्यम् । प्रथेति परस्वम् । जडत्वचर्त्वे । विद् । विह् । विशौ । विशः । विशम् ॥

430. **आ** is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (1. 1. 27) before these words **दृक्**, **दृश्** and the affix **अवतु** ॥

Thus **तद् + दृश् + क्विप् = ता** (by the present sūtra) + **दृश् + क्विप् = ता + दृक्** (the **घृ** is changed to **कृ** by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377). This **क्** is not perceived (**आसिद्ध**) for the purposes of **घृ** change by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. Thus we have **तादृ** = **तादृ** (VII. 2. 39. S. 84.) = **तादृग्** (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377) = **तादृक्** (optionally by VIII. 4. 56 S. 206).

Thus Nom. forms are **तादृक्** or **तादृग्**, **तादृशौ**, **तादृशः**—According to the opinion of Kaiyat and Haradatta &c. the form would be **तादृक्** but never **तादृग्**, in the alternative when it is not **तादृक्**. Because they apply the **कुत्व** rule as an *apavāda* to **वष्व** rule and by **कुत्व** they get **ख** in the place of **घ** (See Padamanjari p. 953): and, **क्** will never become **घृ** by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84; because **ख** obtained by **क्विप्** प्रत्ययस्य **कुः** VIII. 2. 62. is *asiddha* or not perceived by the **जडत्व** rule

VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. Or we may say that ण is not asiddha for Pāṇini himself has changed ण into नृ in the word दिष्ट (See IV. 4. 54. S. 1429).

Now, we take up the declension of दिष्ट. This is formed by the affix क्तिप् added to the root दिष् 'to enter.' The ण is changed to ण् by VIII. 2. 36. S. 294. which is changed to ङ् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. and optionally to द् by VIII. 4. 56. S. 206.

Thus it is declined as :

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	दिष्ट् or दिष्ट	दिष्टौ	दिष्टाः
Acc.	दिष्टम्	&c.	&c.

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Now, we take up the declension of नष्ट. In its declension, the following rule applies.

४३१ । नष्टोर्वा । ङ । २ । ६३ ॥

नष्टेः कथमोऽन्तदिष्टो वा स्वात्त्वान्ते । नष्टः । नष्टम् । नष्टौ । नष्टाः । नष्टान् । नष्टान्यामित्यादि ॥

431. The final of नष्ट at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural.

Note :—Here the root नष्ट has taken क्तिप् in denoting 'condition or state'; by considering it as belonging to संपदादि class.

Thus there are four forms in the Nominative Singular, namely :—नष्ट् or नष्टम् or नष्ट् or नष्ट् ॥

Nominative Dual and Plural are नष्टौ, नष्टाः.

Instr : Dual is नष्टान् and नष्टम्वा &c.

Now, we take up the declension of पृतस्पृष्ट. Its declension is governed by the following rule :—

४३२ । स्पृष्टोऽनुदके किन् । ३ । २ । ५८ ॥

अनुदके स्पर्शपदे स्पृष्टेः क्तिप् स्यात् । पृतस्पृष्टः । पृतस्पृष्टम् । पृतस्पृष्टौ । पृतस्पृष्टाः । क्तिप् प्रत्ययो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीह्याभ्ययनात् क्तिप्पि कृतम्. स्पृष्टः । पृतस्पृष्टाः प्राग्वत् । त्रिभूषा प्राग्वत् । अस्मादस्ति-
यादिना क्तिप् । द्वित्वमन्तेऽत्र तत्त्वं न निपात्यन्ते । अस्मात्पूर्वे अवत्येन ङः सः । घृष्णोतीति वधूक् वधूम् । वधूषी
वधूषः । वधूष्यामित्यादि । राज्ञाणि घृष्णातीति राज्ञुद् । राज्ञुद् । राज्ञुषी । राज्ञुषः । पद्व्यां सुक् । पद् ।
पद्वः । पद्विभिः । पद्विभ्यः २ । पद्वन्तुर्ध्रमेते नुद् । भवानिति पद्वन्तुर्ध्रमेते नुद् । पद्वन्तुर्ध्रमेते नुद् । पद्वन्तुर्ध्रमेते नुद् ।
विकल्पं वाधिरया प्रत्यये भाषायां निरूपयति वध्वनातिस्त्वनुनासिकः । पद्व्याम् । पद्वन्तु । पद्वन्तु । सन्त-
विधिः । पद्वन्तु । पद्वन्तु । वीर्यात्वे तु दिव्यपदः । विषयपदम् । सत्यं प्राति पद्वन्तुसिद्धत्वात्तस्य
विरुद्धिनि सत्यम् ॥

432. The affix **किन्** comes after the verb **स्पृश्** 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than **उद्क** 'water'.

Thus **घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश्**, Nominative Singular **घृतस्पृक्ष** 'he who touches clarified butter.' **स्पृश् + किन् + घृ = स्पृश् + श् + ०** (VI. 1. 68) = **स्पृक्ष + ०** (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62).

Nominative Dual and Plural are **घृतस्पृक्षौ**, **घृतस्पृक्षः** respectively.

—:०:—

In the sūtra **किन्स्वयस्य कुः**, VIII. 2. 62, S. 377 if we take the compound **किन्स्वय** as a Bahuvrihi, meaning a root to which the affix **किन्** can be added, then the gutturalization will take place, even when the affix **किन्** is added. Thus the root **स्पृश्** takes the affix **किन्** when in compound with another word. But when it is used alone it takes the affix **किप्**. This **किप्** will also produce the guttural change, because **स्पृश्** is a root which is *liable* to take the affix **किन्**. Thus **स्पृक्** &c. Here the **श्** is changed to **स्** then to **क्ष**, then to **क्ष** and then optionally to **क्** as shown above.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in **श्**

—:०:—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ष्**.

Now, we take up the declension of **वधृष्**. It is formed from the root **विधृष्** 'to be impudent'. Thus **वधृष् + किन् = वधृक्** ॥ Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. (III. 2. 59. S. 373). The **ष्** of **वधृष्** must be changed to **क्ष** before gutturalisation. Then this **क्ष** should be gutturalised to **क्ष** and then **क्ष** is optionally changed to **क्**. Thus **वधृक्ष** or **वधृक्ष**, **वधृक्षो**, **वधृक्षः** ॥ &c.

Now, we take up the declension of **रत्नसुप्** meaning 'one who steals gems'. It is regularly declined as

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nom.	रत्नसुप् or रत्नसुप्	रत्नसुप्	रत्नसुप्

Now, we take up the declension of **वप्**. It is always plural. By Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S. 261, the Nom. and-Acc. Pl. terminations are elided after it. Thus Nom. Acc. Pl. are **वद्** or **वक्ष्** ॥ Instr. Pl. **वद्भिः** ॥ Dat. and Abl. Pl. **वद्भ्यः** ॥ In forming the Genitive Pl. the augment **सुट्** is added by VII. 1. 55. S. 338. to the case-termination **नाम्**. Thus **वप् + नाम् = वद् + नाम्**. By the exception made in the Sūtra VIII. 4. 42. S. 114 the **व्** of **नाम्** is changed to **श्**. Thus **वद् + नाम् = वद् + नाम्** ॥ The optional substitution of a nasal in the place of **व्** required by VIII. 4. 45 S. 116 is superseded

by the Vārtika under the same sūtra, which requires the nasal substitution compulsorily in the Secular literature. Thus पद्+णम्=पण्णम्. The Loc. Pl. is पदसु or पद्सु.

The declension of पद् is the same when it is the final member of a compound. Thus परमपद् (N. Pl.) परमपण्णम् (G. Pl.) But when it is the secondary member of a compound, the Nom. and G. Pl. are मियपदः and मियपदाम् respectively.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in प्.

—:—:—

Declension of Masculines ending in स्.

We take up the declension of विपठिस् (meaning 'wishing to read'). It is derived from the root विपठिस् with the affix विप्. The ञ of स् is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The स् was changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 39. S. 153. But this is not perceived by the Sūtra requiring the substitution of स् into र् for it is precedent in the order of enumeration in Paṇini's Ashtādhyāyī (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162). Thus विपठिष्+सु=विपठिष्+O (by VI. 1. 68. S. 252). Now विपठिष् gets the name of a pada though the affix सु is elided after it (I. 1. 62. S. 262). Therefore the ष् which is really स् becomes र्. Thus विपठिष् becomes विपठिर्. At this stage applies the following Sūtra.

४३३। वीरुपध्याया दीर्घ इकः । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

रेकवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः स्यात्पदान्ते । विपठीः । विपठिषौ । विपठिषु । विपठी-
भ्याम् । वा घरीति वा विसर्जनीयः ॥

433. A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final or ञ of a root can stand at the end of a Pada.

Thus विपठिर् becomes विपठीः.

The Nominative Dual and Plural are विपठिषौ and विपठिषु.

The Inst. Dual is विपठीभ्याम्.

In forming the Locative Plural the sūtra VIII. 3. 36 S. 151 as well as the following comes into operation.

४३४। नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्नवायेऽपि । ८ । ३ । ५८ ॥

एतैः प्रत्येक व्यवधानेऽपि इत्युक्त्वा परस्य सस्य मध्यम्यदिशः स्वात् । द्वित्वे पूर्वस्य पत्वम् । विपठीषु विप-
ठीषु । प्रत्येकमिति न्यायस्यापानेकव्यवधाने पत्वं न । मित्व । मित्वे । नुम्वस्य नुम्वस्य नुम्वस्य नुम्वस्य नुम्वस्य
न्याये न्यायस्यात् । तेनेह न । सुबिन्धु । पुंसु । अत एव न साचहमेव नतार्थत्वा । रात्वस्थेति सत्वेपि विसर्गः ।
चिकीः । चिकीर्षी । चिकीर्षुः । रोः सुपीति निग्रमात् विसर्गः । चिकीर्षुः । वमेदोस् । विचरतामर्थाद्विचरोः ।
पत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्दुः विसर्गः । रोः । रोषौ । रोषः । परस्मैति वा सौवत् । रोष्याः । रोष्या । रोषः । रोषा ।
विश प्रथेति । सप्तम्यात् किम् । पत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्सौगान्तलोपः । अथेति पः । जभस्वत्त्वे । विविद् ।
विविद् । विविक्षौ । विविक्षः । स्कोपेति कलोपः । तद् । तद् । तक्षी । तक्षः । मोत् । मोत् । मोक्षी ।

गोरक्षः । तस्मिन्निमित्तात् पञ्चान्ताभ्यां क्षिपि तु स्कोरिति न प्रवर्तते । णिलोपस्य स्यान्निवृत्तायात् । पूर्ववासिदीये न स्थानियमिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य दोषः संयोगाविमोपलक्षणास्येति निवेद्यात् । तस्मात्संयोगान्तलोप एव । तक् । तस् । गोरक् । गोरस् । स्कोरिति कर्त्तव्यं प्राति कृतस्यासिद्ध्यात् संयोगान्तलोपः । विपक् । पिपस् । एवं विपक् । विपक् । विस् गती । सुहु पसतीति सुपीः । सुपिती । सुपिसः । सुपिसा । सुपीभ्याम् । सुपीःपु । सुपीष्पु । एवं सुहुः । हुज लङ्गदे । विद्वात् । विद्वासे । विद्वांसः । हे विद्वन् । विद्वांसम् । विद्वांसी ॥

434. The substitution of *प्* for *स्* takes place then also, when any one of these singly, namely, the augment *वृ* (*वृम्*), the visarjaniya or a sibilant occurs between the said *इप्* and *हु* letters or the *स्*.

Thus विपडिस् + सुप् = विपडीस् (the *इ* of *डि* is lengthened by the last sūtra, because the base before this affix gets the designation of pada by I. 4. 17. S. 230) + पु = विपडीप् (the *स्* being changed to *प्* by the present sūtra) + पु = विपडीप्पु or विपडीः पु ॥

The *पस्* takes place, when *वृम्* &c. intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here निस्से, 'thou kissest', तिस्स 'kiss thou', from the root निस् 'to kiss.' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, *वृम्* and *स्* (III. 4. 91).

From the explanation in Mahābhāṣya in explaining [इयवर्त्त we learn that the *वृप्* of this sūtra must be the anusvāra which replaces *वृम्* and not any other anusvāra. Therefore not in सुहिन्स् or पुप्पु. Here there is no *प* change. Though anusvāra was included in the pratyāhara *वृप्* by the Vārtika *वृत्तु जडभाष्यसे* " the visarjaniyā, anusvāra jihvāmuliya and upadhāniya should be included in the *वृप्* pratyāhara for the sake of *अङ्गु विधि* and *खप विधि*"; yet the separate mention of *वृप्* in this sūtra indicates that that anusvāra is to be taken which results from *वृम्*.

Now, we take up the declension of *चिकीर्त्*: This is formed from the Desiderative root *चिकीर्त्* meaning 'wishing to make' with the affix *क्षिप्*. This is thus formed :—*क्षि* + *चर्* ॥ Here the augment *इ* is not added because of the sūtra VII. 2. 10 S. 2246 or VII. 2. 12. S. 2610; the affix *चर्* is *क्षि* by I. 2. 9. S. 2612 and therefore there is no *गुण* by I. 1. 5. S. 2217. Then there is lengthening of the vowel by VI. 4. 16. S. 2614. Then the *प्* is changed to *र्* by VII. 1. 100. S. 299. Then the root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 9. S. 2395.

Thus we get *क्षिर् क्षिर्* ॥ The first *र्* is elided by VII. 4. 60. S. 2179 and first *क्ष* changed to *च्* by VII. 4. 62. S. 2245. Thus we have *चिक्किर्* ॥ Now, *चिक्किर्* + *च* = *चिक्किस्* ॥ Then the *ञ* of *च* is elided by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308. Thus *चिक्कीर्* To this is added the N. S. case termination *सु* ॥ *चिक्किर्* + *सु* ॥ The affix *सु* is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.

Then we have *चिक्कीर्* ॥ Now the final *र्* is elided by VIII. 2. 24. S. 280. Thus we have *चिक्की* ॥ The *इ* of *कि* is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76 S. 433. Thus we have *चिकीः* ॥

The lengthening in चिकीर्षी &c. is by अज्झञ् VI. 4. 16. S. 2614 by which the इ is lengthened before सञ् affix. We did not apply this sūtra, in Nominative S. because सञ् was already dropped.

Thus the Nominative forms are चिकीः, चिकीर्षी, चिकीर्षः ॥ The lengthening takes place by VIII. 2. 76, 77. S. 433. and 354.

The Loc : Plural is चिकीर्षु ॥ Here र् is not changed to visarga, because it is not the र् of इ but it is a portion of the word itself (see sūtra VIII. 3. 16. S. 339.)

Now, we take up the declension of होत् : This is formed by the Uṇadī affix होत् added to the root हृ (Uṇadī II. 69). The ह् of हृ is elided because the affix after it has an indicatory ह् see VI. 4. 143 S. 316, though the base is not भ. Thus होत् ॥ Then स् is changed to र्. But this change is asiddha for the purposes of ह and visarga change. Thus N. S. is होः ॥ N. Dual and Plural are होवौ, होवः respectively. In the weak cases it has two forms, thus, होवन् or होवः (Ac. Plural) ; होवन् or होवः (Inst : singular), for in these cases होत् is replaced by होवत् by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

Note :—the ह् portion of हृ is elided by VI. 4. 143. S. 316, and though the base before it is not भ strictly speaking Sūtra VI. 4. 143. could not apply here, for that sūtra is confined to भ bases only. But as the ह् of the affix होत् must produce some effect, it produces the elision of हि portion of हृ by the analogy of VI. 4. 143.

Now, we take up the declension of विदिष्टः It is formed from the root विष् with the Desiderative affix सञ् ॥ Thus विष्+सञ् ॥ The augment इद् is not added because of the prohibition contained in VII. 2. 10. S. 2246. The सञ् affix is कित् by I. 2. 12. S. 2368 and therefore there is no guṇa. Thus विष्+सञ्=विष्ट विष्+सञ्=विदिष्ट+स ॥ To this we add the affix कित् by which the ञ ० स is elided by VI. 4. 48. अवलोकोपः and we get the form विदिष्टम् ॥ Then by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. स् is elided and we get विदिष्ट ॥ This ष् is changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 which again is changed to ष and then optionally to र् ॥ In other cases ष is changed to क् by VIII. 2. 41. S. 295 ; and स changed to ष VIII. 3. 57 S. 211. Thus N. forms are विदिष्ट or विदिष्ट, विदिष्टौ, विदिष्टः ॥

Now to we take up the declension of सृष्ट् formed from the root सृष् or सृष्ट् 'to fashion'. The क् is elided by VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. Thus the N. S. is सृष्ट् or सृष्ट् formed under the same rules as विदिष्ट or विदिष्ट.

Nominative Dual and Plural are सृष्टौ-सृष्टः

Similar is the declension of गोरक्ष् meaning 'one who protects cows' Its N. forms are गोरक्ष or गोरक्ष, गोरक्षौ गोरक्षः ॥

But if these words be derived from the Causative roots (ण्यन्त) तक्षि and रक्षि with the affix क्तिप्, then VIII. 2. 29. S. 380 will not apply and so there will be no elision of क्. This is because the जि which was elided by जे रक्षिति (VI. 4. 51. S. 2313) will be स्थानिवद् ॥ But will not the following *Vārtika* पूर्वदासिद्धीयेन स्थानिवद्; prevent the स्थानिवद्भाव? "There is no stānīvadbhāva in the last three chapters of Ashtādhyāyī."

To this we reply 'No'. Because of the following exception. *Vārtika*. The above *Vārtika* is inapplicable in the following three cases (a) the rule ordaining the elision of the first or initial letter of a conjunct consonant VIII. 2. 29. S. 380. (b) the rule relating to क्ष change (c) the rule relating to च् change. S. 235.

Therefore, we shall have संयोगान्तलोपः i.e. the elision of the final स् and not of the initial क्. Thus the N. S. will be तक् or तम्; गोरक् or गोरम्.

Now we take up the declension of विषक् meaning 'desirous of cooking'. It is formed from the root पक् with the Desiderative affix सन्. Thus we get पक् + सन् + त् = पक्वत् = पक्क् ॥ The क् of the initial प् is changed to इ by VII. 4. 79. S. 2317. Thus we have विपक् ॥

Its N. S. is विपक् or विपम् ॥ The क् of विपक् is not elided, but the final स् is elided, for the reasons already given above.

Similar is the declension of विषक् meaning 'desirous of speech' from the root पक् 'to speak' and of विषक्, meaning 'desirous of burning', from the root ब्ध् to burn. The Nominative Singular being विषेक् and विषक् respectively. Now, we take up the declension, of सुविस्: It is derived from the root वृष्, 'to walk'; hence सुविस् means 'one who walks well'. It is declined as follows:—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सुवीः	सुविहो	सुविम.
Instr.	सुविता	सुवीभ्याम्	
Loc.			सुवीषु or सुवीवुः ॥

Similar is the declension of सुदृक् 'well-cutting'. Its Nominative Sing. is सुदृक् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वन् meaning 'a learned man'. In the strong case terminations, it is declined as:—

	Singular	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	विद्वान्	विद्वहो	विद्वान्मः
Voc.	हे विद्वन्		
Acc	विद्वान्म्	विद्वहो	

In the weak-case terminations, the declension of this word is governed by the following rule:—

४३५ । वसोः संप्रसारणम् । इ । ४ । १३१ ॥

वस्यन्त्यस्य भग्न्य संप्रसारणो स्यात् । पूर्वस्यत्वं पत्यम् । विदुषः । विदुषा । वसुधैवकुर्वन्ति इत्यम् । विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सेदिवान् । सेदिवान्सौ । सेदिवान्सः । सेदिवान्सम् । अन्तरङ्गोऽपीडागमः संप्रसारणविषयं न प्रयत्नते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । सेदुषः । सेदुषा । सेदिवद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तमश्न इत्यथ सान्तसंयोगोऽपि प्रातिपदिकस्यैव गृह्यते ननु धातोः गह्वळञसाहचर्यात् । सुदु हिनस्तीति सुदिन् । सुदिवी । सुदिसः । सुदिन्यास् । सुदिङ्गु । ध्यत् । ध्वद् । ध्यसौ । ध्वसः । ध्वद्भ्याम् । एवं सन् ॥

435. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विद्वत् + वस् = विद् व वस् + वस् ॥ व and व become उ by the पूर्वस्य rule (VI. 1. 108 S 330) = विदुत् + वस् ॥ Then स् of विदुत् is changed to ष् ॥ Thus विदुष् + वस् = विदुषत् = विदुषः (Ac: Pl:). The Ins. Sing: विदुषा is also similarly formed.

Before भ्यान्, the स् of विद्वत् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 72. S. 334. Thus विद्वद्भ्यान् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of सेदिवन् ॥ It is formed by adding the affix क्तु to the root सद् by III. 2. 108 S 3097. The root is reduplicated by VI. 1. 8. S. 2177. Thus :—सद् + सद् + क्तु = स + सद् + क्तु ॥ The first द् being elided by ह्लादि शेषः ॥ VII. 4. 60. S. 2179. Then the first स is elided and the व of the second स is changed into ए by अत एकवचनश्चे VI. 4. 120. S. 2260. Thus we get सेद् + क्तु = सेद् + ष् ॥ To this we apply the augment इद् by VII. 2. 67. S 3096. Thus सेद् + इद् + ष् = सेदिवस् ॥ In strong cases there will be नुम् augment by VII. 1. 70. S. 361. and lengthening by VI. 4. 10 S. 317. Thus :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	सेदिवान्	सेदिवान्सौ	सेदिवान्सः
Acc.	सेदिवान्सम्	"	"

In the weak-case terminations or Bha bases, there is not the इद् augment of VII. 2. 67, S. 3096, though it was antarangā, because it would be useless to add इद् when we are going to vocalise the द् into उ for then the efficient cause ष् of वस् would be absent. This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा &c. See under Sūtra I. 3. 11. S. 46. Because इ is added to वस् only when it has the form of वस्. But when व is going to be changed to उ and the affix ultimately becomes उस् then there would be no वस् for the application of the sūtra VII. 2. 67. So we have the Acc: Pl: सेदुषः ॥ The Instr: Sing is सेदुषा ॥ The Instr: Dual is सेदिवद्भ्याम् &c.

In the sūtra VI. 4. 10 S. 317, the words ending in conjunct consonant न्स् must be prātipadikas, that is, the crude nouns and not a verbal base ending in न्स् ॥ This we infer because of the prātipadika नद् being in

the company of सन्त, which means that words *sui generis* with मङ्ग should be taken.

Therefore the word सुहिन् where the न् is a portion of the verb हिनस्ति and where, the noun सुहिन् means 'one who strikes well', the rule above given will not apply. Thus सुहिन् is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural
Nominative	सुहिन्	सुहिौ	सुहिंसः

In the Instru : Dual where सुहिन् gets the designation of pada, the स् is elided and we get सुहिन्याम् ॥

The Loc : Plural is सुहिन्सु 'or' सुहिन्सु ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ध्वन् formed from the root ध्वन् with the affix क्तिन्. The न् of the root ध्वन् is elided by VI. 4. 24. S. 415. Thus it is declined as

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	ध्वन् or ध्वद्	ध्वौ	ध्वसः ॥
Instr :		ध्वन्याम् ॥	

Similar is the declension of स्रस् from the root स्रन्.

Now we take up the declension of पुंस् : In its declension, the following rule applies :—

४३६ । पुंसोऽसुख् । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने विभक्तिवद्भूत्वात् । उकार उच्चारणार्थः । षट्पुंसी इत्यत्र उगितमेति द्वितीयं कृतेन पूर्वो द्वयमुभित्ति प्रत्ययस्यागितेनेव सुखविद्भिः । पुमान् । हे पुमान् । पुमांसी । पुमांसः । पुंसः । पुंस्याम् । पुंसिः । पुंस्य । षट्पुंसोऽसुखम् । उद्याना । उद्यानौ । उद्यानसः । अस्य संपुष्टौ यादवह् नक्षत्रम् वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे उद्यानम् । हे उद्यान । हे उद्यानः । उद्यानोभ्यामिष्यादि । अनेहा । अनेहौ । अनेहसः । हे अनेहः । अनेहोभ्यामिष्यादि । वेपाः । वेपौ । वेपसः । हे वेपः । वेपोभ्यामिष्यादि । अपातोऽरिद्रुर्कोर्न शीर्षः । सुदु वसेत् सुवः । सुवो । सुवसः । विण्डं मसते विण्डमः । विण्डसः । षट्पुंस्सु वरुणे ॥

436. अङ् (अम्) is substituted for the final of पुंस when the sarvanāmasthāna affixes are to be added.

The ङ in षट्पुंस् is for the sake of pronunciation and not to indicate that षट्पुंस् should be added under VII. 1. 70 S. 361 because the षट्पुंस् will be added in strong cases by the very fact that the word पुंस is formed from ष (to protect) ४-ट्पुंस् (Un. IV. 178) and as the affix ट्पुंस् is an उगित् affix, it will produce its effect under VII. 1. 70 by causing षट्पुंस्, *pari passu* as it does in causing दीप् to be added to in the feminine, in forming षट्पुंसी, by the sūtra उगितम् (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). Thus it is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	पुमान्	पुमांसौ	पुमांसः
Voc.	हे पुमान्		
Acc.			पुंसः
Inst.	पुंसा	पुंभ्याम्	पुंभिः
Loc.			पुंसु

Kāśikā :—The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect) + डुम्बुन् (Up IV. 178), the ण् being changed to anusvāra. So when स् of पुंस् is replaced by ण् we get the form पुमण्, the ण् of अणुह् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after म् (VII. 1. 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसौ, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशिपञ्चादः) : otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI. 1. 223), therefore, परमपुन् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान्, of course, has accent on पु.

Now, we take up the declension of वचनस् ॥ By VII. 1. 94.S. 276, वचनह् is substituted for the final of वचनस् in the Nom. Sing : Thus Nom. forms are वचनम्, वचनसौ, वचनसः ॥ In forming the Voc : Sing : the following Vārtika will apply :—

Vārt :—वचनह् is substituted for the final of वचनस् in the Voc. S. also, as हे वचनम्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII. 2. 8). Otherwise we have हे वचन ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular : as हे वचनस्, हे वचनम्, and हे वचन !

The Instr : Dual is वचनोभ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of अनेहस् meaning ' time

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	अनेकम्	अनेकौ	अनेकसः
Voc.	हे अनेकः		
Instr.		अनेकोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of वेधस् meaning ' the Creator '.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	वेधः	वेधसौ	वेधसः
Voc.	हे वेधः		
Instr.		वेधोभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of सुवस्त्र meaning ' one who wears well '. Here वस् belongs to a root and so in the Nom : S. its vowel is not lengthened because of the prohibition of अपातोः in VI. 4. 14. S.

Hence its Nom. forms are *सुवः*, *सुवसौ*, *सुवसः* ॥

Now we take up the declension of *विण्डमस्* and *विण्डमस्* ॥ The verbs *घम्* and *ग्लम्* mean 'to swallow' the Nominative singular forms of these are *विण्डमः* and *विण्डमः* meaning 'a lump eater'.

Now, we take up the declension of *अस्*. In its declension the following rules apply :—

४३७ । अदस औ सुलोपश्च । ७ । २ । १०७ ॥

अदस आकारोऽन्तविशः स्यात्सौ परे सुलोपश्च । तयोः सः साविति इत्यसः । असौ ॥ औत्सर्गिक-
विशः साङ्गिकस्य वा धक्तव्यः सादृशं च * ॥ प्रतिषेधसन्नियोगादिदुस्त्यं तदभवि न प्रवर्तते । असकौ ।
असुकः । यथादयत् परस्वत्वम् । इद्धिः । अस्सोऽसेति मत्वात् । असू । असः यौ । आदृगुणः ॥

437. For the *स्* of *अदस्* there is substituted *औ*, whereby the Nominative affix *सु* is elided.

As *अदस्* + *सु* = *अद* + *औ* + *O* (VII. 2. 107) = *अस* + *औ* (VII. 2. 106 S. 381) = *असौ* ॥

Part:—When the augment *अकच्* is added, the *औ* substitution is optional, and in that alternative *द* is added after *स्*, as *असुकः* or *असकौ* ॥

The form *असुकः* is thus evolved :—*अकच्* + *सु*, now *औ* substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited ; therefore, the *अ* substitution of VII. 2. 102 takes place, and the *द* is changed to *स्* by VII. 2. 106, and the *अ* of *अकच्* after *स्* is changed to *द*.

In forming *असू* we observe the following process :—

अदस् + *औ* = *अद* + *औ* (VII. 2. 102. S. 265. and VI. 1. 97. S. 191) = *असौ* ॥

Here *द* is replaced by *अ* and *औ* by *अ* ; one might object that by the maxim (19) भाष्यमार्गेण सपक्षार्थां चक्षणे न इ. ८. "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it" *औ* ought to have been changed to short *द*, but we answer that the maxim (20) भाष्यमार्गेण सपक्षार्थां चक्षणे न इ. ८. The letter *द* denotes, even when it is taught in a rule, also the letters homogeneous with it," makes an exception in the case of *द* only.

The rule *पुनर्वाचिदं* (VIII. 2. 1. S. 12) should be applied before the operations required by *vibhakti* take place, and then the *द* and *स्* of VIII. 2. 80. should be substituted : because with regard to *स्वप्नविशः* (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) which is a rule of the 7th Adhyāya, the sūtra *असौ* (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) which is a rule of *Triṣṭī* becomes *asiddha*. Therefore if the *vibhakti* operation ordained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 were not to take place first, then the base would remain *अदस्* ending with *स्*, and the rule VIII. 2. 80. S. 419. requiring *द* for *अ*, and *स्* for *द* would find no scope at all.

But if in the sūtra पूर्वप्रातिपदम्, the operations of Tripādi themselves were intended to become asiddha, then we could never get the forms अम्, अहम् &c. For if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419. before the त् of त् of अदस् obtained by VII. 2. 102 S. 265. plus the त् of the द् of अदस् become ज्ञ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; in other words, if we apply VIII. 2. 80 S. 419 to the following nascent state of अद+ज्ञ, then we shall have this incongruity: अम्+त+ज्ञ. Here त् is asiddha for the purposes of VI. 1. 97. S. 191, and ज्ञ of अम् plus त् would become त्, which is not desired.

In forming the N. Dual, the rule VII. 2. 102. S. 265 will cause the replacement of त् of अदत्त by ज्ञ and this ज्ञ will coalesce with the final त् of द् and become ज्ञ by VI. 1. 97 and thus the base will be अद. Thus अद+ञी=अदी. The द् will be replaced by म् and ङी by long क् and we get अम् (VI. 1. 102. S. 164).

The N. Pl. is अनी. It is thus evolved:—

अदत्+ङी (VII. 1. 17 S. 214)=अद+ई=अदे (VI. 1. 87. S. 69). Then applies the following Sūtra:—

४३८। एत ईद्विपुदन्ते । ८ । २ । ८१ ॥

अदो वाचस्पत्यै ईत्याहंय न नो बहुयौक्तौ । अनी । पूर्वप्रातिपदमिति विभक्तिकार्यं प्राक् पञ्चादुत्पद्यते । अहम् । अम् । अहम् । पुदे क्ते विभक्त्यायां नामावः ॥

438. For the द् coming after the द् of अदस् there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to म्, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus Nom. Pl. is अनी.

In forming the Acc. Sing, we have अदत्+अम्. Now the sūtra स्वश्लेषनामः (VII. 2. 102 S. 265) has superior force to sūtra अदसोऽस्ते (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419) and it applies first. Thus we get अद+अम्=अदम् because vibhakti operations are applied first. Then applies the sūtra अदसोऽस्ते (VIII. 2. 80.) and we get अहम्.

When अदम् is changed to अह it gets the designation of णि (I. 4. 7 S. 232.) So in the Inst. Sing. the substitute णा offers itself from VII. 3. 120. S. 244.

Thus अह+ण. Here however the question might occur that the formation of ह् being enunciated in VIII. 2. 80. S. 419 in the Tripādi, whether VII. 3. 120. S. 244 does not regard the ह् as asiddha.

Hence the following Sūtra:—

४३६ । न सु ने । ८ । २ । ३ ॥

नाभाय कर्तव्ये कृते च सुभायो नासिद्धः स्यात् । असुना । असुधाश्च । अनीभिः । असुधै । अनीभ्यः । असुध्यान् । असुध्वा । असुधोः । अनीधाश्च । असुध्मिन् । असुधोः । अनीधु ।

439. The sūtra VIII. 2. 80, teaching the substitution of सु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना .

Note :—The existence of सु is not considered unaffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary it is considered as siddha or existing. Thus सु being considered as siddha, असु gets the designation of धि by I. 4. 7, and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII. 3. 120, असुना ॥ Had the सु been considered as nonaffected, then the stem would not have been called *gāi*, and there would have been no ना added. But when ना had been added, then the सु being asiddha, असु is considered to be as अद् ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by ह्रावि च VII. 3. 102; but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणे विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विपातस्य “that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination”. There being no long अ the ञ् of असु remains short. Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) सु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) सु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place. Or the sense of the sūtra is नै परतो यद् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्तव्ये सुभायो नासिद्धः “the सु is not non-affected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed”. From this, it would follow by implication that सु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself. So सु being always siddha, ना is added : and there is no lengthening.

Thus the declension of अदस् in the Instr: and the succeeding cases is as follows :—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Instr.	असुना	असुधाश्च	अनीभिः
Dat.	असुधे	”	अनीभ्यः
Abl.	असुध्यान्	”	”
Gen.	असुध्वा	असुधोः	अनीधाश्च
Loc.	असुध्मिन्	”	अनीधु

Here end the declensions of Masculines ending in consonants.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in इ such as दिव्. Here the same rules will apply as in the case of the Masculine word दिव्. See Sūtra VII. 1. 84. S. 336 &c. Nom. S. द्यौः Nom. D. दिवौ. Nom. Pl. दिवः; Loc. Pl. दिव्यु.

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in इ such as मिर्. It is declined as the masculine word. Thus Nom. S. मीः, D. मियै, Pl. मिरः. Similar is the declension of पुर. The word चतुर् is changed to चतसृ. It is always declined in the Plural. Thus Nom. and Acc. Pl. चतस्रः, Gen. Pl. चतसृणाम् ॥

—:0:—

Now we take up the declension of words ending in म् such as किम्. क is substituted for किम् by VII. 2. 103. Then we add the feminine affix दाप्. Thus Nom. S. is क्ता Nom. D. के Nom. Pl. क्ताः. The declension of the rest is like the feminine form of सर्व (सर्वा).

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Now, we take up the declension of इदम्. Its declension is governed by the following rule:—

४४१। यः सौ। ७। २। ११० ॥

इदमो यस्य यः स्वास्तौ ॥ इदमो नः ॥ इदम्। सत्तापत्यं दाप्। इति सः। इमे। इमाः। इमाम्। इमे। इमाः। अनया ॥ इति लोपः ॥ आभ्याम् ३। आभिः। अस्त्यै। अस्त्याः। अनयोः २। आताम्। अस्ताम्। आस्तु। अन्वादेशे तु। एनाम्। एने। एनाः। एनया। एनयोः २। कृत्विगारिणा सृजेः क्तिन् अमागमश्च निपातितः। प्रकु सप्। सजौ। सजः। सम्भ्याम्। सज्जु। स्रकाद्यत्वं दाप्। स्वा। त्वे। त्वाः। एवं तद् यद् एतद्। शाक्। वाप्। वापी। वापः। धाभ्याम्। बाह्वु। अप्शब्दे निहं बहुवचनान्तः। अच्युतिरिति शीर्षः। आपः। अपः ॥

441. य is substituted for the इ of इदम् in the Nominative Singular in the feminine.

The final म् of इदम् remains unchanged by VII. 2. 108. S. 343. Thus Nominative S. इदम् ॥ Then the feminine affix दाप् is added by the sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265. इ is changed to य् by VII. 2. 109. S. 345. The Nominative, Dual is इमे Nominative Plural इमाः ॥ Accusative S. is इमाम् ॥ Inst. S. is सनया ॥ इद् is changed to सन् by VII. 2. 112. By the rule VII. 2. 113. S. 347 there is elision of इद् so that we have in the Inst. Dat. and Abl. Dual आभ्याम्; Inst. Plural is आभिः. We have Dat S. अद्यै by VII. 3. 114; Gen. S. अस्या and Dual अनयोः by VII. 3. 105 and Plural आताम् by VII. 1. 52 and VII. 2. 113; Loc. S. अस्ताम्, D. अस्त्यै, and Plural आस्तु ॥ But in re-employment (अन्वादेशे) we have एनाम् in the Acc. S. एने in the Dual and एनाः in Plural. In Inst. S. एनया and एनयोः in the Dual of both Genitive and Locative.

So also स्विप् : Its Nominative S. is स्विप् or स्विप् by VIII. 2. 39. S. 84. in the Nominative D. स्विषौ ॥ Nominative Plural स्विषः ॥ Inst. D. स्विष्वभ्याम् and the Loc. Plural स्विष्वत् or स्विष्वत् with the optional augment ए by VIII. 3. 29. S. 131.

The word सञ्जप्, "a friend". By the rule VIII. 3. 36. S. 151. ण् is substituted for its final and by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. there is the elision of ज; then by applying the rules VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. and VIII. 3. 15. S. 76. we have सञ्जः in the Nominative S. The Nominative D. सञ्जसौ and Plural सञ्जसः; similarly in the Inst. D. सञ्जस्वभ्याम् and, Loc. Plural सञ्जस्वत् or सञ्जः पु, the change of स to ष caused by VIII. 4. 41. S. 113 being not perceived by VIII. 2. 66. S. 162. causing स ॥

In the same way the word आशिप् for आशिप् is declined. Thus we have the Nominative S., D. and Plural आशीः आशिषौ and आशिषः respectively; In Inst. D. we have आशीम्भ्याम् and Plural आशीभिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of the pronoun अहम् ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	अहौ (VII. 2. 102. S. 265)	अहम् (VIII. 2. 80. S. 419)	अहम् :
Acc.	अहम्	अहम्	अहम् :
Inst.	अहया	अह्मभ्याम्	अहम्भिः
Dat.	अह्यै (VII. 3. 114. S. 291)	"	अहम्भ्यः
Abl.	अह्यः	"	"
Gen.	"	अहयो	अह्वयम् (VII. 1. 52)
Loc.	अह्वयात्	"	अह्वयु

Here end the declensions of Femines ending in Consonants.

अथ हलन्तनपुंसकलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIII.

DECLENSION OF NEUTERS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

स्वमोरुङ्क् । इत्वम् । स्वनङ्क् । स्वनङ्क् । स्वनङ्क् । स्वनङ्क् । चतुरनङ्कहारित्वात् । स्वनङ्कादि । पुनस्तद्वत् ।
 सप्त पुंनङ् ॥ दिव उक् ॥ अहर्दिनत्वम् । अन्तरवर्तिनी विभक्तिनाशित्वात् पूर्वपदस्येतेनत्वात् अस्यापि
 पदसंज्ञायाम् प्राप्तायात् ॥ उत्तरपदस्य चापवादिवधौ प्रतिषेधः * । इति प्रत्ययान्तप्रथमः । विनलदिवी ।
 विनलदिवि । अपवादिवधौ किम् । इति तेषां । इह पदत्वनिषेधे कर्तव्ये पदत्वमस्येव । कुत्वे तु न । वा ।
 वारी । अद्वयलन्तत्वात् पुम् । वारि । आचारि । न लुभतेति आदेशो न । किम् । के । कानि । इवम् । इमे ।
 इमानि ॥ अन्वदेशे नपुंसके एनङ्कत्वः * । एनङ् । एने । एनानि । एनेन । एनेयोः २ । अङ् ।
 अङ्गयोः । अङ्गाणि । हे अङ्गम् । हे अङ्ग । रोडङ्कवि ॥ अहर्भाति । विभाषा द्विवचनः । अङ्गी । अहनी ।
 अहानि

We take up the declension of the word स्वनङ्क्. By the rule VII. 1. 23 S. 319 we have the elision of the case endings ङ्क् and ङम्. In the case of स्वनङ्क्, by the application of the rule VIII. 2. 72. S. 334 ङ् is substituted for ह्. Thus we get स्वनङ्क् or स्वनङ्क् in the Nominative Sing. स्वनङ्क् in the Nominative Dual by the rule VII. 1. 19. S. 310. In the Nominative Plural, by the rule VII. 1. 98, S. 331. we have the augment आङ्. Thus we get स्वनङ्कादि. The Accusative forms will be the same as the Nominative. The rest is declined like the Masculine.

Now we take up the declension of the words ending in ङ् such as विनलदिव् ॥ By the rule VI. 1. 131, S. 337, ङ् is substituted for the final : thus we get विनलङ्क् in the Nominative Singular which means " a clear day ".

In forming the Dual, there arises this consideration :—the word विनलदिव् is a compound of two words विनल and दिव् ॥ When the compounds are formed, the case-affixes are elided, as राज्ञः पुरुषः = राजपुरुषः. But though the case-affix is elided, the first member retains the designation of Pada, and so the ङ् of राजङ्क् is elided and the form is rāja-puruṣa and not rājan-puruṣa. Similarly in वारीङ्क् the क् is changed to ङ् ॥ Now if this elided case-affix (antar vartini vibhakti) is efficient in the case of the first member of a compound, analogically should not the *Second* member of the compound get the designation of *Pada*, for the affix is elided after the second member *also*, just as the *first* member gets ? This doubt is removed by the following vārtika.

Vārtika :—The rule of " Pratyaya-lope pratyaya lakṣhaṇam " does not hold good in the case of the second member of a compound, for the purposes of applying any rule other than that relating to the initial letter of a

Pada". Therefore, there is no pratyaya-lakṣhaṇa : and so the word विच् in विमलविच् does not get the designation of *pada* and so it gets the designation Bha ; and consequently we can apply to it the sūtra VII. 1. 19 S. 310, which applies to *Bha* bases only. विमल विच् being a *Bha* base and not a *Pada*, the वी is changed to वी ; and we get the Nominative Dual विमलविच् and not विमलविच् ॥ The Nominative Plural is विमलविच्.

Why do we say in the above vārtika अपरादिविच् "when any rule not relating to the beginning of a Pada is to be applied"? Observe इधिसेचो = इधः सेचो a Genitive Tatpuruṣa, compounded from इधः + सेचो = इधि सेच्. Here the second term सेच् does get the designation of Pada for the purposes of the application of the rule which prevents the *initial* च् being changed to च् ॥ Had it not been a Pada then स would have been changed to च after इ by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. But though सेच् is treated as a पद for the purposes of the application of the preventive rule relating to the *initial* letter, yet it is not to be treated as पद for the purposes of the application of the rule to the *final* letter च् which would become guttural क् if it were a Pada.

Notes :—सेच् is derived from the root सिच् 'to sprinkle,' with the affix विच् (III. 2. 75. S. 2980). The above is the illustration of Genitive Tatpuruṣa compound.

Obj :—But if we form the upapada compound with the root सिच् and the upapada इधि in the Accusative, as इधिम सिचतः, then since the compounding is ordained to take place *before* the addition of vibhakti, the word सेच् has no pada designation, and so स does not *begin* a pada, and it should be changed to च्. Thus in upapada-samāsa, the च change is inevitable.

Ans :—To this Kaiyata replies "अनभिधानात् सोपपदादि विधानात्, इधिसेचो इति प्रयोगाभावात्" ॥ Or we may say that the word अपरादि means पदादि: the beginning of a subsequent (whether pada or not) preceded by a pada.

Now, we take up the declension of चत्. Its N. S. and Dual are चः and चतौ respectively. In forming the N. Pl. there will be no च्, ordained by VII. 1. 72: S. 314. because the base does not end in क् letters. Therefore the N. Pl. is चति.

The Nominative and Acc. Pl. of चत् is चतसि ॥ The rest is like the masculine.

Now we take up the declension of कम्. Thus क्त्विच् + च् = क्त्विच् + ओ by VII. 1. 23. S. 319. Now the affix is elided by using the word लुक् and so it leaves no trace behind, by I. 1. 63. S. 263, and therefore क्त्विच् is not changed to क्त्विच् as would otherwise be required by Sūtra VII. 2. 103. S. 342. Thus it is declined as :—

	Sing.	Dual	Pl.
Nom.	किम्.	के	कानि

Now we take up the declension of इदम्. Its Nom: forms are इदम्, इमे, इमानि ॥

Vartika:—In the Neuter, where there is Anvādeśa or re-employment it should be stated that एनम् replaces इदम्.

Thus एनम्, एने, एनानि; Ins. S. एनेन Gen. D. एनयोः &c.

Now, we take up the declension of अहम्. It is declined as.

	Sing.	Dual.	Pl.
Nomi.	अहम्	अहमी	अह्मणि
Voc.	हे अहम् or हे अहम्.		

Now we take up the declension of अहम्. By VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. ए is substituted for the final न् of अहम् and thus अहमाँ in the Nominative Sg. Had there been ह, then the ह would have been changed to उ by ह्रस्वि VI. 1. 114 S. 166. The form would have been अहोमानि in the Nom: Sing. In the N. D. by VI. 4. 136. S. 237, the अ of अम् portion of अहम् is optionally elided and thus we get अही or अह्नी. N. Pl. is अह्मनि ॥

Before भ्याम् &c, where अहम् gets the designation of pada, the following rule applies.

४४३ । अहम् । ८ । २ । ६८ ॥

अहन्निस्त्वस्व रुः स्यात्स्वशान्ते । अहोभ्याम् । अहोभिः । इह अहः अहोभ्यामित्यादौ स्वरस्योपसिद्धत्वाज्जलोपे प्राप्तिः, अहन्निस्त्वस्वत्वं नलोपाभावे निपात्य द्वितीयेन सर्वधेयः । तदन्तस्त्वापि स्वरस्ये । दीर्घाज्जलानि सन्ति न दीर्घाक्ष निपायः । इह ह्रस्वजादिलोपे मत्स्वस्यस्योनाऽऽप्रीति निषेधाज्जन्वाभावे रुः । तस्यासिद्धत्वात्तन्तक्षण उपधादीर्घः । संयुद्धौ तु हे दीर्घाक्षे निपायः । दीर्घाक्षी । दीर्घाक्षः । दीर्घाक्षः । दीर्घाक्षोभ्याम् ।

हृदि । हृदिनी । हृदीनि । सन्धि । सन्धिणी । सन्धीणि । वामि । वामिनी । वामिनी बह्वचरहानि । बहुवचानि । बहुवचानि ।

अमृजः परान्ते कुलम् । मृजेः कृति विधानान् । विश्व मृजादौ तु न । मृजिहोरीति मृजे रज्जुसङ्गमिति भाष्यमयोगान् । अहो अहोदिवस मृजियज्योः परान्ते एव कुलापवादः । सप्तम्विहोदिवसोत्पत्ति निपातनादेव कुलम् । अमृजस्यैव अमृजेतिपादिके मृजस्यैव बोध्यः । अमृजः । अमृजः । अमृजी । अमृजिजः । मृज इति वा असत् । अमृजानि । अमृजा । अमृजा । अमृजः । अमृजमित्यादि ।

ऊर्ध्व । ऊर्ध्वः । ऊर्ध्वः । ऊर्ध्वः । नरानां लोकाः ॥ ऊर्ध्वः तुल्यतिथेयः । * ॥ अमृजस्यैव वा तुम् । * ऊर्ध्वः बह्वचरि वा कुलानि ।

एतम् । एतः । एतः । एतानि । एतः । एतः । ते । तानि । एतः । एतः । ते । यदि । एतम् । एतम् । एते । एतानि । अन्नादेशे तु । एतम् ।

बेभिशतेः कृप् । बेभिशु । बेभिशु । बेभिशु । बेभिशु । शान्तोपस्य स्थानिबन्धाभक्त्यन्तत्वात् तुम् । वा नन्व ह्रस्वस्य तुम् न । स्वविधौ स्थानिबन्धाभावात् । बेभिशु जाग्रदकुलानि । बेभिशु ।

गवाकृष्टादस्य रूपाणि द्विवेदार्थावतिभेदतः । असंध्यवहृत्पूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥ १ ॥

स्वसुप्पु नव षड् भावैः षट्के स्पुर्लोपि जडशतोः । चत्वारि शेषे दृक्केरुपाणोति विभावय ॥ २ ॥

तथाहि । गामंयसीति विषहे ऋषिगादिना किन् । गतौ नलोपः । अवहृ स्तोदायनस्येत्त्ववहृ । गवाक् । गवाग् । सर्वथ विभावति प्रकृतिभावे । गोभक् । गोभग् । पूर्वरूपे । गोक् । गोग् । पूजार्था नस्य कुलेन छः । गवाहृ । गोअहृ । गवाहृ । अस्यापि, एतान्धेव नव । गौहृ । गौ । भस्वादप इत्यल्लोपः । गोषी । पूजार्था तु गवाञ्ची । गोअञ्ची । गोअञ्ची जडशतोः छिः । छिः सर्वनामस्यानत्वान्नुम् । गवाञ्चि । गोअञ्चि । गोञ्चि । गतिपूजनयोर्लोप्येव । गोधा । गवाञ्चा । गोअञ्चा । गोअञ्चा । गवाभ्याम् । गोअभ्याम् । गोअभ्याम् । गवाहृभ्याम् । गोअहृभ्याम् । गोअहृभ्याम् । इत्यादि ॥ सुपित्तु, ङान्तार्ता पक्षे ङाः कुमिति कुक् । गवाहृभु । गोअहृभु । गोहृभु । गवाहृभु । गोअहृभु । गोहृभु । गोअहृभु । गोहृभु । न वेह चयो द्वितीया । इति पक्षे ककारस्य खकारणे षण्णामाधिक्ये शङ्क्यम् । अर्धस्यासिद्धत्वात् । कुक्पक्षे तु सस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जडत्वाभावे पक्षे द्वितीयावेवास्तीति रूपानि वर्धन्त एव ॥

ऊहमेवा द्विवेचनामुतासिकविकल्पनात् । रूपाण्यश्वान्निभूतानि । ५२७ नवन्तीति मनीषिभिः ॥ ११ ॥

तिर्यक् । तिर्य्वा । तिर्यञ्चि । पूजार्था तु । तिर्यहृ । तिर्यहृषी तिर्यञ्चि । यकृत् । यकृती । यकृन्ति । परस्मिन्ति वा यकृन् । यकानि । यक्ताः । यकृता । शकृन् । शकृती । शकृन्ति । शकानि । शक्ताः । शकृता । शकृन् । शवती ॥

443. रु is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada.

Thus अहोभ्याम्, अहोभिः ॥ The sūtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न्. in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As रीषाहो, निहापः, हे रीषाहोऽवेति ॥ See Vārtika under VIII. 2. 7. The न् of अहन् is not changed to र in the sūtra by VIII. 2. 69, because it is intended to show the word-form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I. 4. 1;

Vārt :—Before the words रूप, रानि and स्पन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्र, अहोरथन्तरं साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII. 2. 69. Others say, that this र change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र; as अहोरम्यम्, अहो रयानि ॥

The र and रु changes in अहर् (N. S.) and अहोभ्याम् (Ins. D.) ordained by VIII. 2. 69 S. 172, and VIII. 2. 68 S. 443. are asiddha i. e. not perceived by the preceding Sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236. which requires the elision of न्. Therefore, arises the following difficulty that the र (which is really न्) would be elided. But this difficulty is removed by holding that the word अहन् in VIII. 2. 68. S. 443. is in N. S. without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् । The one indicates the exact form, showing that the न् is not elided; and by the second word, the रु is ordained for this final न् ॥

The words ending in अहन् will also change the final न् into रु and र् by VIII. 2. 68 and 69 S. 443 and 172. Thus we have the Bahuvrīhi compound 'रूपरेव' meaning 'the season in which the days are long' as रीषाहो निहापः ॥ This word is a Masculine and it is necessary to enter into a digression to show its

various declensions. The word *दीर्घाह* is thus evolved :—*दीर्घाहन्* + *सु* = *दीर्घाहन्* + *०* (there is *lopa elison* of *सु* by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Therefore this *lopa* will produce the effect of a *pratyaya* by I. 1. 62 S. 262 and would cause the *ह* substitution for *न्* to the exclusion of *र*, because the *र* would not come, as in the *sūtra* VIII. 2. 69. S. 172. *असुपि* is used. But this *ह* being *asiddha* i. e. not perceived by VI. 4. 8. § 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate *अ* ॥ Thus we have *दीर्घाह* in the N. S.

In the Voc : we have *हे दीर्घाहो निराय* ॥

Note:—The word *दीर्घाहन्* is a *Bahuvrīhi* (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the *न्* changed to *र* by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to *व* (VI. 1. 114). In *हे अहन्*! the *न्* is not elided by the option of the following *Vartika* under VIII. 2. 8. *वा ननुसक्तानाम्* which means that in the Neuters *न्* is optionally not elided.

It is thus declined :—

	Singular.	Dual	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	दीर्घाहाः	दीर्घाहामौ	दीर्घाहानः
Instr.	दीर्घाहा	दीर्घाहिभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of *दाण्डन्* &c. Nominative and Accusative of

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
दाण्डन्	दाण्ड	दाण्डनी	दाण्डीनि
सन्निवन्	सन्निव	सन्निवनी	सन्निवनि
वाग्मिन्	वाग्मि	वाग्मिनी	वाग्मिनि
बहुवचन्	बहुवच	बहुवचनी or बहुवचनी	बहुवचानि
बहुपूषन्	बहुपूष	बहुपूषनी or बहुपूषनी	बहुपूषानि
बहुवर्मन्	बहुवर्म	बहुवर्मनी or बहुवर्मनी	बहुवर्मानि

Now we take up the declension of *असृज्* which is a negative compound of *अ* + *सृज्*. The *ज* will be changed to guttural, when final in a *pada*, because the affix *क्तिन्* has been ordained after the root *सृज्* *क्तिन्* *प्रत्ययस्यक्तः*, but not so in other compounds than negative, as *विश्वसृज्* &c. The N. S. of *विश्वसृज्* is *विश्वसृज्*, because *Patanjali* in his *Mahābhāṣya*, in commenting on *sūtra* VI. 1. 58 S. 2405, employs the form *रज्जुसृज्भ्याम्* or because the *व्य* taught in VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. for the final *ज* of *सृज्* and *वज्* would debar the gutturalisation. While the gutturalisation in *सृज्* and *सृक्तिव्* is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the *sūtra* III. 2. 59. S. 373. Or to remove all these objections we say that *असृज्* is not a negative compound of *अ* + *सृज्* but is a *Uṇādi* formed word derived from the root *असृ* "to throw" with the affix *सृज्*, then, the

various declensions. The word दीर्घाद् is thus evolved :—दीर्घाद् + ह्रस्व = दीर्घाद् + O (there is lopa elision of ह्रस्व by VI. 1. 68 S. 252). Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of a pratyaya by I. 1. 62 S. 262 and would cause the ह्रस्व substitution for नृ to the exclusion of र, because the र would not come, as in the sūtra VIII. 2. 69, S. 172. अस्त्विति is used. But this ह्रस्व being asiddha i. e. not perceived by VI. 4. 8, § 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate अ. Thus we have दीर्घाद् in the N. S.

In the Voc : we have हे दीर्घाद् निहाय ॥

Note:—The word दीर्घाद् is a Bahuvrīhi (II. 2. 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI. 1. 68), and the नृ changed to र by VIII. 2. 68, and it is changed to ह्रस्व (VI. 1. 114). In हे अहन्! the नृ is not elided by the option of the following Vartika under VIII. 2. 8. वा नृपुंसकानाम् which means that in the Neuters नृ is optionally not elided.

It is thus declined :—

	Singular.	Dual	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	दीर्घाद्	दीर्घादौ	दीर्घाद्गाम्
Instr.	दीर्घाद्वा	दीर्घादौभ्याम् &c.	

Now, we take up the declension of दाण्डन् &c. Nominative and Accusative of

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
दाण्डन्	दाण्ड	दाण्डनी	दाण्डीणि
सन्धिन्	सन्धि	सन्धिणी	सन्धीणि
वाग्मिन्	वाग्मि	वाग्मिनी	वाग्मीणि
बहुवृचद्	बहुवृच	बहुवृचनी or बहुवृचणी	बहुवृचानि
बहुपूवद्	बहुपूव	बहुपूवनी or बहुपूवणी	बहुपूवानि
बहुवर्मन्	बहुवर्म	बहुवर्मनी or बहुवर्मणी	बहुवर्मानि

Now we take up the declension of अस्त्रम् which is a negative compound of अ + सूत्रम्. The सूत्र will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix क्तिन् has been ordained after the root सूत्र क्तिन् प्रत्ययस्यङ्, but not so in other compounds than negative, as विश्वसूत्रम् &c. The N. S. of विश्वसूत्रम् is विश्वसूद्र, because Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya, in commenting on sūtra VI. 1. 58 S. 2405, employs the form रङ्गसूत्रम् or because the सूत्र taught in VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 for the final र् of सूत्रम् and रङ्ग would debar the gutturalisation. While the gutturalisation in सन्धिन् and वाग्मिन् is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the sūtra III. 2. 59, S. 373. Or to remove all these objections we say that अस्त्रम् is not a negative compound of अ + सूत्रम् but is a Uḡadi formed word derived from the root अस्त्र "to throw" with the affix क्तिन्, then, the

form will be असृक् in the N. S. without any difficulty. Thus the declension of असृक् will be.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom.	असृक् or असृग्	असृजी	असृजि ॥
Acc	"	"	

But in the weak-case terminations there will be two forms, *viz.* one with असृक् (VI. 1. 63. S. 228) and the other with असृग् ॥ Thus Acc : Pl : असृजि or असाणि ॥ Instr : Sing : Dual असृजा or अजा; असृभ्याम् or असभ्याम्, &c.

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज ॥

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Nom. & Acc :	ऊर्ज or ऊर्त्त	ऊर्जी	ऊर्जि ॥

In the last, the conjunct consonant is न् र् and ज ॥

Vartik :—There is prohibition of the augment नुस् in the case of बहुर्त्त.

Vartik :—Or, the नुस् may be added before the final consonant, i. e. inserted between र् and ज ॥ Thus बहुर्त्ति or बहुर्त्ति कुलानि ॥

Not :—According to Mahābhāṣya the Nom. Pl. is ऊर्जि without any nasal. (See sūtra VII. 1. 72). His reason is that the word अणः in ननुसकस्य अणः should be construed in the Ablative, the sūtra meaning " the augment नुस् should be added to a Neuter stem which ends in इत्तं consonant, provided that such इत्तं is preceded by a vowel ". In ऊर्ज, the letter that follows the vowel, i. e. र् is not a jhal, nor does the Neuter stem end in r. But the jhal र्त् which is final, is not preceded by a vowel but by र् ॥ So there will be no nasal here.

Now, we take up the declension of एव् &c. Nominative and Accusative.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
एव	एव् or एव्	एव	एवानि ॥
एव	एव् or एव्	एव	एवानि ॥
एव	एव् or एव्	एव	एवानि ॥
एव	एवम् or एवम्	एवम्	एवानि ॥

But in anvādesha or reemployment, the Nom : Sing. of एव is declined as एवम् ॥

The word वेदि is formed by adding the affix दि to the verbal root वेद (a Frequentative root) The व and द are dropped (अतो लोपः) ॥

In N. and Ac : S. and Dual are वेदि or वेदि; वेदि ॥ In the Plural, i. e. before the affix (e. the augment नुस् required by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is not added, because the lipa elided व of वेदि is considered as āthāvivat

and so the base does not end in a स्तब्ध consonant * Nor will it take रुन् account of its ending in a vowel, because there is no sthānivat-bhāva, with regard to the rule applying to its own self.

Thus the Plural is वेभिर्हि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Similarly the plural of वेच्छिद् is वेच्छिहि ॥

The root गच्छ has two meanings; (a) to go; (b) to worship (Sec २०३). When the compound is formed from it with the upa-pada गो, we get गो + गच्छ + क्तिन् ॥ Thus गो गच्छति meaning 'he drives the cow'. The nasal will be elided by VI. 4. 24 S. 415. But when the meaning is 'he honors or worships the cow' the nasal will not be elided because of the prohibition of VI. 4. 30. S. 424.

Thus we get two forms (१) गदाच् (२) गदाच् ॥ Then the Sandhi of गो + गच्छ itself gives rise to three forms, namely (१) where there is no Sandhi by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. (२) where गच्छ is substituted for ओ of गो by VI. 1. 123. S. 88.; (३) where ओ + ग of गो and गच्छ become ओ by VI. 1. 122. S. 87. Thus (१) गो गच्छ (२) गदाच् (३) गो गच्छ ॥

Verse :—In the Neuter, the word गदाच् meaning (a) he who honors cows or (b) he who drives cows, has 109 forms, according as the bases are namely (१) गो गच्छ; (२) गदाच् (३) गो गच्छ (४) गो गच्छ (५) गदाच् (६) गो गच्छ ॥ The case terminations स्तब्ध (N. S.), अच् (Ac. S.) रुच् (L. Pl.) give rise to nine forms each, the ज्ञा (i. e. Instr.; Dative and Ablative Dual and Pl.) to six forms each; the ज्ञा and ज्ञा (i. e. Nomi. and Acc. Pl.) to three forms each, the remaining ten case-terminations four forms each.

Thus when we analyse गदाच् or गदाच् as गो गच्छ, we add the affix क्तिन् by III. 2. 59 S. 373. Then the nasal is elided, when the sense is 'to move'. Then there is the गच्छ substitution by VII. 1. 123. S. 88. In this case we have N. S. as गदाच् or गदाच्; or when we apply the option of VI. 1. 122 S. 87, we have गो गच्छ or गो गच्छ; when we apply the rule of परस्मै, we have गो गच्छ or गो गच्छ ॥

When the sense is 'to honor', we have the कृत् or gutturalisation of the nasal in to कृ as N. S. गदाच् or गो गच्छ or गो गच्छ ॥ In the Acc. S. we shall also get these nine forms.

In the Nom. and Acc. dual, the termination is स्तब्ध, before which the base gets the designation of भा (भ) and the ग of गच्छ is elided by VI. 4. 138 S. 416 and thus we get the form गो गच्छ ॥ But when the sense of the verb is 'to honor', we get the forms गदाच्, or गो गच्छ or गो गच्छ ॥

* The ग of वेभिर् was elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308. The *Vārtika* कौलुषं न ह्यनित्यं see sūtra VI. 4. 85 S. 273 is not applied here; as that *Vārtika* is not of universal application.

The N. and Ac : Pl. affix is चि which being a Sarvanāmasthāna, we have the augment नुम् and thus we have गवांचि or गोमंचि or गौंचि whether the verb means 'to go' or 'to honor'.

The Instr : Sing of गवाच is only गोचा, for the same reason as N. and Ac : Dual is गौची ; of गवाच् is गवांचा or गौंचा or गोमंचा ॥

The Instr, Dat and Abl : dual of गवाच् is गवान्भ्याम् or गोमन्भ्याम् or गोभ्याम्, of गवांचि is गवाह्भ्याम् or गोमह्भ्याम् or गोह्भ्याम् &c.

In the Loc. Pl ; when the base is गवांच, we add the augment क् by VIII. 3. 28. Thus गवाह्कु or गोमह्कु or गोह्कु or गवाह्कु or गोमह्कु or गोह्कु ॥

But when the base is गवाच्, we get L. Pl : as गवाह्कु or गोमह्कु or गोह्कु ॥

By applying the vārtika चयोः द्वितीया, कं may be changed to ख and we may get six other forms, but that Vārtika is not applicable, since the चर्त्त rule is asiddha.

Now we take up the declension of तिरच् ॥

Its Nom : forms are तिर्यक्, तिर्यी, तिर्येचि ॥

But when च्च् means 'to honor' and thus the nasal is not elided, the Nom : forms are तिर्यक्, तिर्येची, तिर्येचि ॥

Now we take up the declension of यक् ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are यक्, यक्नी, यक्नि ॥

But before weak case terminations यक् is optionally substituted for यक्नी as ordained by VI. 1. 63. S. 228. Thus Ac : Pl : is either यक्नि or यक्नि ॥ The Instr : Sing : is यक्ता or यक्ता ॥

Now, we take up the declension of यक् ॥ Its Nom : and Acc : forms are यक्, यक्नी, यक्नि ॥ According to VI. 1. 63. S. 228, यक् is optionally substituted for यक्नी before the weak case terminations. So the Acc : Pl : is optionally यक्नि ॥ Similarly, the Instr : Sig. is either यक्ता or यक्ता ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इक् ॥ Its Nom : Sing : and dual are इक्, इक्नी ॥

The formation of the N. Pl : is governed by the following rule.

४४४ । या नपुंसकस्य । ७ । १ । ७६ ॥

याम्नामस्य नः याम्नामस्य द्वितीयस्य नुम् या याम्नामस्यनामस्यनि वरे । यन्ति । इति । नुम् ॥

444. The Participial-affix क्त optionally takes the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem, in Nenter nouns when

a sarvanāmasthāna I. 1. 42. S. 313. follows.

Thus Nominative Plural इहन्ति or इहेति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of तुवत् ॥ Its N. S. is तुवत् ॥

In the formation of its N. Dual and Plural the following rule applies :—

४४५ । आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् । ७ । १ । ८० ॥

अवयान्तादङ्गात्परो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य नुम् वा स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । तुवन्ती । तुवन्ती
तुवन्ति । भात् । भान्ती । भाती ॥ भान्ति । पचन् ॥

445. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending ति VII. 1. 19. S. 319. and before the feminine affix ई (that is Nadi I. 4. 3. S. 266).

Thus N. D. तुवन्ति or तुवती ; N. P. तुवन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of भात् 'shining'. Its Nominative forms are भात्, भान्ती or भाती, भान्ति ॥

Now we take up the declension of पचन् ॥ ('cooking'). Its N. S. is पचन् ॥ Its N. D. Pl. are governed by the following rule :—

४४६ । शपश्यनोर्नित्यम् । ७ । १ । ८१ ॥

शपश्यनोरात्वो यः शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्यं नुम् स्याच्छीनद्योः परतः । पचन्ती । पचन्ति ।
दीव्यात् । दीव्यन्ती । दीव्यन्ति । स्वप् । स्वप् । स्वपी । निष्पात्वरादपि नुम् प्राक् भट्टमिति शीर्षः । प्रतिपद्यो-
क्तत्वात् । नुम् । स्वामि । निरवकाशत्वं प्रतिपद्योक्तत्वमिति पक्षे तु प्रकृते ताद्विरहान्नुमेव । स्वामि । स्वपा ॥ अयो-
मि ॥ स्वङ्गाम् । स्वङ्गामिः । अर्हिपिचतीत्यादिना पनेरम् । रुत्वम् । धनुः । धनुषी । तान्तेति शीर्षः । नुम्-
पितृनीयेति षत्वम् । धनुषि । धनुषा । धनुभ्याम् । एव च धनुर्हीदिराद्यः । विपटिषवेः क्तिप् । वीरिति शीर्षः ।
विपटीः । विपटिषी । अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवच्चादङ्गन्तलक्षणो नुम् न । स्वाविधी स्थानिवच्चाभावादङ्गन्तलक्ष-
णोऽपि नुम् न । विपटिदि । विपटीर्थाभिव्यादि । पयः । पयसी । पयांसि । पयसा । पयोभ्यामित्यादि ।
सुपुम् । सुपुसी । सुपुमांसि अदः । विभक्तिकार्यम् । उत्त्वगत्व । शतृ । भट्टमिति । शेषं पुंवन् ॥

446. When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaranas शप् and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending ती (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadi).

Thus N. D. पचन्ती, N. Pl. पचन्ति ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvṛitti of श (VII. 1. 79 S. 444).

Similarly, the Nominative forms of दीव्यात् are दीव्यात्, दीव्यन्ती, दीव्यन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of स्वप् meaning 'a tank containing good water,

Note :—In forming the compound सु+अप्, sūtra V. 4. 74. S. 940 required the addition of अ to the final as in the case of द्वि+अप्=द्वीप्; but here the अ is not added on account of the prohibition contained in V. 4. 69. S. 954. Nor is the अ changed to long ई required by VI. 3.97. S. 941 because the word अप् in that sūtra means that अप् which has taken the सप्तमन्त affix अ ॥ Thus we get the base स्वप्.

Its N. S. and Dual are स्वप् or स्वप् and स्वपी respectively. In the N. Plural the अ of स्वप् will be first lengthened by VI. 4. 11 S. 277. and then तुम् is to be added. This is because the word अप् is specifically mentioned in the sūtra VI. 4. 11. S. 277. Otherwise by the general rule, the augment तुम् taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 is *nitya* and subsequent in order of Ashtādhyāyī to the sūtra VI. 4. 11. and should have been added first. Thus the Nominative Plural is स्वामि ॥

But if the view be taken that the *pratipadokta* rule supersedes a *nitya* and a subsequent rule, then only, when it has no scope otherwise; then we should not have the lengthening ordained by VI. 4. 11. S. 277, for that lengthening finds its scope in cases like आप तिष्ठन्ति; while in स्वप्+ति, the तुम् taught subsequently will supersede the lengthening rule which is precedent. Thus we have the Nominative Plural स्वामि ॥

Note :—This is the more valid form according to the opinion of Manorama.

The Instr: Sing is स्वप् ॥ The Instr: Dual is स्वप्याम्; the प् being changed to द् by VII. 4. 48. S. 442. The Instr: Plural is स्वाद्भिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of धनुस् ॥ This word is formed by adding the Upādi affix उम् to the root धन् (Upādi II. 117). The स् is changed to र् (VIII. 2. 66. S. 162) and then changed to Visarga; thus Nominative Sing is धनुः; Nominative Dual धनुयी ॥

In the Nominative Plural the उ of धनुस् is lengthened by VI. 4. 10. S. 317. The र् is changed to द् by VIII. 3. 58. S. 434. Thus Nominative Plural is धनुर्द्वि ॥ The Instr: S. and Dual are धनुषा, धनुर्भ्याम् respectively. Similar is the declension of धनुस् and हस्तिः &c.

Now, we take up the declension of विपठिस् ॥ It is derived from the Desiderative root विपठिप् with the affix क्तिप् before which the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 48. S. 2308 and in the N. S. the penultimate vowel is lengthened by VIII. 2. 76. S. 433. Thus N. S. विपटीः; N. Dual विपटिषो ॥

In the Plural, i. e. before the affix क्ति, the augment तुम् required by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. is not added, because the lopa elided अ is considered as *sthānivat* and so the base does not end in a सप्त consonant.

Nor will it take तुम् by considering it as ending in a vowel, for the elided अ can not be considered as *sthānivat* in applying the rule to its own self. (compare sūtra 443). Thus N. Pl. is विपटिर्द्वि ॥ The

rest of the declensions, such as विपरीत्याम् &c. are similar to those of the Masculine.

Now, we take up the declension of पयस् &c.

Nom : and Acc :

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural. Instr : S. Dual.
पयस्	पयः	पयसी	पयांसि ॥ पयता, पयोभ्यां
सुपुंस	सुपुम्	सुपुंसी	सुपुपांसि ॥
अद्स्	अद्ः		

In the Dual and Pl: all the operations required in the case affixes should be made first and then the इ and म substitution mentioned under VII. 2. 107. S. 437. and VIII. 2. 81. S. 438. should take place. Thus N. and Acc: D. and Pl. are अद्म् and अद्मि ॥

Note :—The N. D. of अद्स् is thus formed :—

अद्स् + यी = अद् + ई (The स् is elided by VII. 2. 102 S. 265) = अदे ॥ This is the form obtained by applying all the rules of विभक्ति ॥ The vibhakti kṛya being done, we now apply VIII. 2. 80. S. 491 : The इ is thus changed to म and the ए to ऊ ॥ Thus we get the form अद्म् ॥

Similarly by applying all the vibhakti rules to अद्स्, we get the N. Pl : अद्मनि, to which applying VIII. 2. 80. S. 491, we get अद्मि ॥

The rest of the declensions are like those of the Masculines.

Here end the declensions of Neuters ending in consonants .

अथाठ्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIV.

THE INDECLINABLES.

४४७ । स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् । १ । १ । ३७ ॥

स्वराद्यो निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञाः स्युः । स्वरः, अन्तरः, प्रातरः, पुनरः, सनुतरः, उर्ध्वस्, नीचस्, शनैस्, कथंक्, अथः, युगपत्, आसन्, पृथक्, ह्यस्, अस्, दिवा, रात्रौ, सायम्, निरम्, मनाक्, ईदृक्, औपम, तूष्णीम्, बहिम्, अग्रस्, समवा, निकषा, स्वयम्, वृथा, नक्तम्, नञ्, ह्यौ, इद्धा, अद्धा, सामि, वत्, व्याघ्रखण्डन्, क्षयियन्, सना, सवत्, सनात्, वषथा, निरस्, अन्तरा, अन्तरेण, उर्ध्वक्, कम्, सम, सहसा, दिवा, नाना, स्वस्ति, स्वधा, अलम्, अपट् औपट् वापट्, अन्यत्, अस्ति, उपांशु, क्षमा, दिशयसाः, दोषा, वृषा, निध्या, दुषा, पुरा, निधा, निपत्, प्रायस्, उदृत्, मद्वाहकम्, मवाहिका, आर्षहलम्, अवीक्षणम्, साकम्, सार्धम्, नयस्, हिक्, धिक्, अथ अम्, आम्, प्रताम्, प्रशान्, प्रतान्, मा, माह् । आकृतिगणोऽयस् ॥ अ, वा, इ, अह, एव, एवम्, तुनम्, दाभन्, युगपत्, भूयस्, कृपन्, सृपन्, कुर्वन्, नेत्, चत्, पण, कथिन्, किंचिन्, यथ, नह, हन्त, माकिः, माकिम् नकिः, आकिम् माह्, नञ्, यावत्, तावत्, रथे, हे, मे, दे, औपट्, वापट्, स्वाहा, स्वधा, तुम्, उपाहि, खलु, किन्, अपो, अथ, सुधु, स्म, आवह, उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वर-मानस्यकाश्च । अवदत्तम्, अहंत्, अस्तिस्तीरा, अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, पशु, शुकम्, यथा-कथाथ, पाट्, प्याट्, बह्, हे, हे भः, अयं, च, विदु, एकर्षह, पुन्, अतः । पादिरप्याकृतिगणः ॥

447 The words 'svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. Their list is given below :—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst,' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर 'again,' सनुतर 'in concealment,' उर्ध्वस् 'high, aloft' नीचस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' कथंक् 'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' अक्ते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the sametime, at once,' आसन् 'near, far from, directly,' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' अह् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' निरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईदृक् 'slightly, a little औपम 'gladly,' तूष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिम् 'outside,' अग्रस् 'below, without, outside,' समवा 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' मनाक् 'at night, by night,' नञ् negative particle, not, 'हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' अस्मि 'half,' यम् 'enclitic like, as Brāhmagavat, Kshatriyavat warrior 'like, समम् समान् 'perpetually,' वषथा 'division,' इदम् 'crowdedly, away, over' अन्तरा अन्तरेण 'except, without' उर्ध्वक् 'long,' कम् explosive particle, 'अथ case,' अथवा 'suddenly, hastily,' दिवा 'without,' मना 'a little,' अस्ति 'greeting, peace,' अथ 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' कथंक् 'enough,' अपट् 'exclamation,' औपट्, वापट् (interjection) 'oblation of

better, 'अन्यत्' 'again, moreover, otherwise'. 'अस्ति' 'being present,' 'प्राप्तु' in a low voice, secretly, privately, 'क्षमा' 'patience, pardon,' 'विहास' 'aloft in the air,' 'शेष' 'at night or in the evening,' 'श्रुत्वा, मिथ्या' 'falsely,' 'श्रुत्वा' 'in vain' 'पुरा' 'formerly,' 'निधो' or 'नयन्' 'mutually, together,' 'प्रायम्' 'frequently, almost,' 'पुनः' 'again, repeatedly' 'प्रवाहकम्' or 'प्रवाहिका' 'at the same time,' 'अव्यहलम्' 'violently' 'अभ्यक्षन्' 'repeatedly,' 'साकम्' or 'सार्धम्' 'with' 'महत्', 'reverence,' 'हिक्' 'without,' 'धिक्' 'fie!' 'अथ' 'thus,' 'अम्' 'quickly' 'अम्' "indeed" 'प्रताम्' 'with fatigue,' 'प्रसात्' 'alike,' 'प्रताम्' 'widely,' 'ना, नाह्' 'do not'.

So also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिद्ध (V. 3. 7 S 1953) and ending with वाह्य (V. 3. 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with श्च (V. 4. 42 S 2109) and ending with समासः (V. 4. 68 S 676), by the affixes कृत्वच्, सुप्, आच् and घाच् by the affixes having the sense of the affix चि, or by the affixes अम् or आम्, तसि or वसि, न or नाच् are also indeclinables.

This class is known as 'awayaya' from its form, so that where words are found treated as indeclinables, they may be put as under this class.

The following are निपात or particles च 'and,' 'वा' "or," इ an expletive, अह vocative particle एव 'only,' 'एवम्' 'thus,' 'नूनम्' 'certainly' 'न्यन्' 'continually,' 'इयम्' 'at once' 'पुनः' 'repeatedly,' 'कृपम्' 'excellently,' 'सुपम्' 'excellently' 'कुर्वन्' 'abundantly,' 'नेत्' or 'येत्' "if," "चय्" 'if,' 'कथित्' "what if" 'यत्र' 'where' 'नह' 'no,' 'हन्त' 'ah!' 'नाकिन्, नाकिः, नकिः or नकिन्' "do not," 'नाह' 'do not' 'नम्' 'not' 'आवत्' 'as much as,' 'तावत्' 'so much,' 'है, हे, or ह्ये' perhaps, 'हे' disrespectful interjection, औपद्, औपद्- or एषाद् "oblation to the gods" 'वापद्' "oblation to the Gods" 'तुम्' "thouing," 'तथाहि' "thus". 'खलु' 'certainly,' 'किन्' 'indeed,' 'अथ' 'now,' 'सुष्ठु' 'excellent' 'स' (gives the idea of past when attached to the present forms of verbs), 'आह' 'fie!'

To the list of Indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an उपसर्ग, (I. 4. 59 S. 22,) of a word with one of the terminations of case or person, and of the vowels. In the example अवत्तम् "given away," the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word would be अवत्त by VII. 4. 47. S. 3078 In the example अहंभुः 'egoistic' the अहन् is not identical with अहम् or 'I' terminating in a case affix, because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the Nominative case could not be the first member in such a compound.

In the example अस्तिवीर, a cow or the like in which there is milk, the अस्ति must be regarded as different from the word अस्ति or "is" which ends with the affix of 3rd person Sing. अ, आ, इ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, (these express various emotions पद् 'well,' 'शुक्ल' 'quickly,' 'अथकथा' "any how" 'वाह्, 'गार्ह', 'अह्, 'है, 'हे, 'ओ' (vocative particles) 'अये' 'ah!' 'य' in the sense of injury, opposition and to fill up the metre of a verse, 'विद्' "on all sides," 'एकपदे' 'at the same moment' 'कु' 'blame' 'आत्' 'hence'.

This list also from अ &c. is to be regarded as one each of which is to be recognised by its own form as before:

४४८ । तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः । १ । १ । ३८ ॥

यस्मात्सर्वा विभक्तिर्नैव द्यते त तद्धितान्तोऽप्ययं स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । तस्मिन्नाद्यः प्राक् पाशपः । शतप्रभृतयः प्राक् समासान्तेभ्यः । अम् । ञाम् । कृत्वर्याः । तसि वती । नानात्राविति । तेनेह न । पचति कल्पम् । पचति रूपम् ॥

448. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76. S 530) which are not declined in all the cases are also Indeclinables.

An enumeration of these affixes should be made. They are the affixes beginning with तद्धि (V. 3. 7. S 1953) and ending with पाशप् (V. 3. 47. S 1993); by the affixes beginning with चल् (V. 4. 42. S. 2109) and ending with समासान्तः (V. 4. 68 S 676) by the affixes अम्, ञाम्, where meaning कृत्वमुद्; by the affixes तसि and तति and न or नाम् ॥

Hence पचतिकल्पम् and पचतिरूपम् are not indeclinables.

Note:—Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there'. Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, ततः, यत्र, तदेत, यत्र, &c

४४९ । कृन्मेजन्तः । १ । १ । ३९ ॥

एतेषां मानव एजन्तद्वयं तदन्तगम्ययं स्यात् । स्मरस्मराम् । जीवसे । विभज्ये ॥

449. The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93 S 374) which end with म् or in य, जो, ये and ओ are also Indeclinables.

Note:—All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2 Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called krit, the latter, taddhita.

Text:—Words formed by Krit affixes which end in म् or य, ञाम्, &c. are 'enumerated by the pratyahara एम्' are avyayas. Thus the affix एम्

(technically लुप्) and अन् (technically णलुप्, III. 3. 10 S 3175) are affixes which end in स्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus स्मरन् स्मरन् 'having repeatedly remembered' जीवसे to live, पिबथैः 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

४५० । कृत्वातोसुवृक्कसुनः । १ । १ । ४० ॥

एतदन्तमव्ययं स्यात् । कृत्वा । उदेतोः । विसृपः ॥

450. The words, ending with *ktvā* (III. 4. 18. S. 3316) *tosun* (III. 4. 16. S. 3443) and *kasun* (III. 4. 9. S. 3436) are Indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread'.

४५१ । अव्ययीभावश्च । १ । १ । ४१ ॥

अधिहरे ॥

451. (The compound called) *Avyayibhāva* (II. 1. 5. S. 651.) is also Indeclinable.

Thus अधिहरे 'upon Hari or Vishṇu'.

Note :—The *Avyayibhāva* or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable; and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary termination of the nominative or accusative neuter.

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras.

What is the object gained by making the *avyayibhāva* compounds *avyayas*? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables *viz.* we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, *i. e.*, sūtra II. 4. 82. S 452 thus, in the following example, the words *upāgai* and *pratyagai* though qualifying the word *śaśābhāh*, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपगच्छि प्रत्यगच्छि कलयाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an *avyaya* is compounded with the word *mukha*, (मुख स्वर), *i. e.*, sūtras VI. 2. 167. & 168. S 3901 and 3902. Thus, उपगच्छि मुखे, here, sūtra VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an *avyaya*, sūtra VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent : (3) the rule relating to the change of *visarga* : into ए, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपद्यः कारः, उपपद्यः क्षामः, as compared with अव्ययकारः Here, the compound उपपद्यः being treated as *avyaya*, sūtra VIII. 3. 46, S 160. applies and prevents the change of : into स ॥

४५२ । अव्ययादाप्सुपः । २ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अव्ययाद्विहितस्यापः सुपश्च लुक् स्यात् । तत्र शांतायाम् । विहितविशेषणनिह । अस्युद्येसौ । अव्ययसंज्ञायां यथापि तदन्तविधिरस्ति तथापि न गौणे । आश्महणं व्यर्थमलिङ्गत्वात् ॥

सदसं त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वास्तु च विभक्तिषु । वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यत्र ध्येति तत्त्ववयम् ॥

इति ध्रुविलिङ्गकारकसंख्याऽभावपरः ।

वदि मासुरिहोपमवाप्योत्पसर्गयोः । आर्षं चैव हलन्तानां यथा वाचा निशा विना ॥

वगाहः । अवगाहः । विधानम् । अविधानम् ॥

452. There is *luk-elision* of *आप्* (the feminine termination) and *सुप्* (the case-affixes) ordained after an *Avyaya* or *Indeclinable*.

Thus, तत्र शांतायाम् 'in that hall'. Here the *Indeclinable* ह्य 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that'.

By using the word "ordained" in the *sūtra* we mean that the case-affixes must come after the *Avyaya* as such, and not after a *pratipādika* compound, in which an *Avyaya* may be a secondary member. Thus in the compound अस्ति + उद्येसु though the word उद्येः separately is an *Avyaya*, yet as the whole compound is a noun, the case-affixes will not be dropped after it. Thus *Nominative Dual* अस्युद्येसौ ॥ Though *tadanta vidhi* applies to *avyayas* also, and so a compound word ending with an *avyaya* will also be an *avyaya*, yet when such an *avyaya* is a secondary member only and the whole compound refers to a third person, then the *tadanta vidhi* will not apply.

The word *आप्* (Feminine affix) has been read uselessly in the *sūtra*, because an *Avyaya* has no gender.

Verse :—"What changes not, remaining alike in the three genders, and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an *indeclinable* or *avyaya*."

Thus according to *Sruti*, *avyayas* have neither genders, cases nor numbers.

"The grammarian *Blaguri* wishes that there shall be elision of *अ* of *अस्ति* and *आप्* and that *आप्* shall be the termination of all feminine words which would otherwise end in consonants, e.g. *रात्रा* (instead of *रात्र*), *निशा* (instead of *निश*), *विना* (instead of *वि*)".

This is of course optional, for it rests on the authority of a single grammarian. See either *अवगाहः* or *वगाहः* ॥ *विधानम्* or *अविधानम्* ॥

Here end the *Indeclinables*.

अथ स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XV.

FORMATION OF FEMININES.

४५३ । स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । सूर्यानामिति शब्दम् ॥

453. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes taught hereinafter must be employed.

Note :—This is an *adhikāra sūtra* pure and simple. The phrase ‘when feminine nature is to be indicated,’ must be read in all the following aphorisms upto IV. 1. 81 inclusive. The *anuvṛtti* of the word ‘*prātipadika*’ should be read into this *sūtra*, from the *sūtra*, IV. 1. 1. S 182, not so, however the *anuvṛtti* of the words ‘*स्त्रीःमाप्*’; for we are now going to form words by the application of स्त्री and माप् affixes.

४५४ । अजाद्यतष्टाप् । ४ । १ । ४ ॥

अजादीनामकारान्तस्य च याप्ये अन् स्त्रीत्वं तत्र योऽपि दाप् स्यात् । अजासृक्तिर्हीयो ह्रीपश्च बाधनाय । अजा । अतः । सदा । अजाहिमः स्त्रीत्वस्य विशेषणञ्च । पञ्चाजी । ‘त्रिवोः’ (४७९) इति ह्रीप् । अत्र हि समासार्थसमाहारनिष्ठं स्त्रीत्वम् । अजा । एडका । अश्वा । षट्का । भूपिका । एतु जातिअक्षणी ह्रीप् प्राप् । बाल । वत्सा । होडा । मन्त्र । विलाहा । एतु वसति प्रथम इति ह्रीप् प्राप् ॥ * संमस्त्राजिनशण्विण्डेभ्यः कलात् * संकला । मत्सकला । ऊषापीरिति ह्रस्वः ॥ * सवृकाण्डप्रान्तसर्वैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् * ॥ ससृष्पा । माकपुष्पा । मालकपुष्पा । * शुभा पानस्यूर्वा जातिः * ॥ पुंयोगे तु पुष्टी । अनहपूर्वा किम् । महापुष्टी । कुष्वा । राणिहा । देवविश । उवेष्ट । कनिष्ठ । मधमेति-पुंयोगेऽपि । कोकिल । आलावपि । * मृत्तत्रयः * । अमृता मृत्तयो ह्रीप् ॥ कर्षी । वृण्डनी ॥

454. The affix दाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the crude-forms ‘*aja*’ &c, and the crude-forms ending in short अ ।

This debarb ह्रीप् and ह्रीप् ।

The words अज &c. are given below. Thus अज a ‘he goat,’ अजा ‘a she goat.’ The words ending in short अ are such as, सद् whose feminine will be सदा ।

Note :—The word सद् is formed by adding the *Uṇādi* affix क्त to the root श्द meaning “to desire.” (*Uṇādi* I. 151).

The feminines in grammar do not follow the natural physiological division of sexes, and even names of things which have no sex may have genders, e. g. तद्,

तदी, वदम् ॥ Similarly beings whose sexes may be feminines may have names whose Genders will be masculines, such as सराप् ॥

The words अज &c. must denote, by themselves a feminine object in order to get the affix षप्, therefore not in पञ्चाक्षी meaning "a collection of five goats." Here the feminine nature does not refer to the goats, but to the compound noun formed of पञ्च and अज. Therefore this feminine पञ्चाक्षी is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 21. S. 479)

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|---------|-------|-----------|---------|
| 1. अज | अजा | 2. एडक | एडका | (3. कोकिल | कोकिला) |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. अम्ब | अम्बा | 6. मृषिक | मृषिका |

Note:—The above words denote 'jāti' or kind and though they end in short ष in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'niṣh' (IV. 2. 63 S 518) in the feminine.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------|-------|-----------|--------|
| 7. बाल | बाला | 8. होड | होडा | (9. पाक | पाका) |
| 10. वस्त | वस्ता | 11. मन्द | मन्दा | 12. विलास | विलासा |

Note:—The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in the short ष in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV. 1-20. S. 478.) in the feminine.

- | | | | |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहारण, | पूर्वापहाराणा; | 14. अपरापहारण, | अपरापहाराणा; |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|

Note:—These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being द्विवचन, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S 470) but for this Sūtra.

Vartika :—The words सम्, भस्त्र, भजिन, घण and विण्ड when followed by फल form the feminines with षप् ।

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|------------|
| 15. संफल | संफला | 16. भस्त्रफल, | भस्त्रफला; |
| 17. भजिनफल, | भजिनफला; | 18. घणफल, | घणफला; |
| 19. विण्डफल, | विण्डफला; | (20. विफल, | विफला;) |

In भस्त्रफला, the long षा of भस्त्रा is changed to short ष by the sūtra VI. 3. S. 1001.

Note:—The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix णिष् (IV. 1. 64 S 519) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'विफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as विफला; when a Bahuvrīhi Compound, its feminine is विफली ॥

Vartika :—The word पुण preceded by सम्, जम्, काण्ड, मान् and शान takes the affix षप् ॥

- | | | | |
|---------------|------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| 21. सम्पुण, | सम्पुणा; | 22. जम्पुण, | जम्पुणा; So also प्रत्यकुपुण |
| 23. काण्डपुण, | काण्डपुणा; | 24. मान्पुण, | मान्पुणा; |
| 25. शान्पुण, | शान्पुणा; | 26. एकपुण, | एकपुणा; |

The above words ending in पुण would have taken णिष् by IV. 1,

Vārtik :—शुद्र forms its feminine शुद्रा when not preceded by महत् and when it denotes a caste.

27. शुद्र शुद्रा

Note :—But the feminine of शुद्र is शुद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word शुद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशुद्री 'a woman of 'महाशुद्र' class.'

Note :—The term 'महाशुद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras; and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. 1. 72, S 26, but for the vārtika, viz 'शुद्रा यामहत पूर्वा आतिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim :—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself." Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra.' This objection is futile: the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिपीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिमयती ॥

28. कुच कूचा 29. उणिह उणिहा 30. देवविष् देवविशा

Note :—The above words end in consonants and would not have taken टाप् but for their being included in the 'प्रजादि' class.

31. उवेष्ट उवेष्टा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

Note :—The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'निष्' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

The word कौकिल takes टाप् even when denoting a class.

Vārtik :—When मूल is preceded by the negative particle न, it forms its feminine by टाप् ॥

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle नाह, would have otherwise taken 'निष्' by IV. 1. 64. S 519.

४५४ A । ऋन्नेऽयोङीप् । ४ । १ । २ ॥ (See S. 306.)

454 A. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in ऐ ।

Note :—Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ is taken in order to make a common term with ङीप् and ङीव; and the प् is taken to distinguish them from those affixes; the real affix is ई ॥ Thus, कर्तुः—f. कर्त्री; हर्तुः—f. हर्त्री; दण्डित्—f. दण्डिनी;

४५५ । उगितश्च । ४ । १ । ६ ॥

उगितस्ताद्यातिपठिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । पचन्ती । भवन्ती । शीघ्रन्ती । शपद्भवतीति दुर्ग । उगित्त्विति ह्—ऽङ्गहणन धातोर्गुणित्त्वादे तर्ह्यङ्गतेरेवेति नियम्यते । सेनेह न । अखावत् । क्षिप् । अनिदित्त्विति नलोपः । पणध्वत् । अङ्गपतेस्तु स्वादेव । प्राची । प्रतीची ॥

455. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

Note:—The डङ् is a pratyāhāra meaning ड, ङ and ङङ् ॥ Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called-ङङित् ॥ That which ends with such a word is meant here. The prātipadika pure and simple not formed by an affix may be ङङित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas; an affix may be ङङित् as the affixes कवतु and शतृ and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be ङङित्; similarly a letter may be ङङित्, as हृ meaning नृ in VI. 4. 127 S 364.; ("हृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in ङङित् &c")

Thus, भवतु 'honored sir,—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have जतिभवतु—जतिभवती 'most exalted lady.' Similarly पचन् (formed by adding कृत् III. 2. 124 S 3100), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the ह्रस्व comes by VII. 1 82. S. 446. So also शिष्यत् and शिष्यन्ती ॥

Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk.' Thus the roots खंसु 'to fall down' खंसु 'to fall down' have indicatory ङ; and we get from these roots the prātipadikas like वखासन् and 'पर्णचत्, (III. 2. 76 S 2983). The वखासन् व्याख्या, 'पर्णचत् व्याख्या ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ॥

The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् ॥ As, प्राची, प्रतीची;'

४५६। वनो र च । ४ । १ । ७ ॥

वदन्तात्तदन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् स्यात् । रदधान्तादेशः । यन्निति ह्रस्विष्कनिष्पत्तिप सागान्दमहणम् । मध्यमपठणे यस्यास्त विहितस्तद्वेस्तदन्तस्य महद्यम् । तेन प्रातिपदिकविशेषस्यान्तन्ता-
न्तमपि लभ्यते । मुख्यान्तविक्रान्ता अतिमुत्थरी । अतिधीवरी । राक्षरी । * यनो न दश इति यन्तात्पत् ॥
दशन्ताद्गतोर्ध्वहिता यो यन् तदन्तात्तदन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् डीप् रच नेत्यर्थः । 'घोषु सपमयने' वदिप ।
विद्वन्तात्स्त्रियात्पत् । यथावा व्याख्या । राजमुत्था ॥ * पटुप्रीति वा * ॥ बहूपीवरी । बहूपीवा । पक्षे डाप्
पश्यते ॥

456. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine of the crude forms that end in the syllable घन्, and also of a compound that ends in a word so formed, and इ is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (UpAdi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; यीवन् f. यीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman,' राक्षन् f. राक्षरी 'night' (शृ + राक्षि III. 2. 75 S 2980, lit. that which destroys light.)

प्रीतिप्रीती (a woman who has surpassed a male artisan)

Words ending in वृ are formed by the affixes इतिप्, (III. 2. 703 S. 3091) वृतिप् and वृतिप् (III. 2. 74 S. 3418). These words end in वृ and consequently would have taken इतिप् even by IV. 1. 5 S. 306; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of वृ into र in case of words ending in वृ ॥

Paribhāṣā:—"An affix denotes when ever it is employed in grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself." Therefore by applying this rule and taking the affix वृ as qualifying the prātipadika, we apply the affix इतिप् to the prātipadika ending in वृ ॥ Thus अतिवृत्ति meaning a woman who has surpassed the drinker of soma-juice, अतिवृत्ति and अतिवृत्ति ॥

Vārtika:—After a crude form that ends in वृ as well as after a compound which ends with such a word, the affix इतिप् is not added in forming the feminine nor is the वृ changed to र, provided that the affix वृ has been specifically ordained to come after a root that ends in soft consonants and nasals.

To the root ओष् meaning 'to remove' we add the affix वृतिप् ॥ Thus ओष् + वृ = ओष्वा (the long वा being substituted for वृ by VI. 4. 41. S. 2982.) + वृ = ओष्वावृ ॥ This word is both Masculine and Feminine. Thus the Feminine is ओष्वावृत्ति ॥ The Masculine is ओष्वावृत्तिः ॥ So also राजवृत्ति meaning राजानं योषितवती "she who has incited the king to fight." It is formed with the affix वृतिप् under III. 2. 95. S. 3005.

Vārtika:—It is optionally so in the Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus बहुधीवृत्ति or बहुधीवा नगरी "a city that contains many artisans."

In the third alternative, the affix इतिप् will be added, as will be mentioned further on in IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus there will be three forms in the Dual, as बहुधीवृत्ति, or बहुधीवृत्ति or बहुधीवृत्ति as the base is बहुधीवृत्ति, or बहुधीवृत्ति or बहुधीवृत्ति ॥

४५७ । पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ८ ॥

पाच्छब्दः कृतसमासान्तस्वरन्तात्पातिपत्तिकान् इतिप्वा स्वात् । द्विवृत्ति । द्विपात् ॥

457. The affix 'इतिप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pāda' when it assumes the samāsānta form पात् as well as after a compound word ending in पात् ॥

The word पात् becomes पाद् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V. 4. 140 S. 179). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (इतिप्) ॥ In the latter alternative, the

form will be द्विपदि, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI. 4. 130. S. 414 (as read with I. 4. 18 S. 231). Similarly त्रिपाद् or त्रिपदी; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

४५८ । दावृच्चि । ४ । १ । ९ ॥

अथि वाच्यार्था पावन्तादाप् स्यात् । द्विपदा ऋक् । एकपदा ॥ न पदस्वसादिभ्यः ॥ पञ्च
पत्तसः । पञ्चैत्यत्र नलोपे कृतेऽपि ष्यान्ता पदिति पदसंज्ञां प्रति नलोपः सुप्स्वरेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात्
पदस्वसादिभ्य इति न दाप् ॥

458. The affix दाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-veda.

This debarb ङीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly एकपदा or त्रिपदा ऋक्, or चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥

४५८ । A. न पद् स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥

458 A. 'The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'पद्' (I. 1, 24 S. 369), and 'स्वस्त्र' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus, पञ्चब्राह्मणः 'the five Brāhman ladies' पत्तसः So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine.

Note:—In पञ्च, though the न् of पञ्चन् is elided, yet the elided न् is asiddha for the purposes of संज्ञा and the word पञ्च though not ending in न् will get the designation पद् by I. 1, 24 S. 369, because the elided न् is asiddha by VIII. 2. 2, S. 353 and so there is no दाप् after पञ्च by the present Sūtra.

संज्ञाविधिः—As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः, दश ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash, though they no longer end in न् (ष्यान्ता पद् I. 1, 24). Being called पद्, they do not take दाप् in the feminine (IV. 1, 10 S. 308).

According to the Vārtikakāra, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sūtra VII. 2. 2. S. 2330 संज्ञा महान्वयपदं च सन्निविचेत्याहोपसदः), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as पद्) ॥ Thus without its having the name of पद् there would be no elision of ङस् and हस्, without such elision there is no pada sanjñā of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII. 2. 7. S. 36 The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra. The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when ङस् and न् are elided, the words end in ङ् and require दाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of पद् ॥

Q. How can this be the purpose of this sūtra? There are two views as regards definitions (संज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations; and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देशं संज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāṣhās remain where they are taught.' The other view is that the sanjñā sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकाले संज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñās and Paribhāṣas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations" In the first view, the एद् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and षस् and for prohibiting टप्. Hence this sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that एद् sanjñā which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and षस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word संज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

४५६ । मनः । ४ । १ । ११ ॥

मनन्तात् ङीप् । सीमा । सीमानौ ॥

459. The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

Thus सीमन् is both masculine and feminine, declined as सीमा, सीमानौ &c.

४६० । मनौ बहुव्रीहिः । ४ । १ । १२ ॥

मनन्ताद्बहुव्रीहिर्न ङीप् । बहुवच्चा । बहुवच्चानौ ॥

460. The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in मन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds, in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. S. 462 Thus बहुवच्च्न् is both gender and is declined as masculine, as N. s. बहुवच्चा, N. d. बहुवच्चानौ &c. The penultimate च् of वच्च् is not elided because of the prohibition of न संयोगाद् &c. (VI. 4. 137 S. 355).

४६१ । डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १३ ॥

सुप् द्वयोपात्त भ्यां डाद् वा स्याद् ॥ सगि । सीमे । सीमानौ । दाना । दामे । दानानौ । बहुव्रीहिन इत्यपरः । बहुवच्चा ॥ बहुवच्चे । बहुवच्चानौ ॥

461. The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi

compound ending in **अन्**, as mentioned in the preceding two Sûtras.

Of the affix **ङीप्**, the letter **ङ्** indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the **वि** (I. 1. 64 S. 79) of the base. Thus **शमन् + ङीप्** = **शम + आ** = **शमा** ॥ This being an optional rule we have I. 5 शमा d. शम or शमानौ, pl. शमाः or शमानः; similarly with **सीमा**, as, सीमा. सीमि or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in **अन्** ॥ As :—

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजाः or बहुराजानः ॥
बहुतथा,	बहुतथे or बहुतथाभ्ये,	बहुतथाः or बहुतथाभ्यः ॥
बहुयज्य	बहुयजे or बहुयज्यान्	

Why do we say "optionally"? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 S. 456 also; i. e. when a prâtipadika ending in **अन्**, which can be regarded as ending in **अन्**, is a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the change of **न** into **ङ्** and the application of **ङीप्** are optional: we may apply the affix **ङीप्** instead. As :—**बहुवीर्य** or **बहुवीर्यी**; **बहुवीर्य** or **बहुवीर्यी** ॥

By IV. 1. 5, S. 306 prâtipadikas ending in **अन्** would have taken the affix **ङीप्**, in as much as they end in **न्**; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus **शमन्** 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :—
1. s शमा; d. शमानौ, pl. शमानः ॥ Similarly **पामा**, **पामानौ**, **पामानः** ॥ The word **शमन्** is never masculine according to Amarkosha.

४६२ । अत उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २८ ॥

अनन्ताद्बहुव्रीहिरुपधालोपिनो वा ङीप् स्यात् । एते ङीप् ङीप् निवेद्यौ । बहुराज्ञी । बहुराज्ञ्ये । बहुयजे । बहुराजानौ ॥

462. The affix **ङीप्** optionally comes after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending in the syllable **अन्** loses its penultimate **अ** ॥

Thus **बहुराजन्** is a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in **अन्**; in applying **ङीप्**, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 S. 234. (अलोपोऽनः there is elision of **अ** of **अन्** when a *bha* affix follows). Thus **बहुराज्ञी** 'having many king'. In the alternative, when **ङीप्** is not added, we may add the affix **ङीप्** by IV. 1. 13. S. 461. Thus **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजे**, **बहुराजाः** ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV. 1. 12 S. 460 and have **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजानौ**, **बहुराजानः** ॥

Note :—When the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix **ङीप्** at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वे**, **सुपर्वाः** or **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वानौ**, **सुपर्वाणः** ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of **सुपर्वा** &c. rule VI. 4. 137 S. 355 prevents

the elision of the penultimate न्; सयोगाद्भवन्तान्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in न् or म्) ॥

In forming the feminines of words ending in अन् the affix दाप् will be added after the change of अ to इ by the following Sūtra.

४६३ । प्रत्ययस्यात्कात्पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुपः । ७ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रत्ययस्यात्कात्पूर्वस्यात्कारस्येकारः स्यादापि परे स दाप् सुपः परे न चेत् । सर्विका । वारिका । अतः किम् । नौका । प्रत्ययस्यारिकम् । शक्नोतीति राका । असुपः किम् । बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी । कारिका । नन्दना । पूर्वस्य किन् । परस्य मा भुम् । कटुका । तपरः किम् । राका । आपि किम् । कारकः ॥ नामकनरकदीर्घसंख्यानम् * ॥ भविका । नतन् कायवति नरिका ॥ स्वकृत्यरोध * ॥ इक्षिणारिण्या इक्षिका ॥

463. इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क् belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending अ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i. e. when such a word in अक does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrihi).

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्य, i. e. क् must be the part of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As सर्विका, कारिका, &c. Why do we say अतः? The क् must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here नौका Why do we say belonging to an affix? The क् must belong to the affix, therefore, not in राका from राक शक्नोति ॥ The स्य in प्रत्ययस्य is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क ॥ Why do we say असुपः 'provided that the feminine affix दाप् does not come after a case-affix'? Observe बहुः परिभ्राजका वास्यां नगर्योप=बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी ॥ Here दाप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case-affix, and hence the अ of अ is not changed to इ ॥ The case affix is elided by II. 4. 71, S. 650 and it still exerts its influence by I. 1. 62 S. 272 Why do we say अतः? The rule applies to क्, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ Why do we say "which stands before"? The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क्, and not the अ which follows क्, as कटुका, रुट्टका ॥ Why do we say short अ? Observe राका? Why do we say when दाप् follows? see कारकः ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word दाप् qualifies क् ॥ The क् should be followed by आ ॥

Part:—नामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix: as नामिका, नरिका ॥ Here नमक् is substituted for न् before the affix अप् (IV. 3. 3. S. 1372), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word नमक् takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV. 1. 30 S. 488): therefore though नामक ends in अप्, it does not take दीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but दाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), नतन् कायवति=नरक formed with the affix क (अ III. 2. 3 S. 2915).

Vart:—The rule applies to the words ending in लृक् (IV. 2. 98 and लृप्, (IV. 2. 104 S. 1324) in spite of the prohibition in VII. 3. 46. S. 2915 As दाक्षिणात्यिका, दक्ष्यिका ॥

Note:—The word in the sūtra is क्वात् the fifth case of क् ending in व ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क् and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अक्च (अक् with क्; the final अ in अक्च is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धकि, क्षिन्धकि, रुन्धकि ॥ The word क्वात् therefore, is construed to mean ending in the consonant क् ॥

४६४ । न यास्तयोः । ७ । ३ । ४५ ॥

यत्तदारस्येव स्यात् । यका । यका । यकाम् । सकाम् । स्वकनख निरेधः * ॥ अधिव्यका । उप-यका । आभिधि शुनश्च न * ॥ जीयका । भयका ॥ उत्तपेदस्ये न * ॥ देववृत्तिका देवका ॥ शिपका शीनां च * ॥ शिपका । ध्रुयका । कन्यका । पटका ॥ तारका उद्योतिषि * ॥ अन्धश्च तारिका ॥ वर्णका ताम्रवे * ॥ अन्धश्च वर्णिका ॥ वतका यजुर्वेदा प्राचाम् * ॥ तवीचां तु धतिका ॥ अटका विवृदेपत्ये * ॥ धटिकान्धा ॥ सूतकापुत्रिकावृन्धकार्या वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ इह वा अ इति च्छेदः । कामपूर्वस्याकारादेशो यत्पर्यः । तेन पुत्रिकाशब्दे हीन ईवर्णस्य पक्षऽकारः । अन्धवेत्त्ववाधनाधमकारस्यैव पक्षेऽकारः । सूतका सूतकेत्यादि ॥

464. The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क्, when the feminine या follows.

As यका, सका, यकाय, सकाम् ॥

Note:—The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think. न यद् तद्देः would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकानधीयते, तर्का पचामहे ॥ Or यकायकामधीनहे (i. e. ऋचां यायां च), and तर्का तर्कामपचामहे (i. e. ओषधीं शाकिकीं वा) ॥

Vart:—Prohibition with regard to the affix लृक्च (V. 3. 34 S. 1983) should be stated also :—As अधिल्लका, उपल्लका ॥

Vart:—So also in the affix लृक् used in benediction : as जीयताद् जीयका and भवताद् भयका; See III. 1. 150 S. 2912.

Note:—The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As इहोपवर्ण- शुपयः पावकाः, यद्यु अ लोभकाः अक्षकाः &c. But पादिकाः, अलोभिकाः in secular literature.

Vart:—So also when the second member is elided in a compound : as देवका, यत्तका, the second member इत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देववृत्तिका, यत्तवृत्तिका (अनञ्जशै च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः) See V. 3. 83 Vart. S. 2035.

Vart:—शिपका &c should be enumerated in this prohibition : as शिपका ध्रुयका, ध्रुयका, पटका, कन्यका ॥

Vart :—तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारकानि ॥

Vart :—वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका an expounder : as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhāgūrī is a comentary of Lokāyata' ॥

Vart :—वर्तिका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities. Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vart :—अष्टका when meaning a पितृदेव्य ceremony, but अष्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛidevata is called Pitṛidaivatya, the affix is यन् ॥ The former is derived from the root अष् with affix तक्न् (अश्नन्ति ब्राह्मणा भोजनमस्यां), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् [V. 1, 22 S. 1687].

Vart :—Optionally सूचका, पुत्रका and वृन्धारका, the other forms are सूचिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्धारिका ॥ *

* The word वेति of this vārtika should be analysed as वा व इति and not वा इति ; and it means that अ is optionally substituted for the vowel that precedes इ ॥ Therefore in पुत्रिका the short इ which is not the इ of this sūtra, but इ of लीन् of पुत्री shortened to इ, this इ is replaced by अ ॥ In other examples अ is replaced by अ ॥

४६५ । उदीच्यामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यकपूर्वस्य स्त्रीपत्ययाकारस्य स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य कात्पूर्वस्येवा स्वादापि वरं केऽण इति ह्रस्वः ।
मातृका भार्यिका चरकका चरकिका ॥ मातः किम् ॥ संकाश्चे मया सांकादिकका ॥ यथेति किम् ।
मन्त्रिका ॥ स्त्रीपत्ययेति किम् ॥ शुभे वारतांति शुभेयाः ॥ अज्ञाता शुभेयाः ॥ शुभमन्त्रिका ॥ धात्वन्त्यकोस्तु
निरयम् * ॥ शुभमन्त्रिका ; शुभमन्त्रिका ॥

465. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the long आ of the feminine (under VII. 4. 13 S. 834 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule. As चार्थका or चार्थिका, चरकका or चरकिका ॥ Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe सांकाश्चे मया=सांकाश्चेका ॥ The word संकाश्चे is formed from संकाश by the affix ञ् (संकाशि निर्जुते) ॥ Then is added the affix हुम् (IV. 2. 121 S. 1345). Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed.

Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe चार्थक चार्थिका only (from चार्था) ॥ Why do we say the आ of the Feminine affix? The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the feminine affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here

शुभयिका from शुभं (शुभं याति) ॥ So also भद्रयिका from भद्रया, where या is part of the root या (see III. 2. 74 S. 3418).

Virt.—Prohibition must be stated of the य and क् being finals of a root. When the य or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root, the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply : as सुनयिका, सुपायिका ॥

४६६ भस्त्रैषाज्जाज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि । ७ । ३ । ४७ ॥

स्वेत्यन्तं लुप्तपठोक्तं पठम्. एषामत इहा स्यात् ॥ तङ्मतावेधिनेव सिद्धे नञ्पूर्वाणामपीति स्पष्टार्थम् ॥ भस्त्राप्रहणमुपसर्जनार्थम् अन्येस्तु लुप्तस्त्रेण सिद्धम् ॥ एषा हा इत्यन्तु संपूर्वेयोरित्यम् ॥ अन्तर्धर्तिनी विमक्तिमाश्रित्याऽनुप इति प्रतिषेधात् ॥ अनेपका परमेपका अद्वये परमद्वये ॥ स्वशब्दप्रहणं संज्ञोपसर्जनार्थम् ॥ इह हि अतः स्थाने इत्यनुवृत्तं स्वशब्दस्यातो विशेषणम् ननु द्वयोरसंभवात् ॥ नाप्यन्येषामप्यभिधायत् ॥ स्वशब्दस्त्वमुपसर्जनमाश्रित्याची अकजर्हः ॥ अर्थान्तरे तु न स्त्री ॥ संज्ञोपसर्जनी भूतस्तु कर्मव्ययान्तत्वाद्भवत्युदाहरणम् ॥ एवं आत्मीयायां स्त्रिका ॥ परमास्त्रिकेति नित्यमेवेत्यम् ॥ निर्भस्त्रिका निर्भस्त्रिका ॥ एपका एपिका ॥ कृतपत्न्यनिर्देशान्नेह विकल्पः ॥ एतिके एतिकाः अजका भजिका ॥ शर्का शिका ॥ हके हिके ॥ निस्त्रिका निस्त्रिका ॥

466. According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क् by VII. 4. 13 S. 834), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, जा, द्वा (VII. 2. 102 S. 265), and स्वा ; even not then, when the negative particle precedes them.

The word भस्त्रैषाज्जाज्ञाद्वास्वा of the Sūtra has no case affix, but we must interpret it as having the genitive case affix elided after it ; the word नञ्पूर्वाणामपि is used in the Sūtra merely for the sake of clearness, for even without these words, the rule would have applied, when the negative particle preceded ; because as we have already shown, the rule of *tadanta vidhi* applies here. The word भस्त्रा is mentioned in the Sūtra to indicate that the rule would apply to it even then when it is an upasarjana. When it is not an upasarjana, the form would be evolved by the next Sūtra.

Note.—भस्त्रा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form and as such, by the following rule VII. 3. 48 it would not have taken इ ; its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here : as अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा यस्या = अभस्त्रा, the Diminutive of which is अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका ॥ Here first the भस्त्रा is shortened, as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrīhi is made, the feminine affix टाप् is added to this मादित्तपुंरक्त word, then this आ is shortened before क् by VII. 4. 13. This short वा (VII. 4. 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine.

But of the two words एषा and हा, the addition of इ would be prohibited, when they are preceded by another word ; because in a compound the elided case affix is considered to be present, and therefore the prohibition of अनुपसर्ग

Sûtra VII. 3. 44 S. 463 would have applied to these. Thus *अनेपका*, *परनेपका*, *अहूक*, *परमहूक* ।

Note :—The mention of these two words in the Sûtra from this point of view, would be rather redundant, while in the case of the other four words, *मत्ता*, *भग्नौ ज्ञा*, and *स्वा*, there would be *हृत्*, by the option allowed by this Sûtra, even when they are the last members in a compound and in spite of the prohibition of *अनुप* ॥

By this process of elimination, we come to the conclusion stated above, that the words *आतः स्वाने* qualify *स्व* only. For this word alone is ambiguous. For when *स्वा* is a Sarvanāma meaning one's own, i. e., when it is not an upasarjana, then it is capable of taking *अकच्* by V. 3. 71. S. 2026. Thus *स्वा + अकच् = ह् अक् + आ = स्वाका* ॥ Here the *अ* before *क* is not an *अ* in the room of a *कङ्* *वा*; and so the present sūtra will not apply to this *स्वाका* ॥ All the same the *अ* of *स्व* will be changed to *इ* by VII. 3. 44 ante, and it will be *स्विका* *always*. So also *परमस्विका*.

But when *स्व* means agnate, soul, or property, then it is never in the feminine originally. Therefore, it must be either a *sainjñā* (Name) or an upasarjana (secondary member of a compound) in order to give scope to this sūtra. For then it can become feminine in long *वा*, which can take the affix *क*. Thus when *स्वा* is a Proper Name, the feminine will be *स्वा* and so with *क*, it will be *स्विका* or *स्वाका* by the present sūtra.

So also *निर्भस्विका* or *निर्भस्वाका*, *एषका* or *एषिका*, *भजका* or *भजिका*, *शक्ता* or *शिका*, *हूके* or *ह्रिके*, *निःस्वका* or *निःस्विका* ॥

The word *एषा* is read in the sūtra with a *ए* and it shows that the option of this sūtra does not apply when the *त* is not changed to *ए*, as *एतिके* and *एतिका*, for in the dual and plural there is not *ए* substitution.

Note :—Of *एषा* and *हि* there are no examples with the negative particle. For if the compounding with the *नञ्* takes place after the addition of the *अकच्*, or on the contrary, if first *अकच्* be added and then the *नञ्* compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case-affixes must be added in order to substitute *अ* for the final by VII. 2. 102 S. 265 and it is only when this *अ* is substituted that the feminine *टाच्* can come. So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and *टाच्*, comes after *खुप*, and therefore by the prohibition of *अनुप* in VII. 3. 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of *इ* ॥ Therefore *अनेपका* and *अहूक* are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle *अनेपका* may mean *अज्ञाता एषा* or *एषका* or *न ह्यका* or *अज्ञाता अनेप* ॥

The word *स्व* is taken in the Sûtra not as a Sarvanāma but in the sense of agnates and property, for the sake of implying that the rule will apply to it when it is a *संज्ञा*, (i. e. when it means agnates or property and not self) and when it is an upasarjana.

Note:—compare I. 1. 27. S. 213 for the Sarvañma स्व ॥

The anuvṛitti of “आतः स्थाने,” which we read in to this aphorism from the last sūtra, qualifies the long आ of स्व only and not of the sarvañamans हा and एवा ॥ Because the sarvañamanas take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71. where other words would have taken कच् or अज्ञात क or कुस्ति क &c.

Thus हा + अकच् = ह् + अक् + भा (because this अकच् comes always before the हि portion of a word). = हका ॥ Here the ह् of ह् before क is not a substitute in the place of long आ of हा, but it is a portion of the affix अकच् ॥ Therefore the words आतः स्थाने can not qualify it.

As regards the other words भक्षा, भजा and ज्ञा there is no necessity of qualifying them by आतः स्थाने because they being invariably feminine, will always shorten their आ before क ॥

४६७ । अभाषितपुंस्काद्य । ७ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतस्माद्विहितस्यातः स्थानिदं इहा स्यात् ॥ गङ्गा गङ्गिका ॥ बहुव्रीहिर्भाषितपुंस्कात्त्वो विहितस्य निवृत् ॥ अज्ञाता अखद्वा अखद्विका ॥ धैर्यिकं कपि तु विकल्प एव ॥

467. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes.

अभाषित पुंस्क means a noun which is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. When a short अ is ordained to replace the long आ of such a feminine, there may be optionally इ in place of such a short अ in forming a secondary feminine. Thus गङ्गा is such a word. It has no corresponding masculine form. When we form a derivative noun from such a word, by the affix क before which आ is shortened by VII. 4. 13, such as, गङ्गक, then the feminine of this word may be either गङ्गका or गङ्गिका ॥ But the addition of इ is not optional, but compulsory, after a Bahuvrīhi compound, though such a compound may have as its member an अभाषित पुंस्क word. The reason of this is, that a Bahuvrīhi compound is always a भाषित पुंस्क i. e. it has always a corresponding masculine form. Therefore, where a short अ is ordained to come in the place of a long आ of a word which though अभाषित पुंस्क singly is a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, the इ substitution in the place of such अ is compulsory and not optional. Thus the word खद्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form. We can form a Bahuvrīhi compound from it such as अखद्वा meaning ‘a man who has no bedstead’. The feminine of this will be अखद्वा ‘a woman who has no bedstead.’ This need not take the Samāsanta affix कच् as V. 4. 154. S. 891. is optional. Now, this

word अखट्टा may take the affix क् by V. 3. 73. S. 2028 when the sense is want of knowledge, such as अज्ञाता अखट्टा will be अखट्टा + क् ॥ Before this क् the long आ will be shortened to अ by VII. 4. 13 S. 834 Here the option of the present sūtra will not apply. Thus we shall have only one form. अखट्टिका by VII. 3. 44. S. 463. meaning 'who is this women without a bedstead?' or 'is it really so that this woman has no bedstead.' But when the samāsānta affix क् of sūtra V. 4. 154 S. 891 is added then the option of the present sūtra will apply. For when क् is added, we have the Bahuvrihi compounds as अखट्टाकः or अखट्टकः (VII. 4. 15 S. 892) 'a man who has no bedstead.' The Feminine of the second form अखट्टकः will be अखट्टाका or अखट्टिका ॥

४६८ । आदान्चार्याणाम् । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रविषये आदा स्यात् गङ्गाका ॥ उक्तपुंस्कारु शुभिका ॥

468. According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ, which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form.

Thus गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But if a word has a corresponding masculine form, then there is no option, as शुभिका ॥

४६९ । अनुपसर्जनात् । ४ । १ । १४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं दृढस्तिथिर्विधायकः ॥ अथमेव स्त्रीमन्त्रेषु तदन्तविधिं ज्ञापयति ॥

469. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem, which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77 : S. 531 and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas.' That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. (I. 2 43 S. 653).

Note :—As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I. 1, 72 S. 26) does not apply to compounds; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds, for the purposes of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it, when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate- (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

४७० । दिङ्हाणब्रह्मसज्जद्वन्मात्रचतयपठकृत्कृत्कृत्वरपः । ४ । १ । १५ ॥

आहुपसर्जनं यद्विवादि वरन्ते यद्वन्ते प्रातिपदिकं ततः स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ॥ कुरुचरी ॥ उपसर्जन-
स्यात्रेह बहुकुरुचरा ॥ नवद्, नवी ॥ वक्ष्यमाणेयञ्च दिङ्हाणुगित्याज्य ङीप् प्राप्ता ॥ यासुदे द्वित्वेन
लाभ्यमनुबन्धकार्ये नदिधानामिति ज्ञापनात् भवति ॥ इतः ज्ञानचः शित्वेन कृषिवनुबन्धकार्येऽप्यन-
स्विधाविति निषेधज्ञापनाद्वा ॥ सौपर्णेयी । ऐन्त्री । औखी । ऊरुह्वसी । ऊरुह्वनी । ऊरुमात्री । पञ्चतयी ।
आक्षिपी । लावणिकी । शार्दूयी । इत्यरी ॥ "ताच्छीलित्कं णेऽपि" ॥ चौरी नञ्जनञ्जिकृष्युस्वरुणतलुनामाहु-
पसंख्यानम् * ॥ स्नेयी । वैखी । शक्तीकी । आलषनाङ्गणी । हरणी । तलुनी ॥

470. The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट, or if the affix be द् or ञ्, or अञ् or ह्यसच्, or द्वाञ्च्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठक्, or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अन्तः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvritti from IV. 1. 4 S. 454 and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टप् of IV. 1. 4 S. 454. We shall give example of each *seriatim*. (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f., मद्रचरी (चर+ई= चर्+ई; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट (III. 2. 16 S. 2930), of which ट् is indicatory.

But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2. 35 S. 898); therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा ॥ So also the word नवद् is read with an indicatory ट् in the पचादि class of Ganapāṭha under sūtra III. 1. 134 S. 2896, it forms its feminine as नवी, because it has an indicatory ट् ॥

The word वक्ष्यमाण is formed with the affix ज्ञानच् (III. 3. 14. S. 3107), where the affix is the substitute of लट् ॥ Therefore, this affix has an indicatory ट् as well as an indicatory क् and, therefore, its feminine ought to be formed by the present sūtra, and so the Feminine ought to be वक्ष्यमाणी ॥ This is, however, not the case, because of the following Paribhāṣā.

Paribhāṣā :—"The substitutes of ल do not produce the effect which depends on the indicatory letters of ल ॥" This paribhāṣā is derived from the शप्क of sūtra III. 4. 103 S. 2209 where the चासुर the substitute of लिङ् is made expressly इत् ॥ Or, we may infer this from the prohibition अनस्विधी of sūtra I. 1. 56. S. 49 So though in some places, the substitute शः ज्ञानच् may produce the operations required by anubandhas, because they have an indicatory ट्, yet it will not be so always.

(2) Of words ending in द् we have, m., सौपर्णेय f., सौपर्णेयी so also f.

वैनवेयी ॥ The व stands for the affix इक्; and it is replaced by एक् (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Thus सुवर्णा + इक् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) = सुवर्णा + एक् = सौवर्णेय (VII. 2. 118S. 1076).

Note:—There is no affix which is merely व without any indicative letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix as said above is इक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here :—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it," and we cannot say that the व of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less व of V. 8. 102 S. 2057 which is always Nenter.

(3) So also इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्र ॥ Here अण् may have the force of साडस्य इवता (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226) or तस्येवं (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500). Its feminine will be ऐन्द्री ॥

(4) Words formed by अच् as सौख्य f. सौख्यी, औदयान, f. औदयानी, (IV. 1. 86 S. 1078).

Note:—Though by IV. 1. 73 S. 527 the affix डीन् would have come after the words ending in अच्, the re-employment of this affix, in the present sūtra, is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix डीप् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63 S. 518 that is, even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ntsh' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes द्वयत्, त्रयत्, and माद्यत् are added by V. 2. 37 S. 1838 as, ऊरुद्वयी, ऊरुत्रयी, ऊरुमायी, 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जानुद्वयी, जानुत्रयी, जानुमायी ॥

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V. 2. 42 S. 1843). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five,' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in इक् (IV. 4. 1. S. 1548) as, भाषिकी 'a female dicer', शालङ्किनी ॥ The व is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170).

(8) Similarly with words ending in इम् (V. 1. 18 S. 1680) as, नाविकी 'elegant'.

Note:—The affixes इक् and इम् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix इन् &c. For had the word इ merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes इक्, इन् and इम्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कम् (III. 2. 60 S. 429) as, वाहरी, वाहरी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in वरप् (III. 2. 163 S. 3143) as, इत्यरी 'swift', वररी ॥

Partika:—The words formed by the addition of the affix ण having the force of "whose habit is this," are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चैरी, तावरी are the feminine of चौर and तावत् (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612).

Part:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नम् and लम् (IV. 1. 87 S. 1079) and ईकम् (IV. 4. 59 S. 1609) and ददृप् (III. 2. 56 S. 2973) and of the words तदण and तदान

'a youth'. Thus स्त्री 'a female', पौत्री 'a male', स्त्रीकी 'a female spear bearer', भाव्यकर्त्री 'enriching, ; तृणी or तृणी 'a young woman'.

४७१। यञश्च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

यञ्जन्तास्त्रिधा ङीप्स्यात् अकारलोपे कृते ॥

471. The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105 S.1107).

Note.—The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anavṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

Thus गार्ग्य-ङीप् = गार्ग्य-ङी (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) by which अ is elided.

At this stage, applies the following Sūtra :—

४७२। हलतद्धितस्य । ६ । ४ । १५० ॥

एष उच्यते तद्धितप्रकारस्योपभूतस्य लोपः स्यादिति परे ॥ गार्गी ॥ अत्रापत्याधिकारस्यानङीप् ॥ द्वीपे भवा द्वेष्टा ॥ अधिकारप्रवृत्त्यादेः वेदस्यापत्यं द्वेष्टा वेदायञ्मात्राति हि यञ् प्राणीभतीत्येव न स्वपत्याधिकारपठितः ॥

472. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ङीप् ॥

Thus गार्ग्य + ङीप् = गार्ग्य + ङी = गार्गी.

Vart.—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ङीप् will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष्ट of द्वेष्ट-ङीप् (IV. 3. 10 S. 1380). Its feminine will be द्वेष्टा 'living on or relating to an island.'

The यञ् must be the patronymic affix taught in the sub-division of patronymics, that is, in the Apatyādhikāra. Therefore, the य् ordained after द्वेष्ट by the Vārtika under IV. 1. 85 S. 1077 will not form its feminine by this rule. Thus द्वेष्टा the feminine of द्वेष्ट, where यञ् is prāgdivyatiya affix, pure and simple, and not an affix read in the apatyādhikāra.

In the evolution of the feminine form गार्ग्यदिष्टी, the following rules apply.

४७३। प्राच्या णः तद्धितः । ४ । १ । १७ ॥

यञ्जन्तास्त्रीया रत्यान् द्विधा य ण तद्धितः ॥

473. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix यञ्, and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

४७४ । घः प्रत्ययस्य । १ । ३ । ६ ॥

प्रत्ययस्यादिः घ इत्यन्तः ॥

474. The initial घ् of an affix is indicative.

४७५ । आयेनेयीनीयियः कदन्तद्धां प्रत्ययादीनां । ७ । १ । २ ॥

प्रत्ययादिभूतानां फादीनां कदादायश्चादय आदिनाः स्युः । तद्धितान्तत्वाध्याविपदित्वच् ।
पितृसामर्थ्यात् फेणोन्तेऽपि स्त्रीत्ये विद्मोरेति वक्ष्यमाणो ङीप् ॥ गार्गादणी ॥

475. आयन्, for फ् एय् for इ, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ, and ईय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix.

गार्गादण, being a word formed with a Taddhita affix, it will be a prātipadika, and therefore will take the feminine affixes.

Of this affix क् the letter घ् is indicative (I. 3. 6 S. 474), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'fish' (IV. 1. 41. S. 498). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, *viz.*, by 'shpha' and 'fish.' The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46 S. 179). The affix क् is replaced by the substitute आयन् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्यं + क् + ङीप् = गार्गादणी; so also वाक्यादनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वाक्ती ॥

Note :—The word सर्वत्र "every where" of the sūtra IV. 1. 18 S. 476 is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of *anuvṛtiti*, in order to prohibit the application of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 S. 529 says :—'the affix चाप् comes after चावत्' ॥ Here चावत् ends in यप् and by IV. 1. 16, S. 471 the word चावत् would have taken the affix nip: IV. 1. 75 S. 529 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added Thus आवाव्यादनी ॥

४७६ । सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः । ४ । १ । १८ ॥

लोहितादिभ्यः कतद्वयान्तभ्यो यमन्तेभ्यो नित्यं क्क स्यात् । लोहियादनी । कात्यादनी ॥

476. The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata,' when they take the affix यप् ॥

Thus लोहियादनी and कात्यादनी ॥

Note :—The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class (IV. 1. 103).

The present sūtra makes the application of the affix क्, compulsory while it was optional in the IV. 1. 17. S. 473.

४७७। कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

कौरव्यां ण् स्यात् । दाप्तीपोषवाक् । कुर्वाविभ्योऽयः । कौरव्याभ्यां । इङ् च मण्डूकादित्यण् ।
माण्डूकाभ्यां ॥ * आसुरिदसंख्यनम् * ॥ आसुराभ्यां ॥

477. The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ।

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175); this word, ending in ण, would have formed its feminine by दाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, S. 1122 the word माण्डूक is formed by मण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūkā would have been formed by णिप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्याभ्यां, माण्डूकाभ्यां ॥

Vart :—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkya. Thus आसुराभ्यां ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इन् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix मण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2, 112 S. 1333).

४७८। वयसि प्रथमे । ४ । १ । २० ॥

प्रथमवयोवाचिनोऽहन्तात् किञ्चो ङीप् स्यात् । कुमारी ॥ * वयस्यवरम इति वाच्यम् * ॥ वयस्यी ।
चिरण्डी । वयस्यचिरण्डीवयस्यो वयस्यवाचिनौ । नक्तः किम् । शिशुः । कन्याया न । कन्यायाः कवीन येति
विशेषात् ॥

478. The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in ञ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ङी, though ending in ञ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl', वयस्यी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say ending in ञ ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

Vart :—The sūtra should have been वयसि वयसि 'words expressive of not old age' ? Thus वयस्यी 'a young woman', चिरण्डी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl' ? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116. S. 111 9.

४७९। द्विगोः । ४ । १ । २१ ॥

अदन्ताद्विगोर्ङीप् स्यात् । विजोषी । अजाद्विजोषिकता । द्विगोषीका येन ॥

479. The affix 'ङीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus विलोकी ॥ But we find विलोका 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV. t. 4 S. 454). Also व्यनीका सेना ॥

४८० । अपरिमाणविस्तारचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि । ४ । १ । २२ ॥

अपरिमाणान्ताद्विस्तारयन्ताप द्विगोर्ङीप् न स्यात्तद्धितलुकि सति । पञ्चमित्रैः क्रीता पञ्चाश्वा ॥ आर्हविष्टम् । अर्धयोजि लुक् । द्वौ विस्तौ पचति द्विविस्ता । द्वापचिता । द्विकम्बल्या । परिमाणान्तात्तु ह्यादकी । तद्धितलुकि किम् । समाहारे पञ्चाश्वी ॥

480. The affix ङीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure; or in 'bista', 'āchita', and 'kambalya'.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix इन् (V. I. 37 S., 1703) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. I. 28. S. 1693. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by ङीप् but by शप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses'. So also with the words विस्त &c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, द्वापचितौ, द्वापचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe ह्यादकी, त्र्यादकी "a female purchased for two or three ādhakas". Here ādhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb 11 oz avoird.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ङीप्' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses' so also द्वाश्वी ॥

Note:—This debars 'ङीप्' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', द्वाचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 telahs'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

४८१ । काण्डान्तात्तेजे । ४ । १ । २३ ॥

तेजो यः काण्डान्तो द्विगुस्त्वतो न ङीप् । तद्धितलुकि । द्वे काण्डे प्रमाणपस्याः सा द्विकाण्डा

क्षेत्रभक्तिः । प्रमाणे द्वयसञ्ज्ञिति विहितस्य नावयः प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यमिति लुक् । चेदे कियः
द्विकाण्डी खड्गः ॥

481. The affix *डीप्* is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kāṇḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kāṇḍa'; the Taddhita affixes द्वयसञ्ज्ञे &c. denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' 'The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure'. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'दीप्' but by *वाप्*; so also द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when the compound refers to superficial land measure? Observe द्विकाण्डी खड्गः 'a rope two kāṇḍas long'.

४८२ । पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २४ ॥

प्रमाणे यः पुरुषस्तन्मातृद्विगोर्डीप् वा स्यात्तद्विज्ञेति । द्वौ पुरुषौ प्रमाणस्यः सा द्विपुरुषी द्विपुरुषा वा परिता ॥

482. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिता 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also द्विपुरुषी or द्विपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal.

४८३ । ऊधसोऽनन्तः । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

ऊधोऽनन्तस्य बहुव्रीहिसंज्ञकः स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । इत्यमरि कृते दाप्रहोर्निषेधेणु मोक्षेण ॥

483. The syllable *anan* is the substitute of the final of ऊधस् in a Bahuvrīhi.

Note.—As कण्ठमिव ऊधोऽस्याः = कण्ठोऽग्नी. यदोऽग्नी ॥ The feminine is formed by adding डीप् ॥ (IV. 1. 25); and these words are always used in this form for the feminine only; no substitution takes place in the masculine, as महोपाः पञ्चम्यः; यदोऽग्नी पद्वयम् ॥ ऊधस् + अन्तः = ऊधन् (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). ऊधन् + डीप् = ऊधन् + ई (अ being elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234) = ऊधी ॥

When अन्तः is substituted, there arises the prohibition of दाप् and डीप्, when the following sūtra comes up.

४८४ । बहुव्रीहिरुधस्तो ङीप् । ४ । १ । २५ ॥

ऊधोऽन्तर्बहुव्रीहेर्ङीप् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । कुण्डोष्णी । स्त्रियां किव । कुण्डोष्णे धेनुकम् । इहा-
ऽनलपि न । तद्विधौ स्त्रियामित्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

484. The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas 'an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोष्णस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनल् (V. 4. 131 S. 483); thus we have कुण्डोष्णन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. S. 460 & 461 ante; the present sūtra enjoins ङीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोष्णी (V. 4. 134 S. 872) 'a woman with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्राप्ताधः (II. 2. 4 S. 715) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Why do we say in the feminine? The substitution of अनल् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have कुण्डोष्णे धेनुकम् ॥ Here there is no अनल् even, for that is ordained after the feminines only.

४८५ । संख्याऽव्ययादेर्ङीप् । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

ढीयोऽपचाकः । द्वयुष्णी । अत्युष्णी । बहुव्रीहेरित्येव । ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता अत्युधाः ॥

485. The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in 'ūdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sūtra ordains 'āp', where by the last sūtra there would have been 'āsh'. Thus द्वी + ऊधस् + अनल् + ङीप् (V. 4. 131 S. 483) = द्वयुष्णी 'having two udders'; so also त्रयुष्णी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrīhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्युष्णी 'many-uddered'; निरुष्णी 'having no udders'. The word "Bahuvrīhi" is to be supplied here from the last. When the compound is not Bahuvrīhi we have अत्युधा = ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता ॥

४८६ । दामहायनान्ताच्च । ४ । १ । २७ ॥

संख्यविर्बहुव्रीहेर्वान्ताद्धायनान्ताच्च ङीप् स्यात् । दानान्ते आप्नतिदेवयोः प्राप्तयोर्द्वयनान्ते वापि प्राप्ते यचनम् । दिशाम्नी । अच्ययधृणाऽननुवृत्तेरुदात्ता यङवैत्यत्र दानिपिधायापि पक्षे स्तः । दिशायनी चान्ता ॥ * विच्यतुर्धो दायनस्य पक्षे याच्यम् * ॥ यद्योनायकस्त्वैव दायनस्य ङीप् पक्षे वेच्यते * ॥ विहायनी । अतर्हायणी । वयसोऽयच्च विहायना ॥ चतुर्हायनी चान्ता ॥

486. The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending

with the words *dāman* 'a rope', and *hāyana* 'a year'.

The word *हामन्* was liable to be operated upon by two rules, viz by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining *डाप्* and by IV. 1. 11 S. 459 prohibiting totally the affixing of *डीप्*; while *हायन्* would have taken long *या* by IV. 1. 4, S. 454; the present sūtra ordains *शिप* to the exclusion of all those 'As *हिवासी* 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. *विशायी* ॥ We do not read the anuvritti of *अन्त्य* from the last sūtra into this. Therefore when an Indeclinable such as *वत्* precedes *हामन्*, then the affix *डाप्* of IV. 1. 13 S. 46 and the prohibition of IV. 1. 11 S. 459 will apply, as *वहामा वडवा* ॥ *विशायनी बाला* 'two years (old girl)', *विशायणी चतुर्हायणी* ॥

Vārt :—The word '*hāyana*' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sūtra. Therefore we have no *शिप* here :—*विशायना बाला* 'a hall of two years existence'

Ishtī :—After *त्रि* and *चतुर* the न of *हायन* is changed into *ण*; when *हायन* denotes 'age', and not otherwise. *विशायना* and *चतुर्हायना* when referring to a hall.

४८७ । नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

आन्ताहट्प्रतिरूपधातोविनो डीप् स्यात् संज्ञाछन्दसोः । सुपत्नी नाम दगरी । अन्यत्र पूर्वेषु विकल्प एव । देहे तु चतुर्मुष्नी ॥

487. The affix *डीप्* necessarily comes in the *Chhandas*, and in forming Names, after that *Bahuvrīhi* compound which ending in the syllable *अन्* loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to IV. 1. 28 S. 462; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix *डाप्* ॥ Thus *सुपत्नी* 'the city called *Surājñi*'; *अतिराज्ञी* 'the city of *Atirājñi*'. When not a name, the option of IV. 1. 28 S. 462 will hold good. Similarly in the *Chhandas* we have *चतुर्मुष्नी* ॥

४८८ । केवलमामकभाष्येयवापावररमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलभेयजाश । ४ । १ । २७ ॥
एतेन सुपत्नी नियम डीप् स्यात्संज्ञाछन्दसोः । अर्थान्तरं केवलमपि । भाष्येन । भाषिणी चरी । चरं सवासी । चरैरुनी । सुमङ्गली । भेयशी । अन्त्य केवला इत्यादि । नाम रूपेण नियमापेक्ष । भाष्यभाष्येन विद्वेः । तेषां संकेतप्रकारं भाषिणः ॥

488. The affix *डीप्* necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the *Chhandas* :—*ए.वत्* *मातृ*, *भाष्येय*, *पाप*, *अवर*, *ममाम*, *भावेय*, *सुमङ्गल* and *भेय* ॥

The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus कैवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to कैवल्य in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also गान्धरी तद् in the Vedas and गानिका in the secular literature. भामधेयी as भिषादस्यभोगभिमधेयी in the Vedas and भामध्या in Bhāṣā, तन्वः सन्तु पापी in the Vedas and पापा in Bhāṣā; ज्वरी as जताऽपरीभ्योऽनघवा विजिह्वे; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) otherwise अपरः; समानी य जाकृतिः (Rigved.) otherwise समाना; आर्विकृती and आर्विकृता; सुनहनी (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुनहना; शिवाकदस्य भेषजी otherwise भेषजा ॥ सुनहन् takes डीप् also by IV. I. 41. S. 498 as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86. The word गानक is read in the sūtra in order to make a restrictive rule with regard to it; for it would have taken डीप् by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 even, because it is a word formed by अण् affix (-IV. 3. 3 S. 1372). In the secular literature or otherwise it would be गानिका always (see VII. 3. 44 S. 463)

४८६ । अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् । ४ । १ । ३२ ॥

एतयोः स्त्रियां नुक् स्यात् ॥ अन्तर्व्यो डीप् ॥ गर्भिण्यां जीवद्वर्तुकार्या च प्रकृतिभागौ निपात्येते । तन्नान्तरेत्यस्यां रामं इति विमर्शे अन्तःशब्दस्याधिकरणशक्तिप्रधानतयाऽस्ति सामानाधिकरण्याभावावधानो मनुज् निपात्यते । पतिवल्लीत्यत्र तु यत्वं निपात्यते । अन्तर्वल्ली । पतिवती । मस्तुवाकरणं तु । अन्तर्गम्यत्वात् शालायां पदः । पतिवती वृथिवी ॥

489. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the feminine affix डीप् follows.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end, by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्; and these words must take śip by virtue of IV. 1. 5, S. 306 if not by this sūtra. Thus we have अन्तर्वल्ली and पतिवल्ली ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore, we have not the above forms in the following:—मथ्यते स्वया पतिवती वृथिवी; here the word पतिवतो qualifies the word वृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वल्ली; in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मनुज्) ॥ Because मनुज् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, S. 1894 while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. S. 1894. The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मनुज् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The न is changed to व by VIII. 2. 2 S. 1897 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of न to व in पतिवत् is however irregular.

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas:—as सान्त्वयती or सान्त्वयसी देवाहुषेत् ॥ पतिवती or पतिवती सव्यवसा ॥

४९० । पत्युर्नो यद्वसंयोगे । ४ । १ । ३३ ॥

पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्याद्यज्ञेन संबन्धे । पतिष्ठस्य पत्नी । सत्कर्तृकयज्ञस्य कर्तव्योक्त्यर्थः ।
ह्यपत्योः सहाधिकारात् ॥

490. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पतिष्ठस्य पत्नी. meaning one who participates in the fruits of sacrifices performed by Vasishtha. Because sacrifices must be performed jointly by the husband and wife.

४९१ । विभाषा सपूर्वस्य । ४ । १ । ३४

पतिशब्दस्य सपूर्वस्य मानिपदिकस्य नो वा स्याद् । गृहस्य पतिः गृहपतिः । गृहपत्नी । अनुवर्तमानस्योत्तरार्थमनुवृत्तमपि न पर्यायैरेषणं कित्तु तद्वन्तस्य । तेन बहुव्रीहयपि । गृहपत्नी गृहपतिः । गृहपत्नी । गृहपतिः । अथ गृहपत्यस्य पत्नीति ध्येति कथमिति चेत् । पत्नीय पत्नीयुष्मा चत् । यद्वा । आश्वासकवृत्तात्कर्तरि क्तिप् । अस्मिंश्च पक्षे पत्नीयौ, पत्नियः, इतीयकविषये विशेषः सपूर्वस्य क्तिप् । गवां पतिः स्त्री ॥

491. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति stands at the end of a compound, गृहपतिः or गृहपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of "yajña-sanyoga" of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe गवांपतिः स्त्री 'this lady is the mistress of cows'. Here the feminine is पत्नी and not पत्नी although preceded by गवां but with which it is not compounded.

The anuvṛtti of the word अनुवर्तमानस्य (though its anuvṛtti is necessary for the next sūtra,) does not qualify पति but the compound ending with पति in this sūtra. Therefore the rule will apply to पति even when it is an upasārjana, as being the last member of a Bahuvrīhi compound; as गृहपत्नी or गृहपतिः "whose husband is strong". So also गृहपत्नी or गृहपतिः ॥

How then do you justify the phrase like गृहपत्य पत्नी "the Patni of a Sūdra", for a Sūdra cannot perform sacrifice, and so he cannot have a पत्नी in the proper sense of the word? Such usage is however allowed by analogy, for the wife of a Sūdra is analogous to the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. Or we may explain it by saying that the word here is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to पत्नी with the force of पत्नी इव यावदिति "she who behaves like a Patni". If पत्नी be taken to have bec. so

formed, then it will take इयङ् in Plural and Dual by VI. 4. 77 S. 271 as पत्नियो 'two wives of a Sūdra' and पत्न्युः "many wives of a Sūdra" and not पत्न्यौ and पत्न्यः as is the general case. As a matter of fact, in ancient times Sūdras were allowed to perform sacrifices.

४९२ । नित्यं सपत्न्यादिषु । ४ । १ । ३५ ॥

पूर्वविकल्पाववादः । समानस्य भाष्येऽपि निपात्यते । समानः पतिर्यस्याः सा सपत्नी । एकपत्नी वीरपत्नी ॥

492. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न. in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix ङीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी Here समान is replaced by स by this sūtra.

४९३ । पूतकतोरै च । ४ । १ । ३६ ॥

अस्य स्त्रियामे आदेशो ङीप् च । इयं भिमूरी पुत्रोद्य एवेत्यते ॥ पूतकतोः स्त्री पूतकतायी । यथा तु कतवः पूतः स्यात्पूतकतुरेवसा ॥

493. In forming the feminine, the letter दे is the substitute of the final of the word पूतकतु, when the affix ङीप् is added.

Thus पूतकतायी 'this wife of Pūtakratu', *Iṣṭī* :—According to Patanjali this and the two succeeding sūtras, are valid then only, when the sense of the feminine words is that of 'wife of so and so' otherwise these sūtras will not apply. see IV. 1. 48 S. 504 Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतकतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (कतवः) are sanctified (पूतः).'

४९४ । वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्तः । ४ । १ । ३७ ॥

एषाद्रुदात्त ए आदेशः स्याद् ङीप् च । वृषाकपेः स्त्री वृषाकपायी । हरिषिष्णु वृषाकपी इत्यमरः, वृषाकपायी श्रीभीर्द्यौरिति च । अग्नयाः कुसितायी । कुशिसायी । कुसिदशब्दो ह्रस्वमध्यो ननु शंप्रमध्यः ॥

494. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the letter दे having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसिद ॥

Thus वृषाकर्पायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishákapi' or Hara or Vishnu's wife (Amar III 3. 139 and 155) namely Lakshmi or Gauri वज्रवी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of Agni', कुसितायी the wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी

'the wife of Kusida'. In the above the udātta falls on the syllables कौ, मा, तौ and हौ respectively. The last word is कुसिद and not कुसीद as in some texts.

४६५ । मनोरौ वा । ४ । १ । ३८ ॥

मनुष्यस्त्रीकारोचः स्वादुवाच ऐकारश्च वा । साभ्यां संनियोगक्षिप्तो ङीप् च । मनोः स्त्री मनायी । मनावी । मनुः ॥

495. औ is the substitute of the final of मनु, or the udātta ऐ optionally, and to the remaining base so formed, is added ङीप् in the feminine.

The phrases ऐ and उवाच are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'.

४६६ । वर्णादनुदात्तात्तौपधात्तो नः । ४ । १ । ३९ ॥

वर्णवाची योऽनुदात्तान्तस्तौपधस्तदन्तावनुपसर्जनात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वा ङीप् स्वात्प्रकारस्य नकारात् वेद्यत् । एनी । एता । रोहिणी । रोहिता । वर्णानां वर्णतिनिजान्तानामिति किद्वसूत्रेणाशुवाचः । ज्येष्ठा च द्वास्त्येति गृह्यसूत्रम् । वीज्येतानि यस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । अनुदात्तात्किम् । श्वेता । घृतादीनां चेत्यन्तोश्चोऽयम् । अत इत्येव । पितृः स्त्री । * पित्रादनुपसर्जनात् ॥ * पित्राङ् । पित्राङ् । किन्तु * अस्मिन्पतितयोर्न * अस्मिन् । पतिता ॥ * छन्दसि क्तिके ॥ अस्मिन् । पतिक्ता । पतिक्ता ॥ अयदातशब्दस्त न वर्णवाची । विशुद्धवाची सैन जयदाता इत्येव ॥

496. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter न् as its penultimate letter : and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated.' रोहिणी or रोहिता, so ज्येष्ठा or ज्येनी 'black,' हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udātta accent, on the first vowel, by the Phit sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां वर्णतिनिजान्तानाम् 'of words expressive of colour and ending in वर्ण, or ति or नी or त्, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel') as they are formed by त् &c. (Uṇ III. 36). Thus ज्येष्ठा च द्वास्त्या (Grihya Sūtra). The word trycnyā is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning "she who has three variegated".

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white.' Here though the word expresses 'color,' yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by the rule of Phit sūtra I. 21 घृतादीनां च "the words ghṛita &c., have udātta on the final").

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter न् in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As श्वितिः स्त्री 'a black woman.' Here श्विदः is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate न्.

has anudatta accent on the final (VI. 1. 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end in ङ, its feminine is not formed with ङीप्.

Vart:—The affix ङीप् comes also after the word विशङ्ग; as, विशङ्गी or विशङ्गा 'of tawny color.'

Vart:—There is prohibition in the case of the words अस्मित and पलित; as अस्मिता 'black' and पलिता 'grey.'

Vart:—According to some, the substitute क्तन् replaces the final of these two words अस्मित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As अस्मिक्ती (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्ती R. Veda V. 2. 4. The word अवशतः does not denote 'color,' but "purity" hence its feminine is अवशता ॥ Amarkosha is wrong when it says "अवशतः means white clear,"

४६७ । अन्यतो ङीप् । ४ । १ । ४० ॥

सोपधभिन्नार्द्धवाधिनोऽनुशाचान्ताद्यातिपक्षिणाद् खियां ङीप् स्यात् । कल्पापी । सारङ्गी ।
सपायन्ते वयोध बह्वपो दुहति नभ्योवापायेतो । अनुशाचान्तात्किन् । कृष्णा । कपिला ॥

497. The affix ङीप् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudatta accent, and which has no त् as penultimate.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* त् as penultimate. The difference between ङीप् and ङिष् affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्पापी ॥ Both these words have acute on the middle by Phit Sātra II. 19 (A word whose final syllable is light, or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable wherever that may be).

Why do we say "ending with a syllable which is gravely accented"? Because when the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

४६८ । विदौरादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४१ ॥

विद्वयो गौरादिभ्यश्च ङीप् स्यात् । गर्तकी । गोरी । अमङ्गुली । अमङ्गुली ॥ विष्ण्व्यादयश्च ० ॥
आकुलिमलोयम् ॥

498. The affix ङीप् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष् and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 S. 2907 the affix ङुन् is added to a

root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take *nish*. As, *नर्तकी* 'an actress.' So also the words *गौर* &c; as *गौरि*, *अनङ्गुली* *अनङ्गुलि* ॥

In the Gaurādi class is to be included the Pippalādi words also (see Gaṇapātha at the end.) This is an Ākritigana, no complete list being given any where.

४६९ । सूर्येतिध्यागस्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः । ६ । ४ । १४९ ॥

बहुस्योपधाया यस्य लोपः स्यात्त शेषः सूर्याद्यवयवः ॥ * मत्स्यस्य उपधायाः * ॥ * सूर्यागस्ययोः छेपः * ॥ * तिष्यपुण्ययोर्मत्स्याणि यलोप इति वाच्यम् * ॥ मत्सी । नातरि पिचोति पिच्छादिषु सिद्धे शौरादिषु मानामहीशब्दपाठादिति स्यः पित्तं छीप् । इष्टम् ॥

499. Of the *bha* stems *सूर्य*, *तिष्य*, *अगस्य* and *मत्स्य* (and their derivatives when they are *Bha*) the penultimate *य्* is also elided before the long *ई* and a Taddhita affix.

Thus *सूर्येनकादिक्* = *सौरी* (*सूर्य* + *अन्* under IV. 3. 112 S. 1492 = *सौर्य*, then *ई* of *छीप्* = *सौरी*), as *सौरी* बलाका ॥

So also *तिष्य*—*तैषमहः*, *तैषी* राशिः ॥ So also *अगस्य*पर्यं *सी* = *आगस्ती* (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117). *आगस्तीयः*; So also *मत्स्य*—*मत्सी* with *छीप्*, as it belongs to the Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 41 S. 498).

Vart:—The *य* of *मत्स्य* is elided before the feminine *ई* only: therefore not here *मत्स्येदे* मांसं = *मत्स्यम्*, ॥

Vart:—Of *सूर्य* and *अगस्य* before the affixes *छ* and *ई* (of the feminine): as *सौरियः*, *सौरि*, *आगस्तीयः*, *आगस्ती* ॥ But not here *छीप्* चहं निर्वपेत्, *आगस्य* formed with the Patronymic *अम्* (IV. 1. 114)

Vart:—Of *तिष्य* and *पुण्य* when referring to asterisms, as, *तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः* = *तैषः*, *गौषः* (IV. 2. 3 S. 1204).

By the *vastika* नातरि पिच given under IV. 2. 36, S. 1242 the affix *नामह* in *नातामह* is treated as having an indicative *य* ॥ The word *नातामह* will take *टीप्* because it is *पितृ*; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of *छीप्* application, because a word is *पितृ*, is not universal (*अनितः पितृ हस्यं टीप्*) ॥ Therefore we have forms like *इष्टा* &c.

५०० । जानपदकुण्डमोणस्यलभजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककयराद्वृत्त्यम-
प्रायपनारुप्रिमाश्राणास्थीदयवर्णानाच्छादनायांविचारमैथुनेच्छाकशयेशेषु । ४ ।
२ । ४२ ॥

यस्य वृत्ताश्रयः मानवमनिकेयः कषाद्वृत्त्यादिवर्षेषु टीप् स्यात् । जानपदी वृत्तिभेदः । अन्या तु गोत्रपदी । अग्रादिनादग्रन्तरेण विच्छेदनि टीप्प्राशस्त्यः । कुण्डी अमरं धेनु । कुण्डाश्रयः । कुटि दातु । एतन्म हत इति आश्रयः । यम् शब्देन आश्रयः कुण्ड इति मनुष्यजानिपपन्नस्तनो-जानिपपन्नो टीप् अय-
पितृ । अमरे हि टीप्पदस्य आश्रयमात्रं टीप् निर्णीयते नतु नियच्छे । मोक्षी आश्रयः धेनु । मोक्षान्धः ।

स्थली चक्रविना चेत् । स्थलाऽन्या । भाजी आणा चेत् । भाजाऽन्या । नागी म्युला चेत् । नागाऽन्या । गजवाची नामगजवः स्थौल्ययुगयोगाऽन्यत्र प्रयुक्त उदाहरणम् । सर्ववाची । सु वैश्वयुगयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्तः प्रयुक्ताहरणम् । काली वर्णश्चेत् । कापाऽन्या । नीली जनाच्छादनं चेत् । नीलाऽन्या । नील्या रक्ता शाटीत्यर्थः । नील्या जम्बवन्त्य इत्यम् । जनाच्छादनं चेत् सर्वत्र किन्तु ॥ * नीलाश्वार्थी * ॥ नीली ॥ प्राणिनि च * ॥ नीली गोः ॥ संज्ञायां वा * ॥ नीली । नीला । कुशी भयोदिकारश्चेत् । कुशाऽन्या । काशुकी मैथुनेच्छा चेत् । काशुकाऽन्या । कवरी केशानां संनिवेशश्चेत् । कवराऽन्या चित्रेत्यर्थः ॥

500. The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words jānapada &c, in the sense of profession &c. respectively ; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल, 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. काशुक, and 11 कवर ; the affix ङीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female' 11. 'a fellel or braid of hair'; respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जाँनपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix णप् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsādi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix ङीष् will be added in this latter case by IV. 1. 15 S. 470 thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'an adulteress'. To the root 'कुडिक्' the affix ण is added by III. 3. 103. S. 3280. The nasal being added, because the Verb is read with an indicatory इ in the Dhātupāṭha. The कुण्डः when meaning the son of a woman by a man other than her husband, while the husband is alive, is a word denoting caste or class and will therefore take ङीष् in the feminine by IV. 1. 63, S. 518. and therefore the feminine will be कुण्डी and कुण्डा ॥

In denoting a vessel in the feminine, there would have been no ङीष् in the feminine by any rule, so this rule ordains ङीष् and it does not make a niyama rule with regard to कुण्ड ॥ For, had it been a niyama rule, we could not have obtained the form कुण्डी meaning 'a female bastard'.

(3) गोणी 'a sack' श्व घान्मादि प्रलिख्य नीयते otherwise गोण, a particular name. (4) स्थनी 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थन्य as स्थन्योर्वर्क परिमुहन्ति ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा. (6) नागी 'a stout elephantess', otherwise नागा "a long she-serpent". When नाग denotes

'an elephant' and the quality of stoutness is applied to it, then only its feminine will be नागी under the present sūtra. But when नाग denotes a serpent, and the length is only indicated, there the counter-example is नागा ॥

(7) काली 'a-black female', otherwise काला 'a name of a female where the name itself has no particular meaning.

(8) When cloth is not denoted, we have नीली ॥ But when cloth is meant, the feminine will be नीला which means 'a blue colored cloth.' This word is formed by adding the affix लङ् denoting 'colored' by the *Vārtika* under sūtra IV. 2, 2. S. 1203 and thus the base is नील to which लाप् is added in forming the feminine.

The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses indicated below i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'.

Vārtika :—ङीप् is added in forming the feminine of नील when a medicinal plant is meant, as नीली 'an indigo plant'.

Vārtika :—So also when an animal is meant as नीलीगोः The Nilgai.

Vārtika :—Optionally so, when it is a proper name, as नीली or नील ॥

(9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass'
(10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कवरा 'mixed, variegated'.

५०१। शोणत्वाच्चात् । ४। १। ४३ ॥

शोणी । शोणा ॥

501. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'.

५०२। शोतो गुणवचनात् । ४। १। ४४ ॥

शन्ताद्गुणवचिनो वा ङीप् स्यात् ॥ मृदी । मृदु । उतः किमः ॥ शुषिः । शुषोति किमः । आलुः ॥

* लक्षणेयोपपन्नः * ॥ लक्षः पक्षिणः कन्या । पाण्डुः ॥

502. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word expressive of a quality and ending in short उ ॥

Thus मृदुः or मृदी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ' ? Observe शुषिरेव ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say

"expressive of a quality?" Observe मासुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated after the word स्त्र, and after words ending in short स्, which have a conjunct consonant as penultimate. As स्त्रस्त्रियं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband'. Similarly वाङ् is common gender, as वङ् is a conjunct consonant. As वाङ्वास्त्रियं ब्राह्मणी ॥

५०३ । यद्वादिज्यञ्च । ४ । १ । ४५ ॥

एवो वाङ्वास्त्रियम् । बह्वी बहुः ॥ * कृदिकारावक्तिः * ॥ रात्रिः । रात्री ॥ सर्वतोऽन्तिर्यापि ह्येके ॥ शकतिः । शकत्री । भक्तिर्यावक्तिम् । भजननिः । नित्यमस्वाह्मणे विध्यर्थे पद्धतिशब्दो गणे प्रवर्तते । द्विगतापिहतिषु चेतस्य वङ्वास्त्रियम् । पद्धतिः पद्धती ॥

503. And the affix स्त्री is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहुः or बह्वी ॥

Vartika:—So also after the vowel इ of a *kṛit* affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as रात्रिः or रात्री ॥

Vartika:—Some say that the feminine affix स्त्री may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ As रात्रिः or रात्री ॥

Why do we say 'not क्तिन्'? Observe भजननिः ॥

The word पद्धति is read in the Gaṇapāṭha, to make it a *vidhi*, although it is formed with the affix क्तिन् ॥ This word is formed in accordance with the rule laid down in VI. 3. 54. S. 992. Thus:—वाङ् + हति + क्तिन् = पद्धति ॥ Its Feminine is either पद्धतिः or पद्धती ॥

५०४ । पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ४८

य प्रमादया पुंयोगान् स्त्रियां दर्शने ततो द्विप् स्यात् । गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी ॥ * पालकान्तास * ॥ गोपालिका । गम्भपालिका ॥ * सूर्यदेवतायां वाक् वाच्यः * ॥ सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या । देवतायां किम् । सूर्यो कुन्ती । मातृवीर्यम् ॥

504. The feminine affix स्त्री comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Thus the wife of Gopa is गोपी.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words ending in पालक ॥ Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'; also गम्भपालिका ॥

Vart:—The affix वाक् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sūrya.' Why do we say 'a celestial being'? Observe स्त्री denoting the human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kuntī.

५०५ इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ।
४।१।५९ ॥

एषामानुगागमः स्यात् ङीष् च । इन्द्रादीनां पण्णां मातुलाचार्ययोश्च पुंयोग एवेत्येते ।
सत्र ङीप्ति तिद्धे आनुगागमनाच्च विधीयते । इत्येषां चतुर्णांशुभयम् ॥ इन्द्राणी ॥ * हिमारण्ययोर्मृदस्ये * ॥
मृद्विन्द्र हिमानी । मरुवरुण्य चरण्यानी ॥ * यवारीये * ॥ हुटो यवो, यवानां । * यवनात्रिपुत्रम् ।
यवनानां त्रिपुत्रयवानी ॥ * मातुलोपाध्याययोःमातुला * ॥ मातुलानी । मातुली । उपाध्यायानी ॥
उपाध्यायी ॥ * या तु स्वयमेवाध्यायिका तत्र वा ङीष् वाच्यः * ॥ उपाध्यायी । उपाध्याया ॥
आचार्यादप्यस्य च * ॥ आचार्यस्य स्त्री आचार्यानी । पुंयोग इत्येव । आचार्या रयं व्याख्यानी ॥
आर्यस्तत्रिधाभ्यां वा स्यादे * ॥ अर्याणी । अर्या । स्वामिनी वैद्या वेत्यर्थः । क्षत्रियाणी । क्षत्रिया ।
पुंयोगे तु । अर्यी । क्षत्रियी । कर्म ब्रह्माणीति । ब्रह्माण्यमानयति जीवयतीति कर्मण्यण ॥

505. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow,' अरण्य 'a forest,' यव 'barley,' यवन 'a Yavana,' मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and आचार्य 'a preceptor,' before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in the case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns upto मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी the wife of Indra.'

Vārt:—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow,' अरण्यानी 'a great forest.' Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

Vārt:—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley while not being a barley. In fact, the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat."

Vārt:—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवानी 'the written character of the Yavanas.'

Vārt:—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor,' when the feminine affix comes to express the wife there of, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मातुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vartika:—But when the female herself is a teacher (not necessarily the wife of a teacher) then the addition of ङीप् is optional. Thus उपाध्यायी or उपाध्याया.

Vart:—And there is not the change to the lingual ञ् of the dental न् of the augment आहुक् (VIII. 4. 2 S. 197), after the word आचार्य. Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor.'

Vart:—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally: when the matrimonial relation is not intended, but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class,' क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class.' When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only ङीप् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya,' क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya.'

How do you explain the form ब्रह्मणी? It is derived from the derivative word ब्रह्मण by adding ङीप्. The word ब्रह्मण is formed by adding the affix भण् to the root बन् "to breathe" in the sense of object by III. 2. 1. S. 2913, ब्रह्म + भन् + भण् = ब्रह्मणः । ब्रह्मणी.

५०६ । क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् । ४ । १ । ५० ॥

क्रीतान्तादन्तात्करणदिः स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । वस्त्रक्रीता । कृषिक्रीता । धनक्रीता ॥

506. The affix ङीप् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means where with the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण of 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीता 'a female bought in exchange for cloth.' The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

५०७ । कादल्पाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ५१ ॥

करणदिः कान्तात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यादल्पे चोले । अश्वलिनी दौः ॥ अल्पाख्यायाम् किम्पन्दुलिताङ्गना ॥

507. The affix ङीप् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting "the means where with," is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

Thus अश्वलिनी दौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe पन्दुलिताङ्गना "a lady covered with sandal essence?"

Note:—The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting 'the means where with', of the last Sūtra governs this also. The participle in क् must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क् to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection there with. The अस्वाग्रयायाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word.

५०८ । बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् । ४ । १ । ५२ ॥

बहुव्रीहे क्तान्तावन्तोदात्तास्त्वन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ॥ * जातिपूर्वादिनि वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तेन बहु-
मसुक्तकामसुखादिपूर्वात् । कुरुमित्री । नेह । बहुकृता ॥ * जातान्ताम् * ॥ इन्तजाता । * पाणिगृहीती
भार्यायाम् * ॥ पाणिगृहीतान्वा ॥

508. The affix ङीप् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

Note:—The word क्तात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *śeṣaṅga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *śeṣaṅga* word, then the application of the rule is optional.

Vart:—It should be stated that the rule applies to those compounds only which have a word denoting jāti (class-name) as first member. As

कुरुमित्री 'having a rent on the thigh' but not in 'बहुकृता' on account of the following *Vārtika* :—

Vart:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words :—बहु, नम, घृ, words denoting time, मूल &c. Thus बहुकृता, &c,

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle ज्ञात 'born,' which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus इन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'.

Vart:—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अभिवाक्षिकं यस्याः पाणिर्गृह्यते); but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

Note:—Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

५०९ । अस्वाग्रपूर्वपदादा । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वेण नित्ये माति विकल्पोऽयम् । घृषपीती । घृषपीता । अन्तोदात्तात्किम् । दक्षच्छन्ता । अना-
च्छन्तादिभ्युदात्तादिभ्यः । शत एव पूर्वजावि न ङीप् ॥

509. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed in the

feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तासोपात् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus सुतपीत्ती or सुतपीता ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word'? Observe शैखिनिनी, रुक्मिणी which admit of only one form.

Why do we say when the final is acutely accented? Observe बन्धुवन्ता which is not acutely accented on the final (see VI. 2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170; and therefore it will not take ङीप् even by the preceding sūtra.

५१० । स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनादसंगोपधात् । ४ । २ । ५४ ॥

असंगोपधमुपसर्जनं यस्माङ् सङ्गादन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ङीप् । केशानविक्रान्ता अतिकेशी । अतिकेशः । अन्तःसुखी । अन्तःसुखा । सेतुगोपधात् सुसुक्ता । उपसर्जनात्किम् । शिखा । स्वाङ्गं शिवा ।

अङ्गं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थानविकारजम् * ॥

सुस्वेदा द्रवत्वात् । सुताना अमूर्तत्वात् । सुसुखा शान्त अप्राणिस्थत्वात् । सुशोका विकारजत्वात् ॥

अतस्थे तत्र दृष्टं च * ॥

सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या । अप्राणिस्थस्यापि प्राणिनि दृष्टत्वात् ॥

तेन चेतस्यभा युतम् * ॥

सुस्तनी सुस्तना वा प्रतिभा प्राणिवत्प्राणिलदये स्थितत्वात् ॥

510. And the feminine affix ङीप् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant.)

Thus अतिकेशी or अतिकेशः; अन्तःसुखी or अन्तःसुखा ॥ The word अतिकेश is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान् and केश is upasarjana by I. 2. 44.

Note:—The *anuvritti* of the words बह्व्रीहिः, कान्तादन्तादाच्चात् does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvritti* of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra.

Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिरा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical). Why

do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुस्वेका, सुपाद्या) ॥

The स्वाङ्ग which is of three sorts, has a technical meaning, as given in the following verse :—

अद्वयं सूक्ष्मव्याहृं प्राणिभ्यधिकारजम् ।
अतस्त्वं तद्वद्वे च तेन येन तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which (1) not-being-a-fluid (अद्वयं) is capable of being perceived by the senses, because of its having-a-form (सूक्ष्मं) is svāṅga; it must exist-in-a-living-being, (प्राणिभ्यः), but not produced by a change from the natural state (अधिकारजः) (2) Or though found elsewhere actually (अतस्त्वं lit. not actually there in the body) had previously been known as existing in only a living being (तद्वद्वे lit. was seen in the body); (3) Or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being तेन येन तत् तथा युतम् ॥

Thus of the first kind of Svāṅga, the counter-examples are सुस्वेका "she who has good sweat:" here "sweat" is "liquid" and so it is not a svāṅga; सुज्ञाया "who has good knowledge"; here "knowledge" has no form, and so it is not a svāṅga, सुमुख्या गाला "a hall having a good front," here मुख though lit. "face," is applied to an inanimate object, and so is not svāṅga; so that the following is wrong कलकुली कलकुली चानदस्या; similarly सुकोका "she who has a good deal of swelling or tumours." Here "swelling" or "tumours" are not natural members of body but excrescences; and hence it is not a svāṅga.

Of the second kind of svāṅga words, the example is सुकेयी सुकेया वा रथा "A chariot well-cushioned with hair." Though chariot is a non-living being yet hair is always found in a living being.

Of the third kind of svāṅga, we have सुस्तनी or सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा "a statue having good breasts." Here the breasts have the same relation to the statue as they have in an animate being.

५११ । नासिकोदभैष्टजसुदन्तकणेशृङ्गाश्च । ४ । २ । ५५ ॥

एषो वा ङीप् स्यात् । आङ्कार्यङ्गवचने निवेधा वाध्यते । पुरस्तादपवादस्यात् । भोग्यादीनां वस्त्राणां तु असंयोगावधानि पूर्ववत्सं वाचि वचनम् । त्रिष्यङ्गपदादस्यात् । सद्वचनक्षणस्तु प्रतिवेधः परस्तादस्य वाचकः । तुङ्गनासिका । तुङ्गनासिका इत्यादि । मेढ । सङ्गनासिका । अनासिका । अथ वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गनासिकाभ्यां वचनात् ॥ ॥ स्वङी स्तुत्यादि । एतद्युक्तवचनवचनार्थेन प्रकारेण संप्रदायिभि कैपि ॥ भाष्यामनुक्तस्यादमनागमिनि प्रागागताः । अथ धार्मिकानि ॥ पुच्छाश्च ॥ सुपुच्छा । सुपुच्छा ॥ कनका- पिनिपिपाय्यो नियम् ॥ कनकापिप पुच्छा यथाः एव कनकापुच्छी नृसी इत्यादि ॥ उपनामासया पुच्छा- च ॥ निवर्तिनोः । उदकपुच्छी यथा । उदकपुच्छी तेन ॥

511. And the feminine ङीप् comes optionally after

compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip,' जङ्घा 'leg,' दन्त 'a tooth,' कर्ण 'ear,' and शृङ्ग 'horn'

The first two words नासिका and उदर are words of more than two syllables, and so would have been governed by the following sūtra. This sūtra debar the application of IV. 1. 56, which follows it on the maxim पुरस्त
"Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the Apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules."

While the five words ओष्ठ &c., were excluded from the operation of the preceding sūtra by the incidental negation (paryudāsa) of अन्त्ययोगेष्वन्यत् ॥ This present sūtra makes an exception to that exception with regard to these five words. This is on the maxim : मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्त नान्तरान्
"Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that PRECEDE, not those that follow them." Therefore though the sūtras IV. 1. 54 and 56, are superseded by the present sūtra, not so the sūtra IV. 1. 57, which supersedes this because of its being *subsequent* but one.

Thus तुङ्गनासिकी or तुङ्गनासिका; &c; but we have only one form as अङ्गनासिका, अङ्गनासिका by the operation of IV. 1. 57 S. 513.

In the opinion of Kātyāyana, the affix ङीप् optionally comes after शङ्ख, गज, कण्ड &c. Thus स्वङ्गी or स्वङ्गा &c.

According to others, all this as well as that which is not mentioned here may be taken as read into the sūtra by the force of the connecting particle च ॥ While on the other hand those who are very particular about authority, say that we cannot do so, because these are not mentioned in the *Baḍya*. Hence the following *Vartikas* :—

Vart :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail.' As सुपुच्छ or सुपुच्छी ॥

Vart :—The affix *ṅīṣ* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कर्त्र meaning variegated, picturesque मणि, विष and चर ॥ As, कर्त्रपुच्छी 'a peahen' मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and चरपुच्छी ॥

Vart :—So also the feminine affix *ṅīṣ* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उल्लापक्षी सेना. उल्लापुच्छी गणा ।

५१२ । न कोडादिवह्वः । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

कोडादिवह्वश्च स्वाङ्गाङ्गीप् । कर्त्राणकोडा । कर्त्राणाङ्गः कोडा । शङ्खसिगणोदय । सुजपना ॥

512. The feminine affix ङीप् does not come after

a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रीडा nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

क्रीडा means 'the breast of a horse.' The krodādi class is ākritigana. So is also वृजपत्नी which is a word of more than two syllables.

Note:—According to Ganaratnamahodanādi the word क्रीडा without any gender is read in the Ganapāṭha: implying that examples can be given with all the three genders. Mādhava derives it from krod with कृ; krodā meaning the breast of a horse and according to him क्रीडा is read in Ganapāṭha: and it forms Bahuvrīhi when it has the sense above given. Otherwise as a general svīnga word we have क्रीडा as कल्याणक्रीडी मयूरी ॥

Note:—The class क्रीडा &c. is akriti-gana, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रीडा, कल्याणवृज, कल्याणोखा, कल्याण शाला, कल्याण शका, कल्याण घाणा ॥ So also वृजपत्नी, वृजपत्नी, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are वृजपत्नी, पशुवृजपत्नी, महा-लक्ष्मणी ॥ The word क्रीडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pangvad-bhāva, and क्रीडा is shortened to क्रीडा because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).

५१३। सहनम् विद्यमानपूर्वांश्च । ४ । १ । ५७ ॥

सहेत्यादिष्विकपूर्वात्तु ङीप् । सकेषा । भकेषा । विद्यमाननासिका ॥

513. The affix ङीप् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नम् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus सकेषा, भकेषा, विद्यमाननासिका ॥

Note:—The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54.

५१४। नमः सुखात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ५८ ॥

ङीप् नो स्यात् । शर्पणक्षः । गौरवक्षः । सहायां किम् । वासपुत्री कन्या ॥

514. The feminine affix ङीप् is not employed after नमः, and सुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शर्प + नमः = शर्पणक्षः, 'Śarpṇakṣā the sister of Rāvaṇa'. The न् is changed to ण् by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 (पूर्वपदान् संज्ञायाम्) ॥ So also गौरवक्षः, Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness वासपुत्री कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel'.

५१५ । दिक् पूर्वपदान् ङीप् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदोक्तवाङ्मन्ताद्यातिपदिकात्परस्य ङीपो ङीवादेशः स्यात् । माहमुखी । आमुक्तं पश्य ॥

515. The feminine affix ङीप् replaces ङीप् after a Nominal stem denoting a part of the body which is preceded by a word signifying direction.

Thus माहमुखी ॥ The accent here falls on the first syllable.

Note:—This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 510 to 514. Wherever by those rules there would have been ङीप्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent; the affix ङीप् being anudatta (III.1. 4. S. 3709). Thus माहमुखी ॥

५१६ । बाहः । ४ । १ । ६१ ॥

बाहन्ताद्यातिपदिकान् ङीप् स्यात् । ङीपेवाभ्युपगन्तं न ङीप् ॥ दित्वाद् च मे द्विलोही च मे ॥

516. The feminine affix ङीप् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाह् ॥

The anuvṛtti of ङीप् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीप्, though the latter was nearer. Thus दित्वाद् च मे द्विलोही च मे ॥

Note:—The word बाह् is formed from the root वह् with the affix ङि (III. 2, 64). The word बाह् is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *indanta*, and have translated it by saying a “word ending in vāh.” Thus द्विलोही ‘sustaining the demon.’ This form is thus evolved:—दित्वा + बाह् + ङीप् = दित्वा + ऊह् + आह् + ङीप् (VI. 4, 132 बाह् ऊह्, Uth is the samprasāraṇa of vāh, when this is a bhā) = दित्वा + ऊह् + ङीप् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाद् ‘after a samprasāraṇa if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute’), = द्विलोही (VI. I. 89 S. 73 एतेभ्योऽङ्गु vṛddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ēth* follow). Similarly प्रद्विलोही ‘a young heifer training for the plough.’

५१७ । सख्यशिर्ष्विति भाषायाम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

इतिशब्दः प्रकारे भाषायामित्येवमन्तरं द्रष्टव्यः । उन्मत्स्यापि कृत्वा । सखी । शशिम्बी । आधिनयो धुनयन्तामशिश्वीः ॥

517. The form सखी ‘a female companion’ and शशिम्बी ‘a childless woman,’ are irregular forms ending in ङीप् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to Vaidic) Sanskrit.

The word इति in the sūtra has the force of प्रकार “thus” its syntacti-

cal position is after भाषायाम् ॥ Therefore we find sometime such use in the vaidic literature also.

*Note:—*Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and गारुडः विश्वस्तीति=ब्रह्मिणी ॥ Why do we say in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखासप्तपदी भव and अतिशुभं नामयं विश्वरुभिदम्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिद्वी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

५१८ । जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोषधात् । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

आनिवाचि यत्र च स्त्रियां नियतमयोषधे ततः स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ।

आ कृतिप्रकृता जातिः * ॥

अनुगतसंस्थानव्यङ्ग्येयर्थः । तदी ॥

लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ॥

सकृदाख्यातनिर्माणा * ॥

असर्वनिष्ठत्वे सत्येकत्वां व्यक्तौ कथनाद्व्यत्यन्तरे कथनं विनापि सुप्रदा जातिरिति लक्षणान्तरम् । वृषती । सत्यमे किम् । शुक्रा । सकृद्विद्या किम् । देवदत्ता ॥

गोत्रं च परमैः सह * ॥

अपत्यमस्यत्यन्तः शाखाध्येतवाग्नी च शब्दे आतिकार्ये लभत इत्यर्थः । औपगवी । कवी । बह्वृषी । ब्राह्मणीत्यत्र तु शार्ङ्गरवादिपादात् ङीप् ङीप् आधेयते । जातिः किम् । सुप्रदा । अस्त्रीविषयास्किम् । अनाका । अयापथास्किम् । साधिया ॥ औपधमतिपदे इयमावयुक्तयमनुष्यमस्यानामपतिषेधः * ॥ हवी । गवधी । मुकथी । हस्तद्वितस्त्विति यत्तौषः । मातुषी । मत्स्यस्य रुषाम् ॥ नवती ।

518. The feminine affix ङीप् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species, when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate.

The word जाति is thus defined:—

आकृतिप्रकृता अनिर्लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ।

सकृदाख्यात निर्माणा गोत्रं च परमैः सह ॥

(This verse is split up into three parts by Bhattoji and thus explained): आकृतिप्रकृताजातिः whatever is distinguishable from another (*species*) on account of its possessing certain form or figure (common to individuals of that class) is a jāti. Or a jāti noun is that which expresses a distinguishing feature. Thus तदी 'a bank, a place near the river.' But:—(2) लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् "Provided that it is not a word used in all genders" (for then it will be a genus and not *species*), सकृदाख्यात निर्माणा, but though not used in all genders, yet while employed to denote a single individual and therefore in singular number, it will apply to other individuals of the class without their being

519. And the feminine affix **ङीप्** comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of *jāti*, followed by the following **पाक** 'cooked,' **कर्ण** 'ear,' **पण्य** 'leaf,' **पुष्प** 'flower,' **फल** 'fruit,' **मूल** 'root,' and **वाल** 'youth.'

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females, and, therefore, were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus **बोदनपात्री**, **संकुकर्णी**, **शालपर्णी**, **शस्त्रपुष्पा**, **दासीकली**, **दर्भमूली**, and **नोवाली** all these are *rādhi* words expressing medicinal herbs.

When, however, the affix **ङीप्** is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with **फल**, **पुष्प**, and **मूल**, then those compounds will fall under *Ajādi* class (IV. 1. 4 S. 454; such as **संकला**, **भस्त्रफला**, **सत्पुष्पा**, **अमूल** &c.

५२० । इतो मनुष्यजातेः । ४ । १ । ६५ ।

ङीप् स्यात् । दासी । वीरपादपि । वनेयस्यापत्यं वीरयेयी । मनुष्येति किम् । तित्तिरिः ॥

520. The feminine affix **ङीप्** comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short **इ** denoting classes or races of men.

Thus **अवन्ती** 'women of Avanti,' **कुन्ती** 'women of Kunti,' **दासी** 'Dāksht.' Thus **अवन्ति + ड्यङ्** (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) 'आवन्त्यः men of Avanti.' In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 is elided. **दासी** "the female descendant of Daksha." Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness **विद्** 'Vaishya,' **इत्** 'Darat.' Why do we say "of men"? Witness **तित्तिरिः** 'part-ridge.'

Though the anuvritti of the word **जाति** could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1. 63, S. 518 its repetition here indicates that **ङीप्** is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is **इ**. Thus **वीरयेयी** ॥

Vart:—This rule applies to words ending in the *taddhita* affix **इम्** (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292) though they do not denote a *jāti*. Thus **सौतंगमी**, **नीनक्षिनी** ॥ The affix **इम्** here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 and ordained to come after **सुसंगम** &c, and does not denote a *jāti*.

५२१ । ऊङुतः । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उकारान्ताव्यापधान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियामूह स्यात् । ऊङुतः ॥ ऊङुतादिभ्यो ण्यः । सस्य स्त्रियामवन्तीत्यादिना लुक् । अयोवधास्तिकम् । अघपर्युः ॥ अघाणिशतेश्वरज्जवादीनामुपसंख्यानम् । रज्जवादिपुंसादावुपसंख्यानं एव । अमाध्या । कर्कश्या । अनयोर्दीर्घान्तयोऽप्य नोद्भास्योरिति वि मत्पुंसपरिप्रातिपद ऊङुतः कतम् ॥ प्राणिशतेश्वर ऊङुताङुतः । रज्जेश्वरस्तु रज्जुः । इतुः ॥

521. After a nominal-stem ending in short **उ** not having the letter **य** as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is **अङ्**.

The anuvṛtti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोध्यात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरुः 'a female of the country of the Kurus,' ब्रह्मवन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called," जीवबन्धूः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class."

Thus कुरु + ष्व = कौरव्यः IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 in the feminine.

Note :—The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form ककु (कुरु + उ = ककु) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V. 4. 154, S. 891 in Bahuvrīhis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मवन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

The indicatory letter ऊ in कङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sūtras like नोङ् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175 S. 3721), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sūtra VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there. Thus in ब्रह्मवन्धूः we could not have known the accent.

Why do we say "not having the letter इ as its penultimate"? Witness अय्यर्जुनद्विषी 'a woman versed in the Yajur Veda'.

Vart :—The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाङ् 'the bottlegourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Though these two words have ऊ in the masculine also, yet the addition of another long ऊ in the feminine indicates the difference of *accent*, though not of form, as अलाङ्गा and कर्कन्ध्या are svarita accented on the final by VI. 1. 175 S. 3721 Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाङ् 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c." Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c. The example अलाङ्गा is Instrumental singular, and it is here that the rule of accent can be illustrated, and not in the Nominative or Accusative.

५२२ । बाहुन्वात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रियामुङ् श्यात् । भद्रबाहुः । संज्ञायाम् किम् । वृत्तबाहुः ॥

522. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

भद्रबाहुः 'Bhādrabāhū'. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहुः 'a woman having rounded arms,' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

५२३ । पङ्गोश्च । ४ । १ । ६८ ॥

पङ्गुः । श्वशुरस्योकारात्कस्त्वोपध * ॥ आहूत् । पुंयोगलक्ष्यस्य ङीष्ोऽपवादः । तिङ्प्रविशित-
परिभाषया स्वाहयः । अश्वः ।

523. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'

As पङ्गुः 'a female lame',

Vart:—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter ञ and of the letter श of the word. As अश्वः 'mother-in law'. This debars the puṇyoga ङीष् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504. The case affixes are added to the base अश्व on the maxim प्रातिपदिक ॥ &c. see IV. 1. 1. S. 182.

५२४ । ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये । ४ । १ । ६९ ॥

उपमानवाचिपूर्वपदसूक्तत्तरपदे यथातिपदिकं सस्मादूह स्यात् । । करभोरुः ॥

524. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृक्षोरुः स्त्री "a woman with round thighs". The word कर्णुकर्णे "thigh like the proboscis (कर्) of an elephant (कर्णे)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विधत्ते च कर्णुकर्णेऽस्तिः ॥

५२५ । संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च । ४ । १ । ७० ॥

वनौपम्यायै सूचम् । संहितोरुः । श्वेप शफोरुः । शफौ छुरौ साविष संहितस्वादुपचातम् । लक्षणशब्दादर्शमायत् । लक्षणोरुः । वानीरुः ॥ संहितशफाभ्यां येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हितेन सह संहितौ ऊङ् पस्याः सा संहितोरुः । सहिते इति शफौ ऊङ् यस्याः सा शफोरुः । यद्वा । दिव्यमानवचनस्य सहस्र-
ब्दस्य ऊङ्प्रतिशयप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगः ॥

525. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)', शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cows foot', लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked', वानीरुः 'with handsome thighs.' The word lakshana here is a saddhita-formed word meaning "she who has the mark". The affix ऊङ् is added to lakshana by its belonging to शर्तादि class V. 2. 129. S. 1933.

Vart:—So also with the words सहिह and सह ॥ As सहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥ The word सह here has the force of denoting largeness or excessiveness though it literally means mere existence.

५२६ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ७२ ॥

कद्रुकम् लघोः संज्ञायाम् छियादृक् स्यात् । कद्रुः । कम्पण्डलः । संज्ञायाम् किय । कद्रुः कम्पण्डलः । अच्छन्दोर्ये वचनम् ॥

526. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कम्पण्डल ॥

This rule applies to other than Vaidic forms. Thus कद्रुः 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa,' कम्पण्डलः 'Karnandâlû.' Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रुः 'the tawny color.' कम्पण्डलः 'a water-gourd.'

५२७ । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीप् । ४ । १ । ७३ ॥

शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो योऽकारस्तदन्ताच्च जातिवाचिनो ङीप् स्यात् । शार्ङ्गरवी । बैरी । जाति-रिखमुवृत्तेः पुंवोने ङीप् । नृनरयोर्द्विजेति गणसूचम् । नरी ॥

527. The feminine affix ङीप् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरवा and the rest, and that which ends with the affix मञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârṅgrava woman.' So also after a word formed with the affix मञ् as, बैरी 'a female descendant of Bida.' This sūtra-applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debars the affix ङीप्, of IV. 1. 63 S. 518. &c., where it came after jāti-vāchaka words; but it does not debar that ङीप् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीप् of IV. 1. 48. S. 504.

The न् would have taken ङीप् by IV. 1. 5 S. 306 and नर would have taken ङीप् as it denotes a jāti. These words take vṛddhī before ङीप्, the form being ङीरी in both cases. This is by force of the sūtra नृनरयो &c. read in the following list. Such sūtras are called gaṇa-sūtras.

The following is a list of Sârṅgaravâdi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापट्य, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैद, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix मञ्, the first four being formed by the मञ् of (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) from शृंगर, कापट, गुगुलु and ब्राह्म; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the मञ् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV. 1. 41. S. 498 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मणकृतेय, 9 ज्ञानिपेय, 10 ज्ञानिपेय, 11 ज्ञानिकेय ॥ These are formed by ङङ् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) except kâmandaleya which is formed by ङङ् (IV. 1. 135 S. 1141.) 12 वास्तवयन, 13 वास्तवयन ॥ These are formed by ङङ् of IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. and IV. 1. 99.

S. 1101. and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकसेय is also formed by इन् (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126.) 15 काय, 16 दैव्य are formed by व्यङ् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189.) 17 एहि, 18 पॅयिहि are formed by इन् added to आ+इह 'to try', and परि+आ+इह (Uṇ IV. 117 सर्वधातुभ्य इन्) 19 आस स्य is formed by यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107).

○ औदपान is formed by अण् (IV. 3. 76 S. 1455). 21 अराल, 22 अण्डाल, 23 वृत्तण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिमत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix मनुप्, and are consequently ङगिन्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 6 S. 455). This ordains ङीन् ॥

५२८ । यङश्चाप् । ४ । १ । ७४ ॥

यङन्तात् स्त्रियां चाप् स्यात् । यङ इति व्यङ्प्यङो सामान्यग्रहणम् । आम्बश्या । कारीर-
गन्ध्या ॥ आद्यग्रन्थाप् वाच्यः * ॥ पौतिमाष्या ॥

528. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix व्यङ् or व्यङ् (with final acute VI. 1. 163.)

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes व्यङ् (as taught in IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 and यञ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198) as it is common element of both. Thus आम्बश्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashthya.'

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, कारीरगन्ध्या, &c.

Vart :—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यञ् when the letter य immediately precedes such yañ. As शार्कराक्ष्यौ 'a female descendant of Śārkarakṣha,' पौतिमाष्यौ 'a female descendant of Pūti-māshya.'

५२९ । आवट्याश्च । ४ । १ । ७५ ॥

आस्माख्याप् स्यात् । यञ्चेति । ङीपेऽपवादः । अवटशब्दो गर्गादिः । आवट्या ॥

529. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word अवट्य ॥

The word अवट belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) which after taking यञ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16 S. 471.) Thus आवट्यौ 'are female descendant of Avata.'

५३० । तद्धिताः । ४ । १ । ७६ ॥

आपञ्चपञ्चमादेशपिकारोऽयम् ॥

530. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book of Pāṇini, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita.

Note:—Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As युवतिः The word so formed is called Pratipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the word प्रत्ययः (III, 1. 1. S. 180) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्यं ज्ञामौ ॥ भवति पश्चाद् डिभच् ॥ As पार्थिव, जमिन्, आदिन्. पथिम् ॥ See Vart IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृत्वद्धितसमावाह्य I. 2. 46.

५३१ । यूनस्तिः । ४ । १ । ७७ ॥

युवन्शब्दात्तिप्रत्ययः स्वास्त च तद्धितः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया सिद्धे तद्धिताधिकार उत्तरार्थः । युवतिः । अनुपसर्जनान्दिद्येव । बहवो युवन्तो यस्यां ता बहुयुवा । युवतीति तु यौनेः शबन्तान् ङीप् बोध्यम् ॥

531. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवतिः 'a young maid.' By IV. 1. 5. S. 306 ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 65, S. 520 for the affix ति its elf is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita : or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 S. 520 would not apply. But when upasarjana we get the form बहुयुवा "a city containing many youths." The form युवती is by ङीप् added to the Present Participle युवन् ॥ and is a different word altogether.

अथ कारकादिविभक्ति प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KĀRAKAS.

५३२ । प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिक प्रातिपदिकार्थः । नाचशब्दस्य प्रत्येक शेषः । प्रातिपदिकार्थनाञ्जलिङ्गमात्राधिक्यं परिमाणमात्रे संख्यामात्रे च प्रथमा स्यात् । लघेः । नीचेः । कृष्णः । श्रीः । ज्ञानम् । अलिङ्गा नियतलिङ्गाच्च प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र इत्यस्यैवाहरणम् । अनियतलिङ्गास्तु लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यस्य । तटः । सटी । तटम् । परिमायनात्रे, द्रोणा व्रीहि । श्रेणरूपं यस्परिमाण सप्तार्तच्छत्रो व्रीहिरित्यर्थः । प्रत्ययार्थपरिमाणे प्रकृत्यर्थोऽभेदेन संसर्गेण विशेषणम् । प्रत्ययार्थस्तु परिच्छेदपरिच्छेदकमपि व्रीहौ विशेषणमिति धिवेकः । वचनं संख्या । एकः । द्वौ । बहवः । इहोक्तार्थस्यादिभेदेऽप्राप्तौ वचनम् ॥

532. Where the sense is that of the Crude form (I. 2. 45 S. 178) or where there is the additional sense of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed.

By the word "prātipadikārtha" (sense-of- the-crude form) is meant that meaning or connotation which is invariably present with the word. The word mātra "only" is to be taken in connection with each term severally in the sūtra.

Thus—where the sense is only that of the Prātipadika—इष्टः "aloft," नीचेः "below," कृष्णः Kṛishṇa, श्रीः Śrī, ज्ञानम् "knowledge".

These words have either no gender (as uchchais &c.) or a fixed constant gender, having no corresponding opposite gender, as Kṛishṇa &c.

While the words which have no fixed gender, will in addition to their own sense, denote gender also. As तट, सटी or तटम् "the (river) bank".

Where there is the additional sense of measure, we have द्रोणो व्रीहिः "rice of the measure of a Drona"—which means that quantity of rice whose measure is that of a Drona. Now "Droṇa" by itself denotes measure, the Nominative affix सु is added to it in the sense of measure—the latter has a general sense of measure, the first is a particular kind of measure. The two—the base and the affix—have been united together in denoting an indivisible single thing, where the sense of the base (Drona) qualifies (limits) the general sense of the affix (su). But though the force of the affix सु after व्रीहि is also that of measure—yet here the connection between the base and the affix is not abheda-sansarga, as it was in the case of drona and su: but on the

contrary, in the case of *vr̥thi* and *su*, the sense of the *affix* qualifies or limits the general sense of the base *vr̥thi*, it is the Divider of a particular quantity out of a big mass—the relation between the affix and the base here being that of *parichchhedaka* (‘measurer’) and *parichchhedya* (‘measurable’).

The word “*vachana*” means number; as एकः one, द्वौ two, बहवः many.

The terms *dvitīyā* &c., are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini; they apply to the triads of छप् affixes. कर्तुं करोति ‘he makes the mat,’ गन्तुं गच्छति ‘he goes to the village’.

५३३ । संबोधने च । २ । ३ । ४७ ॥

इह प्रथमं स्थानं । हे राम ॥

533. And when the sense is that of addressing the first case-affix is employed.

Thus हे राम O Rāma.

—————:0:—————

५३४ । कारके । १ । ४ । २३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

534. The phrase ‘*kāraka*’ (meaning ‘in the special relation to a word expressing an action’) is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Note.—Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a *kāraka*. Thus in ‘cooking,’ the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus ‘Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.’ Here Rama is agent *kāraka*; ‘food’ is object *kāraka*; ‘vessel’ is a locative *kāraka*, fire is an instrumental *kāraka*, ‘furnace’ is the ablative *kāraka* and ‘master’ is the dative *kāraka*.

The word ‘*kāraka*’ thus is synonymous with the word cause (*hetu*) and occasion (*nimitta*). ‘All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be *kāraṅgas*.’ Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a *kāraka* to a verb.

५३५ । कर्तुरिच्छित्ततमं कर्म । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

कर्तुः कियथा ज्ञान्मुनिदत्तमं कारकं कर्तुं देहं स्थानं । कर्तुः किय । भाष्येऽपि दधति । कर्मजं इच्छित्तं भाषा ननु कर्तुः । तद्वद्भाष्ये कियं । पयसा गोदधे मुहूर्तं । कर्मजमुक्ते । पुनः कर्मजमुक्ते भाषा-
रितप्रत्ययं । अन्यथा भर्तुं प्रवृत्तिनास्तिपय स्थानं ॥

537. When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, &c. i. e. when the verb &c. does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word.

Thus हरिं भजति "he worships Hari." But when the karma relation is specified by the verb &c., then the word will take the affix of the first case by the general rule II. 3. 64.

(The force of a case-affix is generally denoted either by *first* the conjugational affixes लिङ्; *secondly*, by the Primary affixes or कृन्, *thirdly*, by the secondary affixes लङित्; or *lastly* by compounds.) (Thus this sūtra declares that the second case-affix is applied in denoting the object, as कृद्वे करोति 'he makes the mat' ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village.') But the object can be denoted otherwise. Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as हरिं सेव्यते "Hari is served." Here the termination of the verb denotes the object. See sūtra I. 3. 13. and III. 4. 69. S. 2679 and 2152. So also by the kṛit affix, as लक्ष्म्या सेवितः "served by Lakshmi" sūtra III. 4. 70. S. 2833. So also by a Taddhita affix as शतम् or शतिका meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = सत्तेन खीतः Similarly, by samāsa, as प्राप्तां हानन्दोयं प्राप्तामन्वः "Whom happiness has reached."

Sometime the case-relation may be shown by a preposition or Nipāta: as विषवृक्षोऽपि स्वच्छम् स्वयम् छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम् ॥ Here विषवृक्षः is equal to विषवृक्षम् ॥ साम्प्रतम् means, "is proper." It is not proper to cut himself the poison-tree that one has grown.

५३८ । तथायुक्तं चान्नीप्सितम् । १ । ४ । ५० ॥

ईप्सितवत्तदधिक्येना युक्तत्वात्नीप्सितमपि कारकं कर्मसङ्गं स्यात् । ग्रामं गच्छन् ग्रामं स्पर्शति ।
जोषणं मुञ्चानो विषं मुञ्चन्ते ॥

538. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act, becomes, however, similarly connected with the action, it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anīpsita or object of aversion. Thus जोषणं वृषुषु. विषं मुक्तं "he eats poison while he was hungry for rice" ग्रामं गच्छन् ग्रामं स्पर्शति "going to the village, he touches the grass."

Here विषं and वृषं are in the Accusative case or karma-kāraṇa, though they certainly are not the things desired by the agent: but as they are *similarly* connected with the action, as the most desired things 'rice' and 'village,' so they also take the accusative case.

५३९ । अन्तर्हितं च । १ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपावानादिभिरेषैराविशितं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् ।

दुष्ट्याच्यच्छब्दरूपिप्रच्छिन्नमिहसासुमिन् १५५म् ।

कर्मपुष्पं स्वावकाशितं तथा स्यान्निरुद्धोपवाहम् ।

दुष्टादीनां दावधानां तथा नामधेयानां चतुर्णां कर्मयावद्युज्यते तदेवाकथितं कर्मेति परिगणनं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । मां हेमिषि पयः । बलिं याचते वसुधां । अविनीतं विनयं याचते । सन्दुलानोदने पचति । गर्गाम् शतं दण्डयति । व्रजगवहणद्वि गम् । माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति । वृक्षमवचिनोति कलानि । माणवकं धर्मं शृते शास्त्रि वा । शतं जयति देवदत्तम् । क्षुधां क्षीरनिधिं मध्नाति । देवदत्तं शतं घृणाति । पशमज्जां गयति हरति कर्पाति वहति वा ।

जर्थेनिमन्त्रणेनै संज्ञा । बलिं निक्षते वसुधां । माणवकं धर्मं भाषते अभिषत्ते दन्तीत्यादि । कारकं किम् । माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति ॥

अकर्मकधातुभिर्योरे देशः कालो भावो भन्तव्योऽध्वा च कर्मसंज्ञक इति यावदम् * ॥ कुर्वन् स्वपिबि । मासेनास्ते । गोदोहमास्ते । कोशमास्ते ॥

539. And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming under any one of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

Kāraka:—In the case of the twelve roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' मच्छ् 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' शृ 'to tell,' प्रास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ् 'to churn' छुप् 'to steal,' and also in the case of the four verbs गी, ह, कृष, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case.

As, मां हेमिषि पयः 'he milks the cow': बलिं याचते वसुधां 'He begs the earth of Bali'; अविनीतं विनयं याचते "he supplicates for tolerance from the intolerant;" similarly सन्दुलानोदने पचति, "He cooks the raw rice into boiled rice." गर्गाम् शतं दण्डयति, "He fines the Gargas a hundred pieces money." व्रजगवहणद्वि गम् "He shuts up the cow (in) the cow-pen." माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति, "He asks the boy (which is) the road." वृक्षमवचिनोति कलानि, "He gathers fruits from the tree." माणवकं धर्मं शृते शास्त्रि वा "He expounds Dharma to the boy or teaches him Dharma." शतं जयति देवदत्तम्, "He wins hundred from Devadatta." क्षुधां क्षीरनिधिं मध्नाति, "He churns out ambrosia from the ocean of milk." देवदत्तं शतं घृणाति, "He steals a hundred from Devadatta." पशमज्जां गयति-हरति-कर्पाति वहति वा "He leads the goats to the village or takes them or drags them or drives them." are examples of the other roots in order.

Since it is the *sense* of the verb that causes these nouns to get the designation of "Indirect Object," it follows as a necessary corollary that other verbs also, though not mentioned in the above list, but being *synonym*-

mous with those verbs, will take two objects. > Thus बलिं निक्षते बहुधा or मानवकं धर्मं भाषते, अग्निषत्ते or व्यक्तं &c.

Why do we say "a kāraka?" Observe मानवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति "He asks the father of the boy which is the road." Here मानवकस्य not being a kāraka retains the Genitive.

Vārtika. The Intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over. As कुरुम् स्वपिति "He sleeps in the land of the Kurus," मासमास्ते "He stays for a month," गोरोहमास्ते "He is engaged in milking cow," क्रोशमास्ते "He goes over one Krosa (two miles)."

५४० । गतिबुद्धिप्रत्ययस्नानार्थशब्दकर्माकर्मकाणामपि कर्ता सणौ । ११४ । ५२ ॥

यस्याथर्यानां शब्दकर्मणामकर्मकाणां चाणौ यः कर्ता स णौ कर्म स्यात् ॥

स प्रूनगमयास्वर्गं येषार्थे स्वानंवेवबन् ॥

आशयचाष्टवं वेदान्वेदमध्यापयद्विधिम् ॥ १ ॥

आसयत्सलिले पृथ्वी याः स मे श्रीहरिर्मेतिः ॥

गतीत्यादि किम् । पाचयत्योशनं देवदत्तेन ॥ अण्यन्तानां किम् । गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं तमपरः प्रयुक्-
को । गमयति देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं विष्णुमित्रः ॥ जीवह्योर्न * ॥ नाचयति वाहयति वा भारं पृथिन ॥ नियन्तु-
कर्तृकस्य वशेति निषेधः * ॥ वाहयति इयं वाहान् सतः ॥ आश्रित्याद्योर्न * ॥ आशयति स्थापयति वाप्तं
बहुना ॥ भवेत्तर्हि सार्थस्य न * ॥ भवत्ययत्रं बहुना । गर्हिसार्थस्य किम् । भवत्यति बनीयार्थान् सत्यम् ॥
अल्पतिप्रवृत्तीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अल्पयति भाषयति वा धनं पुत्रं देवदत्तः ॥ हृषेथ * ॥ दर्शयति हर्ति
भक्तान् । सूचे ज्ञानसमान्यार्थानामेव ग्रहणं न तु तद्विशेषार्थानामित्यनेन ज्ञाप्यते । तेन स्मरति किप्र-
तीत्यादीनां न । स्मरयति प्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन । ॥ शब्दाद्योर्न * ॥ शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन । धात्व-
यसंगुहीतकर्मन्धेनाकर्मकत्वात्प्राप्तिः । येषां देशकालादिभिर्न कर्म न संभवति तेऽप्याकर्मकाः । य एवाविद-
क्षितकर्माणोऽपि ॥ तेन मासमासयति देवदत्तमित्यादौ कर्मस्य भवत्येव । देवदत्तेन पाचयतीत्यादौ तु न ॥

540. That which was Agent of the Non-causal verb becomes the Karma (object) of the causal verb, when the verb has the sense of "to move," "to know," "to make sound" or "to teach" or is an Intransitive verb.

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense ; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged ; e. g. >

Thus in the verse above given :—

Causal.

स प्रून-गमयन् स्वर्गम्

He sent the enemies to Heaven.

Non-Causal

स प्रून-स्वर्गम् अगमयन्

The enemies went to Heaven.

वेदार्थं स्थान् नवेदयत्

He explained the sense of the Vedas to His own.

आशयत् च अमृतं देवान्

He made the Devas drink ambrosia.

वेदम् ब्रह्मापयह विधिम्

He taught the Veda to Brahmā.

भासयत् सलिले पृथ्वीम्

He fixed the Earth in Water.

स्वे (स्वकीयाः) वेदार्थमविदुः

His own understood the sense of the Vedas.

देवा अमृतम् आभनन्

The Devas drank ambrosia.

विधि वेदमध्वेन

Brahmā learnt the Vedas.

सलिले पृथ्वी भासत

The Earth floated on water.

Why do we say 'verbs of motion &c.'? Observe पाचयति भोदन् देवदेवेन "He gets the food cooked by Devadatta."

Why do we say "of the Non-Causal"? Observe that in गमयति देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्तं Devadatta makes Yajnadatta go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Devadatta to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो देवदेवेन यज्ञदत्तं गमयति 'Vishnumitra prompts Devadatta to cause Yajnadatta to go.' Here Devadatta is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Part:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. श्रमो भारं नयति वहति वा "A servant carries a load" becomes in causal श्रमेन भारं नययति वाहयति वा (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Part:—But वह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as वाहयति रथं वाहान् सृतः "The driver drives the chariot and the horses."

Part:—The causals of the roots कृद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case, e. g. बहुरक्षयति खादति वा "The boy eats his food," becomes in the causal, बहुनाक्षययति खादयति वा ॥ "(He) causes the boy to eat his food".

Part:—भक्ष्, when it has not the sense of 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भक्षयति वाजं वटुना Why do we say "not in the sense of injury"? Observe भक्षयति वटुना वटुनां सस्यम् ॥ "He makes the bullocks to injure the crops".

Part:—Enumeration should be made of आपयति &c. as आपयति आपयति वा पर्यं पुत्रं देवदत्तः. Devadatta teaches his son the dharma.

Part:—So also with दर्शयति; as दर्शयति हरिं भक्तान् "He shows Hari to the devotees".

Therefore, the rule will not apply to verbs like स्मरति 'he remembers', जिघ्रति 'he smells' &c. As स्मरयति पाचयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ "He makes Devadatta to remember or to smell".

Var:—Not so with the verb गच्छायति as: गच्छाययति देवदत्तेन "He causes Devadatta to make sound".

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above, is meant such roots, as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is quite evident; as, किकरः पचरः पचति ॥ Here पचति, though transitive is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किकरं पाचयति and not किकरं ॥ Thus in नासनासयति देवदत्तेन, the word नासम् is in the accusative case; but not so in देवदत्तेन पाचयति &c.

Note:—Patanjali, in his Mahabharata, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sūtra गतिबुद्धि &c. शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दे शब्दां क्रिया or शब्दां शेषां कर्म ॥

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्रयति (ह्र) कंदति (कंद) and गच्छयति (denom. of गच्छ) have to be excluded from the rule; as, ह्रयति देवदत्तेन ह्रययति देवदत्तेन; कंदति-गच्छयति-देवदत्तेन; कंदयति-गच्छयति-देवदत्तेन ॥ And the roots ध्रु, क्षा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, धृणोति विजानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तेन; ध्रावयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलभयति-देवदत्तेन ॥ When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प, भाष् with आ and लप with वि, must be included in the rule; जल्पति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तेन, जल्पयति-विलापयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तेन ॥

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged e. g.

Primitive.	Causal Active.	Causal Passive.
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति ॥ Rama goes to a village.	रामं ग्रामं मनयति ॥ (He) causes Rama to go to a village.	रामो ग्रामगम्यते ॥ Rama is caused to go &c.
शूयः कटे करोति ॥ "The servant prepares a mat.	शूयेन शूय वा कटं कारयति ॥ (He) causes the servant to prepare a mat	शूयः कटं कार्यते ॥ The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमासते ॥ Govind sits for one month.	गोविंदं मासमासयति ॥ (He) makes Govind sit &c.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥ Govind is made to sit &c.

(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge,' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa

c. g. नाशयन्तं धर्मं बोधयति 'he makes the boy know his duty'; माशयन्तो धर्मं बोध्यन्ते or माशयन्तं धर्मो बोध्यते. 'The boy is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to the boy'; बहुमेतन् भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food'; बहुमेतन् भोजयन्ते or बहुमेतन् भोज्यन्ते (S. K.).

With regards roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i. e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive verb, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वामनो बलिं वसुधांयाचते (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं वसुधां याचयति '(God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth'. गोपेऽज्ञां नगरं हरति; (स्वामी) गोवं गोपेन बाबां नगरं हरयति ॥ '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

५४१ । हृकोन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

हृकोरणौ यः कर्ता स णौ वा कर्म स्यात् । हरयति कारयति वा भृत्यं भृत्येन वा कर्म ॥ अभिवादिदणौ एतन्परे वेति वाच्यम् * ॥ अभिवाचयति दर्शयति देव भक्तं भक्तेन वा ॥

541. The agent of the verb in its non-causal form, in the case of *hri* "to lose" and *kri* "to make," is optionally called karma or object when these verbs are causal.

Primitive.

Causal.

As हरति भारं भृत्यः ॥

हरयति भारं भृत्यं or भृत्येन ॥

The servant takes the load.

He causes the servant to take the load.

करोति कटं भृत्यः ॥

कारयति कटं भृत्यः or भृत्येन ॥

The servant makes the mat.

He causes the servant to make the mat.

Var!—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवाद् and हृद् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the Causal; as.

Primitive.

Causal.

अभिवदति देव भक्तः ॥

अभिवाचयति देवं भक्तं or भक्तेन ॥

The devotee bows down to the Deity. He makes the devotee bow down to the Deity.

पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् ॥

परायन्ते भृत्यान् राजानं or पराचन्ते भृत्यः ॥

The servants see the king.

He makes the servants see the king.

५४२ । अधिशोऽन्वयासां कर्म । १ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अधिपृष्ठांशानिपात्राणः कर्म स्यात् । अधिशेति अधिशिष्यति अध्यास्ते वा विकृष्टं हरिः ॥

542. That which is the site of the verbs शी 'to lie down,' स्था 'to stand,' आस 'to sit,' when preceded by

the preposition अधि is, however, called karma kāraka or object.

This ordains Accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case. As अधिपतेति अधितिष्ठति अथास्ते वा दे कुण्डं हरिः ॥ "Hari lies down in, occupies or rules the Vaikuṇṭha.

५४३ । अभिनिविशश्च । १ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अभिनीत्येतत्संपातपूर्वस्य विशतेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् । परिक्रम्येति स्वीयत्वमिति सूत्रादिह मन्त्रकाल्पित्वाऽन्यतरस्यां महाननुवर्त्य अथस्थितविभाषाप्रयत्नात्तद्विज्ञ । पण्डितमिनिवेशः ॥

543. That which is the site of the verb अभिनिविश् 'to enter,' is also called karma-kāraka.

As अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् 'he resorts to the good path'. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra I. 4. 44. S. 580 should be read into it, though between I. 4. 44 S. 580 and the present sūtra I. 4. 47 S. 543 two other sūtras intervene, in which the anuvṛtti of option is not read. This leaping over intermediate sūtras and exerting its influence on a remote sūtra is based on the maxim of "frog-leap." The option however, will be a settled option—"vyavasthita vibhashā".

Thus we have the following forms also पण्डितमिनिवेशः "resorting to sin." कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः "resorting to good". The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

५४४ । उपान्वध्याङ्त्वञ्च । १ । ४ । ४८ ॥

उपादिपूर्वस्य वसनेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । उपवसति अनुवसति-अधिपसति आवसति वा देकुण्डं हरिः ॥ अनुत्तर्यस्य न * ॥ वने उपवसति ॥

उभयसर्तयोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ॥

हितोयाऽऽसेदितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यथापि दृश्यते * ॥

उभयतः कुण्डं गोपाः । सर्वतः कृष्णम् । धिक् कृष्णामक्तम् । उपर्युपति लोकं हरिः । अधर्धधि लोकम् । बाधोऽपि लोकम् ॥

अभितः परितः समवातिकवाशमतिर्योगेऽपि * ॥ अभितः कृष्णम् । परितः कृष्णम् । धानं समया । निकषा लक्ष्मम् । हा कृष्णामक्तम् । तस्य शोच्यत इत्यर्थः अनुपतिनं न मतिनातिं किपित् ॥

544. That which is the site of the verb वस् 'to dwell,' when preceded by upa, anu, adbi, and ān, is called karma-kāraka.

As उपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिपसति or आवसति देकुण्डं हरिः 'Hari dwells in Heaven'.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote "lying in a locality". As वने उपवसति "he fasts in the forest". Here the verb "upavasati" governs the locative case and not the accusative.

Vartika:—The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽधो, अध्वधि, when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative; sometimes other cases also. As उभयतः कृष्णगोपाः 'on both sides of Krishna are the gopas' सर्वतः कृष्ण 'on all sides of Krishna'; धिक् कृष्णभक्तम् 'fie to non-devotee of Krishna'. उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः 'just over the lokas is Hari, अध्वधि or अधोऽधो लोकम् 'just below the loka'.

Vart:—The words अभितः, परितः both meaning 'round,' समया, निकषा both meaning 'near' and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern the accusative case; as, अभितः or परितः कृष्णम् 'round Krishna' ग्रामं समया 'near the village' निकषा लङ्काम् "near the Lanka". हा कृष्णभक्तम् 'woe be to non-devotee of Krishna, ब्रुक्षित्तम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind'.

५४५ । अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते । २ । ३ । ४ ॥

आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । अन्तरा त्वां मां हरिः । अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखम् ॥

545. A word joined with (or governed by) the word antārā, or antareṇa takes the second case-affix.

Note:—The anuvṛtti of dvitīya is understood here and not that of tritīya. Both these words antāra and antareṇa are Nipatas. They govern the accusative. This debars the genitive case. The word antāra means 'between,' while antareṇa means 'besides that,' 'without,' 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding'.

As, अन्तरं हरिं न सुखं 'there can be no happiness without Hari' अन्तरा त्वां मां हरिः 'Hari is between thee and me'.

Why do we say 'when joined with?'. Observe अन्तरा तत्कालिनां पदविपुलं सुखस्य प्राकारः ॥

—:O:—

KARMAPRAVACHANĪYAS.

५४६ । कर्मप्रवचनीयाः । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

546. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanīya.

Note :—These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed *upasarga* and *gati*. As 'सुस्तुतं भवता' 'well praised by you.' सु सिक्कं भवता "you have sprinkled well." Here सु is a karma-pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the सु into ष (VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270). The word karma-pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms, such as, टि, चि, घृ, &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. (It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.)

५४७ । अनुर्लक्षणे । १ । ४ । ८४ ॥

लक्षणे योऽनुर्लक्ष्यते स्यात् । ननुपसर्गसंज्ञापवाहः ॥

547. The word *anu* when it denotes a sign, is called *karma-pravachaniya*.

The word *lakshana* means a sign; an attendant circumstance, an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of *अनु* in this case is that of 'after, 'in consequence of,' 'because of,' or 'being indicated by'.

This debars the designation of *gati* and *upasarga* with regard to *anu* meaning *lakshana*.

५४८ । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ८ ॥

एतेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । अनुपसर्गमावर्षेत् । हेतुभूतजपोपलक्षितं यद्वैश्वदेवियः । एतद्वैश्वदेविति तृतीयोऽनेन बाध्यते । लक्षणेऽथ भूतत्वादिना सिद्धिं पुनः संज्ञाविधानसाधयति ॥

548. The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a *karmapravachaniya* (I. 4. 83).

As अनुपसर्गमावर्षेत् 'it rained after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers'. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachaniya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action;

The third case affix ordained by the subsequent sūtra II. 3. 23. S. 568 even is debarred by the present sūtra, so far as *अनु* is concerned. This is because, though *अनु* would have been a *karmapravachaniya* by I. 4. 90 S. 552 it has been read again in I. 4. 84 S. 547.

Note :—Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been *karma pravaachaniya* even by force of sūtra 552 following, where also the word *lakshana* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachaniyas* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8 S. 548) even in expressing हेतु (II. 3. 23. S. 568). Otherwise Rule 568 would have set aside Rule 548 c. the

present sūtra, by the maxim of वस्तु I. 4. 2. S. 175 and would have caused a karma pravachanīya to govern an Instrumental case, where the sense was that of both.

So also शाकल्यस्य संहिताम्नु प्रावर्षत् = शाकल्येन सुकृतां संहिताम्नुनिशाम्य देवः प्रावर्षत् ॥ "The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Sakalya". The force of a karma pravachanīya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga, whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun, which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example संहिता is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशाम्य understood.

५४९ । तृतीयायै । १ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अस्मिन् बालेऽनुवृत्तसङ्गः स्यात् । नदीमन्ववसिता सेना । यथा सह संवृत्तार्थः ॥ विम्बं वम्बनेक्तः ॥

549. The word अनु is karma-pravachanīya, when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or 'along with.' As नदीमन्ववसिता सेना "the army lying along side the river".

The word अवसिता is derived from विम्ब meaning 'to bind', with the past participial affix क्त ॥

५५० । हीने । १ । ४ । ८६ ॥

हीनेऽप्येवम्नु प्रावर्षत् । अनु हरिं हराः । इहेनात्तर्यः ॥

550. The word अनु is karma pravachanīya, when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

As अनुहरिं हराः 'The gods are inferior to Hari'

Note:—The word हीन means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. (In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case.) As अनुशाकतयाने 'देयाकरणाः' all grammarians are inferior to Sakatayana.

५५१ । उपोऽधिके च । १ । ४ । ८७ ॥

अधिके हीने, न हीने वर्यस्येन प्रावर्षत् रवात् । अधिके राज्ञी वर्यते । हीने, वर्यते हराः ॥

551. The word उप when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachanīya.

That is, when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as *सुप* हरिं सुरः "The gods are inferior to Hari." In this sense *सुप* governs the accusative case.

When *सुप* means 'superior,' then it governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior; examples of this will be given hereafter.

५५२ । लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्तास्तु प्रतिपर्यन्तवः । १ । ४ । ६० ॥

एवयं विषयभूतेषु प्रत्याख्य वक्तव्यताः स्युः । लक्षणे, वृत्तं प्रति पर्यन्तु वा विद्योतते विशु-
द्ध । इत्थंभूताख्याने, भक्ता विष्णुं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । भागे, लक्ष्मीर्हरिं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । हरिर्भाग इत्यर्थः ।
वीप्तायाः, वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा सिद्ध्यति । अक्षोपसर्गत्वभावात् पर्यन्तु । एषु किम् । पर्यदिष्यति ॥

552. The words *prati*, *pari* and *anu* are *karma pravachaniya* when used in the sense of (1) 'sign' 'in the direction of' (2) 'mere statement of a circumstance' ('as regards') (3) division 'share of' and (4) 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति—परि or अनु विद्योतते विशुद्ध 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree'. (2) भक्तो विष्णुष प्रति—परि-अनु "devotee towards Vishnu" (3) हरिं प्रति लक्ष्मीं 'Lakshmi fell to the lot of Hari'. So with परि and अनु ॥ (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिद्ध्यति "he sprinkles one tree after another". So with परि and अनु ॥ Here these words, not being *upasargas*, do not change the *स* of सिद्ध्यति to *ष*, as required by VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270. Why in these senses only? Observe पर्यदिष्यति ॥

५५३ । अभिरभागे । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

भाषवर्गे लक्षणादावभिरुक्तार्हः स्यात् । हरिणामि वर्तते । भक्ता हरिणि । देवदेवममिमिष्यति ।
अभागे किम् । यच्च ममाभिध्यात्तरीयताम् ॥

553. The word *abhi* is *karma-pravachaniya*, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, or 'share of'.

The illustrations given under the last *sūtra mutus mutandi* apply here also, with the exception of those given under head *स* ॥ As हरिणामि वर्तते, भक्तो हरिणि; देव देवममि सिद्ध्यति ॥ Why do we say 'when it does not mean division or the share of'? Observe ममममामि म्यान् सद् दीयताम् 'give that which falls here to my share'. Here *abhi* is an *upasarga*, and therefore *स* of *सिद्ध्यति* is changed into *ष* by S. 2270.

557. The word अपि is a kārma-pravachaniya, when it implies, "the sense of word understood", ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

In the above senses of "somewhat," "even" "if you like", "even", and "and", the word अपि gets the designation of Karma-pravachaniya.

As सपिपेदपि स्यात् "there may be a drop of ghee." Here since अपि is not an upasarga, the स of स्यात् is not changed to ष (VIII. 3. 87. S. 2472).

There is Potential Mood with the force of संभावना in the above example. (When there is such a doubt or uncertainty with regard to the existence of the agent of the verb, that is to say, (when owing to the scarcity of the agent, it is doubtful whether it exists or not, there the word अपि denoting 'scarcity' is related with the verb syāt.) The word सपिपेदः in the above example is in the Genitive case, and by force of the word अपि, it denotes that the word बिन्दु "a drop" which is understood here is related to सपिपेदः, as a part is related to its whole. The full sentence will be सपिपेदोऽपि बिन्दुः स्यात् ॥ The force of the genitive, therefore, here is to denote the general relation of part to the whole, of a "drop" to the whole "Ghee." This is the only way in which the word अपि can denote an *object* (padārtha): namely, to express scarcity owing to the scarcity of a drop even. The second case-affix ordained by II. 3. 8. S. 548, does not apply here, and so the word सपिपेदः is not put in the accusative case. This is because, it has already been said above, that the word सपिपेदः is syntactically connected with the word बिन्दुः understood, and not with the Karma-pravachaniya अपि.

Secondly, when अपि has the force of sambhāvana; as अपि स्तुवाद् विष्णुम् ॥ Vishnu who is not to be expressed by word or comprehended by mind, is being praised. The meaning is that a person who is capable of praising Vishnu the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Unutterable, is certainly able to praise other Divinities lower in rank. It is needless to say that he can praise others. Here the word अपि expresses "possibility" itself; while in the first example, it expressed the scarcity of the object of possibility. The word अपि being a Karma-pravachaniya, the स is not changed to ष by VIII. 3. 65. S. 2270.

The word एवम् means the sense of another word which is not expressed, but has to be supplied. As सपिपेदपि एवम् 'there may be perhaps a

drop of ghee,' मधुनोऽपि स्यात् ॥ 'Here some word like bindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little,' mātrā 'a measure' &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिचन् मूलकसहस्रं क्षणेनैकेन 'possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment'. अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् "he can praise even Vishnu". In the above cases, it is used with the Potential mood. अन्वत्तर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिच 'you may sprinkle, if you like.' अपि स्तुहि 'you may praise, if you like.' The word वृक्षं means 'censure, contempt or reproof'. As धिग् द्वेष्टन्नपि स्तुयाद् वृषत् ॥ The word बहुपय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिच 'praise as well as sprinkle'.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into द ॥

५५८ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

एष द्वितीया स्यात् । मासं कल्याणी । मासमधीते । मासं सुदधाना । कोशं कुदिता नदी । कोशमधीते । कोशं गिरिः । अत्यन्तसंयोगे किम् । मासस्य द्विरधीते । कोशस्यैकोऽपि पर्यतः ॥

558. After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration.

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), मासं सुदधाना । कोशं कुदिता नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' कोशं गिरिः 'the hill through one full kos'.

The word अत्यन्तसंयोगे or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance.

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or कोशस्यैकोऽपि पर्यतः ॥

Here ends the Accusative Kāraka.

KARTĀ

OR

THE AGENT KĀRAKA.

५५९ । अत्यन्तस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ५४ ॥

(अत्यन्तस्य अत्यन्तस्य । अत्यन्तस्य कर्ता । अत्यन्तस्य ॥

559. What ever the speaker chooses as the in-

dependent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartâ or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta, cooks.' स्यात्ती पचति 'the pot cooks.'

THE INSTRUMENTAL KÂRAKA.

५६० । साधकतमं करणम् । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

क्रियासिद्धौ प्रकृतोपकारकं करणसंज्ञं स्यात् । तद्वत्प्रत्ययं किम् । गङ्गायां घोषः ॥

560. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karana kâraka.

Why do we say 'especially'? (Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense.) Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः "the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges." कूपे गर्गकुलम् "the family of frogs in the well, i. e. on the sides of the well."

५६१ । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया । २ । ३ । १८ ॥

अनभिहिते कर्तरि कारणे च तृतीया स्यात् । रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली ॥

प्रकृत्याविद्य सप्तसंख्यानम् * । प्रकृत्या चारुः । प्रायेण व्याप्तिकः । गोमेधा गार्ग्यः । सनेनेति । विपनेनेति । द्वित्रिणेन धाम्यं कीयाति । झ्येन दुःखेन वा यातीत्यादि ॥

561. In denoting the agent or the instrument the third case-affix is employed.

As रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली 'Bâli was killed by Râma by an arrow.'

Vart:—The following words take the 3rd case. प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोष 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्वित्रिण, पंचक and सारस as प्रकृत्याचारुः, प्रायेण व्याप्तिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोमेधेन, सनेन or विपनेन एति, द्वित्रिणेन धाम्यम्, कीयाति झ्येन दुःखेन वा यातीत्यादि. &c.

५६२ । दिवःकर्म च । १ । ४ । ४३ ॥

दिवः साधकतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात्प्रात्ययसंज्ञम् । अक्षरेत्यान्वा सीप्यति ॥

562. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव 'to play' is called karma (object); as well as karana, (instrument)

565. By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed.

As, अक्षया काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खंभः 'lame of foot,' पाणिना कुण्डः &c. The word *ahga* in this *sūtra* applies to the whole body. Whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here. Why do we say 'defect of a limb'? Observe अक्षिकाणमस्य "His eye is blind."

५६६ । इत्थंभूतलक्षणे । २ । ३ । २१ ॥

काचिश्चकारं प्राप्तस्य लक्षणे तृतीया स्यात् । जटाभिस्तापसः । जटाज्ञाप्यतापसत्वादिषिट् इत्यर्थः ॥

566. Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition is put in the third case to express this relation.

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair.'

Note.—अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्रक्षति 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandala.' But not so here, कमण्डलुपाशिक्षावः 'a student has kamundala in his hand.' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाशि is hidden the mark.

Why do we say *ittha-bhūta*? Observe वृक्षं प्राप्तिं विधोतनं ।

५६७ । संज्ञाऽन्यतरस्या कर्मणि । २ । ३ । २२ ॥

संपूर्णस्य जानाने कर्मणि तृतीया वा स्यात् । पिता पितरं वा संजानीते ॥

567. After the verb *sam-jūā*, the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object.

पिता or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father.'

५६८ । हेतौ । २ । ३ । २३ ॥

हेत्वर्थे तृतीया स्यात् । द्रव्यादितापारणे निर्व्यापारताधारणे च हेत्वत्त्वम् । कारणत्वं तु क्रियाभावविषये व्यवहारनिरासे च । अनेन घटः । पुष्पेन हस्तो हस्तिः । कट्यापीठं हेतुः । अथय्येनन यस्यति । सम्प्रसादादि क्रिया कारकादिभक्तौ प्रयोजिका । बल भवेण । अनेन माभ्यं नाभ्यं/त्यर्थः । इह तापमहिर्वा प्रति श्रेयः कारणम् । अनेन अनेन बलान्वाययति पयः । एतेन परिच्छिद्यत्यर्थः ॥ अक्षिप्तव्यवहारे दाणः प्रयोगे अतुल्यार्थे तृतीया * ॥ दास्या संवच्छन्ते कातुकः । धर्मं तु भार्य्ये संवच्छति ॥

568. When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix.

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame,' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family;' कन्धया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief.'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical *hetu* (I. 4. 55 S. 2575.) which is "agent." <Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called *hetu*, where the thing produced is a substance, or a quality (गुण): or action (क्रिया), but where the action is not primarily taken into consideration.>

The difference between *hetu* and *Karāṇa* is this, that any substance, quality or action in general, by which any object in general is accomplished, without referring to any action necessarily is a *hetu*; while *karāṇa* is confined to action only, and its scope is always limited to that action necessarily. This is expressed by the following verse:—

द्रव्यादि विषयो हेतुः कारकं नियतक्रियम् ।

व्यवहिते तु व्यापारे निमित्तं हेतुरित्यख्ये ॥

As an example of substance (द्रव्य) being a *hetu*, we have दण्डेन पटः "A pot made by the stick." Here the stick is used to make the potter's wheel revolve. But it is not absolutely necessary. The wheel might be moved by *hand* as well. So the *stick* not being absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the act, gets the name of *hetu*. As an example of *guṇa-hetu*, we have पुण्येन शैत्यम् "white races get that color by their merit—while black races are sinners." Here "*white*" is an attribute or quality, the *hetu* of which is *punya*, but white colour may be acquired by other things than *punya* also. In short, *hetu* is that which effects something in the shape of a substance or action or quality; and which is not immediately connected with any verb. <The *karāṇa* is always so connected with a verb, and gives rise only to action, and not to a substance or quality.>

As an example of action (क्रिया) we have पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः "Hari is seen through virtue." Here *punya* means the highest merit (*apūrva*) acquired by deeds, and not any particular sacrifice &c. So it is not a *karāṇa*, <for it is not absolutely necessarily implied in the idea of seeing.>

The FRUIT ALSO is *hetu* in the sense of this sūtra. As ब्रह्मवनेन वसति "He dwells with the Guru with the object of getting instruction."

An action not expressly mentioned in a sentence, but which may be inferred, may be the cause of giving rise to *kāraka*-inflection. As अनेन श्रमेण "no necessity of exertion." Here *Srameṇa* is in Instrumental *kāraka*, without any verb expressed, the understood verb being श्रम्य माहित ॥ Here श्रम or exertion is *karāṇa* or instrument to the verb श्रम्य "accomplishment" understood. The full sentence being "by exertion, accomplishment is not possible, to do not exert." So also राम राम राम रामणि "He makes the calves

to drink by hundred, that is, he waters the calves, by dividing them into groups of hundreds.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative, in connection with the verb दा 'to give,' when immoral conduct is implied.) As दास्यते संबद्धते काशुकः "The profligate gives to the slave to entice her." दास्य replaces दा by VII. 3. 78. S. 2440. But when proper conduct is meant, we use the Dative, and Parasmaipada, as भार्यायै संबद्धति "He gives to his wife." See I. 3. 55 S. 2728, for the use of the Atmane and Parasmai Padas.

In the above *vārtika* the words दाणः प्रोक्त 'when the verb दा is employed' are redundant. Because, by I. 3. 55 S. 2728, दा alone takes the Instrumental case, with the force of the Dative, under certain circumstances.

—————:0:—————

THE DATIVE KARAKA.

५६९ । कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् । १ । ४ । ३२ ॥

दानस्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानसंज्ञाः स्यात् ॥

569. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of the verb दा 'to give' is called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

Note:—Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not 'every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb दा to give; and this we infer from the word संप्रदान which has the root दा in it.

Note:—As दद्यात्तयाय मां ददाति "he gives the cow to the teacher." मायुदकाय भिक्षाम् ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

५७० । चतुर्थी संप्रदाने । २ । ३ । १३ ॥

विभाव मां ददाति । भनभिहित इत्येव । दानस्यो विभः ॥

क्रियया यमभिप्रैति सोऽपिसंप्रदानम् * ॥ पत्येते ॥

कर्मणोः कर्त्तृसंज्ञा संप्रदानस्य न कर्मसंज्ञा * ॥ पशुना दत्तं यजेते । पशुं दद्यात् पशुत्वव्यर्थः ॥

570. In denoting the *sampradāna-kāraka* (I. 4. 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun.

As विप्राय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the learned.' The word अन्नभिहिते is understood here also. See II. 3. 1 S. 536. Therefore we have the form दानीयोदिपः also, where the affix अनीयद् is used with the force of sampradāna.

Vart:—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As पत्न्ये शेते 'she sleeps for her husband.'

Vart:—After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karaṇa) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma).

Thus पशुना रुद्रं यजेते or पशुं रुद्राय ददाति 'he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra,' which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra.'

५७१ । रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

रुच्यर्थानां प्राप्तानां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थः संप्रदानं स्यात् । हृद्ये रोचते भक्तिः । गन्ध-
कर्तृकोऽभिलाषो रुचिः । हृदिनिष्ठप्रीतिर्भक्तिः । कवी । प्रीयमाणः किम्, देवदत्ताय रोचते मोक्षः
पथि ॥

571. In the case of verbs having the signification of the root रुच 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradāna.

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word *ruchi* or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थः. (A desire or longing caused by something else, is called *ruchi*. As हृद्ये रोचते भक्तिः "devotion pleases Hari." Here *bhakti* is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Hari.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोक्षः पथि. "Devadatta likes sweet-meat in the way." The word 'pāthi' is here in the 7th case.

५७२ ॥ स्तुत्याहुस्त्वाशनां प्रीप्स्यमाणः । १ । ४ । ३४ ॥

एवं प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थः संप्रदानं स्यात् । गोपी स्तुत्याहुस्त्वाय स्तुत्याय ह्येति तिष्ठते दाते वा ।
प्रीयमाणः किम् । देवदत्ताय स्तुत्याय पथि ॥

572. In the case of verbs *stūta* 'to praise,' *hnu* 'to take away,' *sthā* 'to stand,' and *śap* 'to curse,' the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, those actions, is called Sampradāna.

The word प्रीयमाण means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As गोपीस्तुत्याहुस्त्वाय स्तुत्याय । "Gopi praise > Krishna," i.e. while praising

Krishna she wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As कृष्णाय हुते "she hides from the ८० wives for the sake of Krishna," (wishing that Krishna should know of it) कृष्णाय तिष्ठते "she stays or waits for Krishna." कृष्णाय वदते 'she reviles Krishna.'

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय श्लाघति पथि. Here pathi is in the Locative case.

५७३ । धारेरुक्तमर्णः । १ । ४ । ३५ ॥

धारयतेः प्रयोगे उक्तमर्थो उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः । उक्तमर्णः किम् । देव-
दत्ताय दत्तं धारयति ग्रामे ॥

573. In the case of the verb dhāri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradāna.

The word उक्तमर्थः is compounded of two words उक्तम् 'best' and ऋण 'debt' meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्थः 'debtor.' As भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः "Hari owes salvation to His devotee."

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय दत्तं धारयति ग्रामे 'he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village.' Here village is in the Locative case.

५७४ । स्पृहेरीप्सितः । १ । ४ । ३६ ॥

स्पृहयतेः प्रयोगे इदं संप्रदानं स्यात् । पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति । र्प्सितः किम् पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति ।
र्प्सितमात्रे इयं संज्ञा । प्रकर्षविवक्षायां तु परत्वात्कर्षसंज्ञा । पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

574. In the case of the verb *sprih* 'to desire,' the thing desired is called Sampradāna.

The verb स्पृह 'to desire,' belongs to the *Churāḍi* class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers.'

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe पुष्पेभ्यः वने स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers in the forest.' Here वने is in the Locative case, the Sampradāna being confined to the object desired only.

This definition of the Dative is only confined to the thing desired. But where superiority or excellence is to be expressed, then by the next sūtra, the thing desired will get the designation of karma and will be in the objective case, as पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

५७५ । कृषागार्थानां प्रयोगे ये प्रति कोपः । १ । ४ । ३७ ॥

कृषागार्थानां प्रयोगे ये प्रति कोपः स उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । इत्ये कृषयति । इहयति । र्प्सितं शासु-
यति । ये प्रति कोपः किम् । गार्थानां र्प्सितं नैवानन्योऽज्ञासोऽस्ति । कोपोनेपः । द्रोहेऽपराधः । इत्येऽशमाः ।

असूयाः गुणेषु दोषाद्विकल्पम् । द्रुहावयोऽपि कोपप्रभवा एव सृजन्ते । अतो विरोधार्था सामान्येन च प्रति कोप इति ॥

575. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* 'to be angry,' *druh* 'to injure,' *irshya* 'to envy,' *asūyā* 'to detract,' the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

As इत्ये क्रुध्यति, द्रुहति, ईर्ष्येति or असूयति "he is angry upon, (i. e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds the faults with Hari." Here Hari is in the Dative case.

* *Krudh* means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *irshya* jealously; and *asūya* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus भावोदीर्येति 'he is jealous of his wife,' i. e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word 'bhāryā' is in the accusative case. The words द्रुह &c., here should be taken as given birth to by 'anger.' Therefore they are all qualified by the common adjective "च प्रति कोप" in the sūtra.

५७६ । क्रुधद्रुहोपसृष्टयोः कर्म । १ । ४ । ३८ ॥

दोषसर्गदोषनयोरे प्रति कोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसहं स्यात् । क्रुधमिदं क्रुध्यति अभिद्रुहति ॥

576. But in the case of the verbs '*krudh*' and '*druh*,' when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *kārma* *kāraka* or object.

क्रुधमिदं क्रुध्यति अभिद्रुहति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As संबन्धाय क्रुध्यति.

Note:—This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word *upavishita* means having an *upasarjita* or preposition.

५७७ । राधीदयोर्नस्य विप्रत्ययः । १ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एतयोः पाठकं संवसानं स्यात् । राधीयो विविधाः प्रत्ययः क्रियते । क्रुध्यति राधति ईरति वा । एते तयोः प्रथमस्य चर्माणि प्रथमस्य चर्माः ।

577. In the case of the verbs *rādhi*, 'to propitiate,' and *iksh* 'to look to,' the person about whose good or bad

fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word viprasna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus कृष्णाय राध्याति-ईक्षते गर्गः 'Garga is favorable to or looks to Krishna' the sense is that being casually asked by Krishna, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Krishna.

Note :—Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As सिष्याय राध्याति or ईक्षते, वा युक्तः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

५७८ । प्रत्याह्व्यां श्रुतः पूर्वस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां परस्य श्रुतोत्तरयोरेव पूर्वस्य प्रयत्नरूपव्यापारस्य कर्ता सम्प्रदानं स्यात् । विभाव रां प्रति-
श्रुत्योति आश्रुत्योति वा । विवेकः नृक्षं देहीति प्रवर्तितः प्रतिजानीत इत्यर्थः ॥

578. In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

As विभाव रां प्रतिश्रुत्योति—आश्रुत्योति "he promises a cow to a learned man."

Note :—The compound verb प्रानश्रु and श्रुश्रु means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case.

५७९ । अनुमतिगृणश्च । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

आभ्यां गृणतिः कारके पूर्वव्यापारस्य कर्तृभूतश्रुतसङ्गं स्यात् । शेषेऽनुगृह्याति मतिगृह्याति ।
होता मयमं शेखति नमभ्यर्चुः प्रोक्तादयतीत्यर्थः ॥

579. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradāna.

The phrase pūrvasya kartā of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As शेषेऽनुगृह्याति or प्रतिगृह्याति. They encourage the Hotri i. e., the Hotri priest invokes first, the Adhvaryu then follows him in invocation and by so doing encourages him.

Note :—The words अनुमरः and मतिमरः mean encouraging the invoker.

In other words, (when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'avul' (III. 3. 10,] is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case.)

Thus फलंभ्यो याति = फलान्वाहंतुं याति 'he goes for fruits i. e. to bring fruits.' This debars accusative case. So also we have नमस्कुरुते नृसिंहाय "we salute Man—Lion to propitiate Him." So also in स्वयम्भुवे नमस्कृत्य &c.

५८२ । तुमयाञ्च भाववचनात् । २ । ३ । १५ ॥

भाववचनांति सञ्जनं वा विहितस्वरन्ताश्चतुर्थी स्यात् । यागाय याति । दण्डं यातीत्यर्थः ॥

582. The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III. 3. 11. S. 3180) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose).

As यागाय याति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = दण्डं याति ॥

Note :—The word तुम्य means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्' ॥

५८३ । नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलं वषट्योगाच्च । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

एतयोर्गे चतुर्थी स्यात् । इदं नमः । * उपपत्तिभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्विधीयसी ॥ नमस्करोति देवान् । प्रजाभ्यः स्वस्ति । अग्रये स्वाहा । पितृभ्यः स्वधा । अलमिति पर्यायपदसङ्गम् । तेन इत्येवो ह्यारस्ते प्रभु समर्थः शक्त इत्यादि । प्रभान्त्येगे पण्ड्यापि साधुः । तस्मै प्रभवति स एषां आत्मणोर्गतिं निर्देशात् । तेन प्रभुर्देवप्रभुजनत्रयस्येति सिद्धम् । वषट्किङ्कारः । अकारः पुनर्विधानर्थः । तेनाधीर्विशालायां परमणि चतुर्थी आशियोर्नि पठौ बाधित्वा अतुर्थ्येव भवति । स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

583. The fourth case-affix is employed (in conjunction with words namaḥ 'salutation,' svasti 'peace,' svāhā, svadhā (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashaṭ a term of oblation.)

As इदं नमः But in नमस्करोति देवान्, the word देवान् is in the Accusative case in accordance with the following Paribhāṣā.

Paribhāṣā—"A case-termination, which if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base is instrumental in bringing about the action denoted by the Verb of a sentence, possesses greater force than a case-termination which might be added to the same base, because of the presence in the same sentence of a word requiring the

addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter”.

Note :—Accordingly देवान् has received the termination of the Accusative case by II. 3. 2. S. 537' because the Accusative; namely the Devas are the object of the action denoted by नमस्करोति, and it has not received the termination of the dative which case is governed by the word नमः ॥ उपपदविभक्तिः कारक विभक्तिर्वलीयसी The meaning of उपपदविभक्ति is “that case which is used in connection with a certain word and has not any direct relation with the verb in the sentence.” Such as the dative case in हृदये used in connection with नमः ॥ Here the dative has no connection with the verb and is brought about by the force of नमः ॥ कारकविभक्ति is the Vibhakti added on to the word which denotes the person or thing taking part in an action. The maxim says Karaka Vibhakti is stronger than Upapad-vibhakti.

स्वस्ति प्रजम्भ्यः, स्वाहाऽग्ने, स्वधा पितृभ्यः, अले मल्लो नम्राय ‘Salutation to Gods’; ‘svāhā to Agni’; ‘svādhā to the Pitṛis’; ‘an athlete is a match for an athlete’ &c., The word अले, includes its synonyms also, as मनुः, शक्तः &c.; as देवेभ्यो हरितले, प्रभुः, समर्थः, शक्तः &c.

The use of Genitive is also valid in connection with मनुः &c. Because we find sentences like तस्मै प्रभवति (V. 1. 101 S. 1765) स एषां मानवीः (V. 2. 78 S. 1878) Therefore this is valid :—प्रभुर्वैमनुमुपवनयत्यय ॥ So also सर्पादन्नाय ॥

The च indicates that the Dative, will debar the Genitive, in spite of II. 3. 73 S. 631 in the case of these words, though used benedictively; as, स्वस्तिगोमयी भूयात् ॥

५८४ । मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु । २ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्राणिपदो मन्यतेः कर्मणि चतुर्थी या रदाचित्स्कारे । न एषां वृणं मन्ये मृगाय वा । इदमन्निर्दिष्टाचारिकमिति न । न एषां वृणं मन्ये । अप्राणित्वस्यपनीय गोधाकाशमुकशृगालपक्षिभिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ तेन न एषां नावयते वा मन्ये इत्यप्राणित्वेति चतुर्थी न । न एषां वृणं मन्ये इत्यप्राणित्वेति चतुर्थी न । न एषां वृणं मन्ये इत्यप्राणित्वेति चतुर्थी न ।

584. In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya ‘to think,’ the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown.

Ex. न एषां वृणं मृगाय वा मन्ये ‘I do not consider thee worth a straw.’ The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्य. So also the sūtra uses the form मन्य, with the विकाराना इदम्, indicating that it is Divādi that governs a dative, and not the Tanādi मन्यः for the latter governs the accusative only, as न एषां वृणं मन्ये ॥

The words “which is not an animal” in the sūtra are useless

and should be removed. Because even when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative:—as न त्वां शूने मत्ते "I do not regard thee even as a dog." See the VĀrtika given below.

Vart.—Instead of using वृत्तानिषु in the sūtra, the word वृत्तानिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvādi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मत्ते, never in the Dative:—वा 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक्र 'parrot,' and मृगाल 'jackal.'

Hence नाव and अन्न although inanimate are not put in the dative in त्वां नावमन्नं मत्ते ; त्वां शूने मत्ते ॥

५८५ । गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयास्तुर्थो चेष्टायामनध्वनि । २ । ३ । १२ ॥

अध्वनिरे गत्यर्थानां कर्मणि एते स्तत्रिष्टायां । मानं ग्रामाय वा गच्छति । चेष्टायां किन् । मनसा हरिं ब्रजति । अनध्वनीति किम् । पन्थानं गच्छति । गच्छाभिप्रेतेऽनध्वन्येयार्थं निषेधः । यदा ह्यव्ययान्यथा एवाकस्मिन्मिथ्यते तदा चतुर्थी भवत्येव । इत्यथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

585. In the case of roots implying motion, the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case, in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant, and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

As, मानं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village.' Why do we say 'when physical motion is meant? Observe मनसा हरिं ब्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari.' Why do we say 'when the object is not a word expressing road'? Observe पन्थानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way').

The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road; so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the Dative will be employed, as इत्यथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

—:O:—

THE ABLATIVE KĀRAKA.

५८६ । ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । १ । ४ । २४ ॥

अपायो विश्लेषस्तस्मिन्नाप्ये ध्रुवमवधिभूतं कारकमपादानं स्यात् ॥

586. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point, from which departure takes place, is called apādāna or ablation.

५८७ । अपादाने पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २८ ॥

ग्रामाद्वाति । धावतोऽश्वात्पतति । कारकं किम् । वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति ॥ जुगुप्साविरागप्रणाश-
र्षाणादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ पापाञ्जलुमुप्सते विरमति धर्माद्यमाद्यति ॥

587. When the *Āpādāna-kāraka* is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed.

As, ग्रामाद्वाति 'he comes from the village'; धावताऽश्वात्पतति 'he falls off a galloping horse.'

Why do we say कारक in explaining the sūtra? Observe वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति ॥ The leaf of the tree falls: (Here 'वृक्ष' has no direct connection with the Verb, hence it is not कारक) ॥

Vārtika :—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus पापाञ्जलुमुप्सते or विरमति, 'he dislikes or ceases from sin,' धर्माद्यमाद्यति, 'he deviates from the path of Virtue.'

५८८ । भयार्थानां भयहेतुः । १ । ४ । २५ ॥

भयार्थानां काण्डार्थानां च प्रयोगे भयहेतुरप्यत्राह स्यात् । चोराद् विभेति । चोरान् बध्नेति । भयहेतुः किम् । अरण्ये विभेति वायते वा ॥

588 In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger,' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called *Āpādāna*.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चोराद् विभेति "he is afraid of the thief," चोरान् बध्नेति or रक्षति "He protects or saves from the thief."

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (*bhaya-hetu*), is put in the ablative case? Observe अरण्ये विभेति or वायते "he fears or protects in the forest."

५८९ । पराजैरमोदः । १ । ४ । २६ ॥

पराजैः प्रयोगेऽपमत्ताऽप्यप्यत्राह स्यात् । अप्ययनात्पराजयते । न्यायतीत्यर्थः । अतोऽहं किम् । पश्यन्पराजयते । अभिभवतीत्यर्थः ॥

589. In the case of the verb *parāji*, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called *Āpādāna*.

When the verb *parāji* "to conquer," with the preposition *parā* has the

sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable,' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते "he finds study unbearable."

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe लङ् पराजयते "he defeats the enemies."

५६० । वारणार्थानामीप्सितः । १ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रवृत्तिविशेषे वारणम् । वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे ईप्सितोऽर्थोऽपवादने स्यात् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति । ईप्सितं किम् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति क्षेत्रे ॥

590. In the case of verbs having the sense of "preventing," the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off, is called Ablation or Apādāna.

⟨The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vāraṇa or prevention⟩ As यवेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति "he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley."

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे "he wards off the cow in the field."

५९१ । अन्तर्धौ येतादर्शनमिच्छति । १ । ४ । २८ ॥

व्यवधाने सति यत्कर्तव्यत्वात्ततो दर्शनस्याभासमिच्छति सवपादानं स्यात् । नातुर्निक्षीयते कृष्णः । अन्तर्धौ किम् । यौघात् विदुषोः । इच्छतिप्रत्ययः किम् । अदर्शनेच्छायां सत्तां सत्यपि दर्शने यथा स्यात् ॥ देववचाद् यत्तदन्तो निक्षीयते ॥

591. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apādāna.

Thus नातुर्निक्षीयते कृष्णः "Krishna conceals or hides from his mother," so that the mother may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षते "he does not wish to see the thieves." Here the term chaurān is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apādāna kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he is seen. As देववचाद्यत्तदन्तो निक्षीयते ॥

५९२ । आख्यातोपयोगे । १ । ४ । २९ ॥

नियमपूर्वकविद्यादीकारे यत्ता माकलंताः स्यात् । उपाध्यायादधीते । उपयोगे किम् । गुरुः शिष्यां शृणोति ॥

592. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apādāna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

*Note:—*The word आसनात् means "teacher," and उपयेन means acquiring knowledge in the regular way.

Thus उपपाद्यादधीते "he learns from the preceptor."

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नदस्य गायं शृणोत 'he hears the song of the player,'

५९३ । जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः । १ । ४ । ३० ॥

आयमानस्य हेतुस्पादानं स्यात् । स्रग्जनः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते ॥

593. The (prime cause of the agent of the verb jan "to be born," is called Apādāna)

As स्रग्जनः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते the creatures come out 'of Brahma.'

*Note:—*That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan is put in the ablative case.

५९४ । भुवः प्रभवः । १ । ४ । ३१ ॥

भवनं भूः । भूकर्तुः प्रभवस्तथा । हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति । तत्र प्रकाशत इत्यर्थः ॥
एत्यनेन कर्मण्यधिकरणे च * ॥ प्रासादात्प्रभवते । प्रासनात्प्रभवते । प्रासादमारुह्य भासते
उपदिश्य प्रेक्षत इत्यर्थः श्वशुराज्जिह्वेति । श्वशुरं वीक्ष्येत्यर्थः ।

गम्यमानाऽपि क्रिया कारकविभक्त्यानां निमित्तम् । यस्मात्प्रत्ययः नद्याः ॥

यद्यथाधरकावनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी * ॥ तद्यत्कावधवनः प्रथमासप्तम्यौ * ॥ काव्यासावनी
च वक्तव्या * ॥ यनादमागे योजने योजने च । कार्त्तिक्या प्रामहावनी भवति ॥

594. (The source of the agent of the verb bhū, "to become," is called Apādāna).

The phrase 'of the agent' (kartuh,) is understood here. The word प्रभव means "the source or that from which anything arises." As हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति "the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas."

The fifth case-affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided; as प्रासादमारुह्य भवते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace.'

*Part:—*And under similar circumstances, in denoting the location, the place where an action is performed, is put in the ablative case, as, वाससे उपविश्य वेदंते = भागवत्प्रेक्षते 'he sees from the seat.' So also श्वशुराज्जिह्वेति = श्वशुरं वीक्ष्य 'He becomes shy at the sight of his father-in-law.'

A verb understood is also a cause that gives rise to kāraka inflection.
As उपपाद्यात् नदस्य ॥

Vart :—That point of time or space, from which distance in time or space is measured, is put in the Ablative case :—as, वनात् ग्रामो योजने योजने वा "The village is one or two yojanas from the forest."

Vart :—After a word denoting time, the seventh case is also employed in the sense of ablation. As कार्तिक्या माघश्रावणी मासे 'Agrahāyana is one month from Kārtika.' The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case here as मासे ॥

Vart :—In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative ; as गवीधूमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्धु योजनम् ॥

५९५ । अग्न्यादिदत्तं दिक्पञ्चाङ्गुत्तरपदाजाहियुक्तं । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

एतद्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अन्य इत्यर्थमहम् । इतरग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्यम् । अन्यो भिन्न इत्ये वा कृष्णात् । आराधनात् । कृत कृष्णात् । पूर्वे ग्रामात् । दिशि दृष्टः शब्दो दिक्शब्दः । तेन समक्षि देशकालवृत्तिना योगोऽपि भवति । चैत्रातूर्ध्वः फाल्गुनः । अवयववाचिद्योगे तु न । तस्य परमावेदितमिति निर्देशात् । पूर्वं कायस्य । अङ्गुत्तरपदस्य तु दिक्शब्दस्योपि दन्त्यसंयोगे षष्ठी बाधितुं प्रयत्नमहम् । प्राक्, प्रत्यग्या ग्रामात् । गाश्च, हस्तिग्राह्य ग्रामात् । आहि, वस्तिग्राहि ग्रामात् । अपादाने पञ्चमीति सूत्रे कार्तिक्याः प्रवृत्तीति भाष्यप्रयोगान् प्रवृत्त्यर्थयोगे पञ्चमी । भवावधृति आरभ्य वा सेव्यो हरिः । अपपरिवाहिति समासविधानाज्ज्ञापकाहृदियोगे पञ्चमी । ग्रामादहिः ॥

595. When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ārat 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or pite 'without,' or (words indicative of the 'directions') (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix āch or āhi (V. 3. 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed.

The word अन्य in the sūtra includes all words having the sense of अन्य, i. e. all words meaning 'other than.' इतर must be synonymous with अन्य for the application of this sūtra. Its use in the sūtra is therefore only illustrative. When इतर means नीच "low," then the sūtra does not apply.

As अन्ये, भिन्नो, इतरो, कृष्णात् "different from Krishna," अतद् वनात् "remote from or near to the forest". (The word ārat meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 611, but this enjoins 5th case-affix) एते कृष्णात् 'excepting Krishna.' पूर्वं ग्रामात् 'east of the village' The word दिक् 'direction' includes here every word which is employed primarily in denoting direction and nothing else. Therefore, the rule applies when such a word is used in connection with point of time, as देशात्

पूर्वः फाल्गुनः, "The month Phalguṇa is anterior to Chaitra." Here the direction denoting word पूर्वः governs the Ablative. But when it means "member," it does not govern the ablative, for Panini himself shows this in the construction of the sūtra तस्य परं अत्रिङितम् VIII. 1. 2. S. 83. Here परं does it not govern the ablative, and the sūtra is not तस्मात् परं &c. Thus पूर्वः कालस्य, here पूर्वः does not govern the ablative.

The words like प्राक् &c., formed from the verb अञ्च are also द्विवचनः; their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case-affix ordained by the sūtra 609 does not come after them. उत्तरे ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वो ग्रीष्मात् वसन्तः 'the spring is prior to summer.' With अञ्चु we have प्राक् पश्यन्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village,' with आच् we have दक्षिणा-ग्रामात् ॥ and with अहि we have दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् both meaning 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village.'

In commenting on the sūtra II. 3. 28. S. 587 Patanjali gives the example कर्तव्यः प्रभृति, which shows that प्रभृति and its synonyms also govern the ablative case. Here प्रभृति means भारभ्यः ॥ Thus भवात् प्रभृति आरम्भो वा सेध्यां हरिः "Hari is to be served by all commencing with Bhava downwards."

The word बहिष् governs the ablative, and this we infer from II. 1. 12 S. 666, which says "The words अप, परि बहिष् and indeclinables ending in अङ्गु may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case." This rule of samāsa implies that बहिष् governs fifth case: as ग्रामाद् बहिष् ॥ This rule being inferred by implication is not universal, on the maxim शापशसिद्धं न सर्वम् ॥ Therefore we have कस्य कर्मोबहिः and not कसम् ॥

—:—

The three particles अप, पर and आद् govern the ablative, when they are Karmapravachanīya. The next two sūtras describe when they are Karmapravachanīya.

५९८ । अपपरी यजेने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

यतो यजेने कर्मप्रवचनीयो यत् ॥

596. The words apa and pari are karman-pravachanīya, when meaning 'exclusion.'

thoroughly." Here it is an upasarga, meaning thoroughly and hence changes the स into य ॥

५९७ । आह् मर्यादा वचने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आह् मर्यादावचनसंज्ञः स्यात् । वचनमप्यत्रावभिविधायां ॥

597. The word *ân* "as far as", is *karma-pravachaniya* when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or 'as far as exclusive of.')

(The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant.) As आपत्यन्तिपुत्राद् दृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (but excluding) Pâtaliputra" आपत्यन्तिपुत्रं दृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (including) Pâtaliputra," आकुपारं यशः पाणिनेः ॥ आसंकाश्यान्, आ मथुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix, it does not get this name.

(The मर्यादा is the limit exclusive (विना तेन), while आवभिविधि is the limit inclusive (सह तेन) ॥) The construction of the sūtra would have been better if it had been the same as II. 1. 13 S. 667 आह् मर्यादाविविधयोः ॥

५९८ । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः । २ । ३ । १० ॥

हेतुः कर्मप्रवचनीयेष्वेव पञ्चमी स्यात् । अपहरेः परिहरेः संसारः । परित्र वञ्चने । लक्षणादेव तु हरिपरि । आश्रुतेः संसारः । आसकलादुच्यते ॥

598. The fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the *karmapravachaniya* *apa*, *ân* or *pari*.

अप or परि हरेः संसारः "The samsāra is outside of Hari" Here the force is that of exclusion.

(The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88) being read along with अप; therefore, not here वृत्तं परि विद्योर्लौकं विद्युत् (I. 4. 90 S. 552), or हरि परि where the meaning is that of "sign" &c. mentioned in I. 4. 90 S. 552.

So also आश्रुतेः संसारः = मुक्तिं मर्यादीकृत्य "the samsāra has its sway up to mukti, but not with it or beyond it," आसकलादुच्यते "Bramha is in every thing." Here अ has the force of inclusion, = संकेतनाभिप्रायः ॥

५९९ । प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

प्रतयोरर्थयोः प्रतिरूपसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

599. The word *prati* is *karma-pravachaniya* when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

Note :—That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि ॥ Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान ॥

६०० । प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् । २ । ३ । ११ ॥

अथ कर्मप्रवचनीयैयोगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णाद्याति । तिलेभ्यः प्रतिपद्यते माषान् ॥

600. The Fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed after whatsoever is governed by the karmapravachaniya प्रति when used in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I. 4. 92).

As प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात् प्रति "Pradyumna is the representative of Kṛishṇa" तिलेभ्यः प्रतिपद्यते माषान् "he exchanges māsās for the sesamum."

६०१ । अकर्तृयुगे पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २४ ॥

कर्तृवर्जितं यद्यं हेतुभूतं ततः पञ्चमी स्यात् ॥ शतद्वयः । अकर्तरि किम् । एतेन बन्धितः ॥

601. A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartṛi or agent, takes the fifth case-affix.

As शतद्वयः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe एतेन बन्धितः, 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison'; here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

६०२ । विभाषागुणेऽस्त्रियाम् । २ । ३ । २५ ॥

युगे हेतावलीलिङ्गे पञ्चमी वा स्यात् । आख्यातजातेन वा बहुः । युगे किम् । धनेन कृतम् अस्त्रियां किम् । पुरुषा युक्तः । विभाषेति योगविभाषादगुणि स्त्रियां च कश्चिन् । धूमदस्त्रियाम् । नास्ति चेतोऽनुपपत्त्ये ॥

602. The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.'

1. The ablative is used optionally when the noun expresses the cause of a thing, whether material or attributive; whether feminine or masculine. This rule is of limited scope.

Therefore a feminine word even will also govern the ablative. As धूनावसिमान्, "By reason of the smoke, (we infer the mountain to be) fiery," नास्ति घट इत्यत्र: "There is no pot here, because it is not perceived."

2. The ablative is employed when a word expresses attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender

६०३ । पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३२ ॥

पृथगेति तृतीया-स्यात्पञ्चमीद्वितीये च । अन्यतरस्यां प्रत्ययं सङ्गच्छार्थम् । पञ्चमीद्वितीयेऽनुवर्तते । पृथग् रामेण रामात् रामे वा । एवं विना नाना ॥

603. When joined with the words *prithak* 'without,' *vinā* 'without' and *nānā* 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second).

As रामाद्वागेण रामे वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Rāma.'

Note :—This sūtra may be divided into two parts :—(1) पृथग् विना नानानिः (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ By this arrangement we can read dvitīya into the aphorism.

विना रामं विना वदं विद्युन्मपत्तनं विना ।

विना भक्तिं कृतान्दोषान् केनेनो पतितौ द्वौ ॥

The word *anyatarasyām* in the sūtra is for the sake of "collecting"—i. e. it includes the dvitīya as well as panchamī-vibhaktis. In the *Ashtādhyāyī*, the arrangement of the sūtras are 1. अपादाने पञ्चमी, 2. अन्यासादितरत् &c. 3. तत्पर्य &c. 4. एनया द्वितीया 5. पृथग् विना &c.

Now in case the third-case-affix is not employed, then the second case-affix *alone* would be employed, because dvitīya is used immediately in the preceding sūtra. But if the second case-affix will come optionally, then the fifth will also come. But fifth is necessary (not optional); and thus the *simultaneous* employment of the three (5th, 2nd 3rd) will be impossible. Hence we say that the word *anyatarasyāma* of the sūtra must mean "aggregation or collection". Thus by *frog leap* we draw in the *anuvṛtti* of *pañcamī* from sūtra II. 3. 28, S 587 while we draw in *dvitīya* from the sūtra immediately preceding the present. नाना has also the sense of exclusion, as said in the *Āmarakośha* दिग्द नाना च वर्जने (*aryaya varga* verse 3) as in नाना नार्यं निष्कला लोकयाया ॥

different from that of a word related to a verb (kāraka); and from that of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika)

As, राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशोः पादः 'beasts foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son.'

The sixth case should also be employed when the mere relationship of kārakas like karma (Accusative) &c. is intended to be expressed. As सतां गतम् = सत्पुरुष सम्बन्धिगमनम् "the going of the good, i. e. the going relating to the good." So also सर्पिर्वै जानीते "He knows about ghee" i. e. every thing relating to ghee, its price, manufacture, quality &c. Here sixth case is used with the force of the Instrumental = सर्पिः संबन्धिं प्रवर्तते ॥ Others take it in the sense of karma, explaining it as सर्पिः संबन्धिं ज्ञानं ॥

So also मातुः स्मरति ॥ "He remembers his mother." एधादकस्योपस्कुरुते (see 614). "Fuel does good to water i. e. purifies it. Or heats it." The word edhodaka is either a samâhâra compound of एधाद्य दक्षकच; or एधांसिच दक्षक ॥ The word दक is an abbreviated form of दक्षक ॥

So also भजे शंभोश्चरणयोः 'I worship the feet of Shambhu.' and कलानां सुप्तः "satisfied with fruits."

६०७ । पृथी हेतुप्रयोगे । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

हेतुवाक्यप्रयोगे हेतौ योऽपि पृथी स्यात् । अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

607. The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun (implying the cause of an action) (when the word "hetu" is used along with such a word)

As, अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food.' This ordains sixth case, where there would have been otherwise the third case.

६०८ । सर्वनामस्तृतीया च । २ । ३ । २७ ॥

सर्वनामो हेतुवाक्यस्य च प्रयोगे हेतौ योऽपि तृतीया स्यात् पृथी च । केन हेतुना वसति । कस्य हेतोः ॥

निमित्तवशादायायमे सर्वानां प्रायश्चयनम् * ॥ किमिति वसति । केन निमित्तेन । कस्य निमित्ताद्येत्यादि । एवं किं कारणं को हेतुः किं प्रयोजनमित्यादि । प्रायश्चयनात्सर्वनामः प्रयनाद्वितीये न स्तः । ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हेतिः सध्यः । ज्ञानाय निमित्ताद्येत्यादि ॥

608. After a sarvanâmman (I. 1. 27 S. 213) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word 'hetu' is used with it, the sixth case-affix is employed, as well as the third.

As कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' वाच्य or कस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

Vart:—When the words निमित्ते or कारण or its synonyms are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed; as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति ॥ Similarly with the words kâraṇa and hetu. किं कारणं, को हेतुः, किं प्रयोजनं &c. Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word-form hetu (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its synonyms also; as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c., वसति ॥

By the employment of the word प्रायः, (the First and the second-case-affixes do not come after non-sarvanama words) As, ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हरिः हृद्यः or ज्ञानाय निमित्ताय &c.

६०६ । पष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन । २ । ३ । ३० ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । विकस्येति पठ्यन्मा अपवादः । प्रायस्य वक्ष्यतः पुरः पुरस्ताद् वरि उपरिधात् ॥

609. The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V. 3. 28 S. 1978).

The affix अतमुच् is ordained by V. 3. 28. S. 1978.

It debars the fifth case affix ordained by V. 3: 27 S. 1974.

As प्रायस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्ताद् उपरि उपरिधात् वा 'to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village.'

६१० । एनपा द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ३१ ॥

एनजत्तेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । एनवेति योगविभागात्पठ्यपि । दक्षिणेन प्रायं प्रायस्य वा । एतद्युक्तेषु ॥

610. With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V. 3. 35 S. 1984), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth.

As, दक्षिणेन प्रायस्य प्रायस्य वा 'south of the village.' So also उत्तरेण ॥ By the rule of yoga-vibhā, we get the sixth case-affix also.

६११ । दूरान्तिकार्थः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एतेषां षष्ठी स्यात्पञ्चमी च । दूरं निकटं प्रायस्य प्रायसाद्वा ॥

611. When in conjunction with words having the sense of 'dūra' 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is employed and also the Fifth.

As प्रायसाद् प्रायस्य वा दूरं दूरं दूरिष्ठं, आन्तिकं, अन्तिका, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village.'

६१२ । ज्ञोऽविद्वर्थस्य करणे । २ । ३ । ५१ ॥

आनतिरज्ञानार्थस्य करणे दोषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो ज्ञानम् ॥

612. Of the verb ज्ञा *jñā*, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix.

As सर्पिषोज्ञानम् ॥

Note:—The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of 'to act, or to engage in;' or it may denote 'false knowledge'; as, सर्पिषि रक्तः प्रतिहसो वा ॥ Compare I. 3. 54.

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice.'

६१३ । अधीगर्हद्व्येशां कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एदां कर्मणि दोषे षष्ठी स्यात् । मातुः स्मरणम् । सर्पिषो दयम् । ईशानं वा ॥

613. Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (*adhik*) and of *daya* 'to give,' 'to pity,' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of *īśa* 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As मातुः स्मरणम् 'he remembers the mother.' सर्पिषो दयं न ॥ ईशानं वा 'he gives clarified butter,' नायं मातृजालीने 'he can not rule his limbs.'

Note:—But not so here मातुर्द्व्यैः स्मरति because दय्य here is not the object, (The word दोष is also understood here. So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case. So that मातुर् स्मरति is also allowed.)

६१४ । कृमः प्रतियज्ञे । २ । ३ । ५३ ॥

कृमः कर्मणि दोषे षष्ठी स्यादगुणाधाने एषो दत्तस्योपस्करणम् ॥

614. The object of the verb *kṛi* takes the sixth case-affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I. 3. 32).

As एषोदकस्योपस्करणम् 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice). (By VI. 1. 139, S. 2552 स is inserted).

Note:—When प्रतियज्ञ is not meant, the second case-affix is employed; as कर्तुं करोति ॥

The word दत्त is also understood here. So that we have also एषोदकद्वयमुदये ॥

६१५ । रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामञ्ज्वरेः । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकर्तृकाणां अविवर्जितानां रुजार्थानां कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा ।
अञ्ज्वरिसंताप्योरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ रोगस्य चौरश्चरः । चौरसंतापो वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसंबन्धि उपसर्ग-
कनित्यर्थः ॥

615. The object of verbs having the sense of
ruj 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb
jvaraya 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when
the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is
an Abstract noun).

* As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा "the disease afflicts the thief" चौरस्यानयति नायकः ॥

Varṭika:—It should be rather stated "with the exception of
चरस्य or संतापस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe
नदी कूलानि रुजते 'the river breaks the banks' So also not-here चौरं ज्वरयति चरः
'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति
तापः ॥

The word ताप is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजते रोगः ॥

६१६ । आशियि नाथः । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीर्यस्य नाथतेः शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । तर्पितो नाथनम् । आशिपीति किम् ।
नाथयकनाथनम् । तत्संबन्धिनी दारुणेत्यर्थः ॥

616. Of the verb nāth when meaning 'to bless';
the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As तर्पितो नाथनम् 'the blessing of the honey.' Why do we say 'to
bless'? Observe नाथयकनाथनम्, 'he entreats the boy.' Here नाथ does not
mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

६१७ । जामिनिप्रदणवाटकाथपिपां द्विस्तायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

द्विस्तार्थानामेवं शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । श्रीमद्योजासायम् । निम्ने संहते दिव्यलोके मरुते
ना । श्रीरस्य निमग्नयम्, मग्निहनयम् । निहनयम् महयम् वा । नर बासस्वन्दने शुक्तिः । श्रीरर्थात्तायम्
श्रीरस्य नाथनम् । दूषयन्ने वेपयम् । द्विस्तायाम् किम् । धानविदणम् ॥

617. The object of the verbs jāsi 'to strike : 'to
hurt,' han 'to strike' preceded by नि and म. jointly, severally
or in any order, nāt to 'injure,' 'krath,' and 'pish,' when
they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix

चौरस्योज्झासनम्, निप्रहृणते, निहृणते, ग्रहणते, प्रसिद्धणते, उनाटयति, काचयति, चिनटि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root नृ belonging to the Churādi class No. 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvādi. इन् with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root कृय takes in the causative vridhī irregularly. This verb is Bhvādi and falls into the subdivision ghaṭādi, and is called there a चिन् verb; all चिन् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix शिच् (IV. 4. 92). Thus कृय is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe घानीकणम् 'the pounding of the barley.'

Note:—The word शेष is also understood here as चौरमुज्झासयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनासि. चौरं दिशन्ति ॥

६१८ । व्यवहृणोः समर्थयोः । २ । ३ । ५७ ॥

पक्षे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । कृते कर्माधिक्यव्यवहारं चानयोस्तुल्यार्थता । शतस्य व्यवहृणं पणने वा समर्थयोः क्तिम् । घाताकाव्यवहारः । गणनेत्यर्थः ॥ ब्राह्मणपणनं स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618. The object of the verbs vyavahri and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य व्यवहृणं or पणनं 'dealing in, or staking hundred

Why does not the verb पण take the affix वाच्? It takes वाच् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say samarthayos? Not so here घाताका व्यवहारः 'counting the dice,' ब्राह्मण पणनं 'praising the Brāhmaṇa. The word शेष is also here understood, so that we have शते पणने 'he stakes a hundred.

६१९ । दिवस्तदर्थस्य । २ । ३ । ५८ ॥

स्तुतिर्यस्य कर्माधिक्यव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिवः कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । शतस्य शिष्यति । शिष्योक्त क्तिम् । ब्राह्मणं शिष्यति । स्तौतीत्यर्थः ॥

619. The object of the verb div, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य शिष्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking'? Observe ब्राह्मणं शिष्यति 'he praises the Brāhmaṇa.'

६१५ । रुज्जार्यानां भाववचनानामज्वरेः । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकर्तृकाणां ज्वरिवर्जितानां रुज्जार्यानां कर्मणि शप्ते षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । अज्वरिसंताप्योरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ रोगस्य चौरज्वरः । चौरसंतापो वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसंबन्धि ज्वरादिकमित्यर्थः ॥

615. The object of verbs having the sense of *ruj* 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb *jvaraya* 'to be feverish,' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i. e., when the subject is an Abstract noun).

* As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा "the disease afflicts the thief" चौरस्याभवति भाग्यः ॥

Varlika:—It should be rather stated "with the exception of ज्वरय or संतापय ॥"

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूलमि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks' So also not here चौरं ज्वरयति ज्वरः 'the fever burns the thief.' So also when the verb संताप is used, चौरं संतापयति तापः ॥

The word शप् is also understood here. Thus चौरं रुजांत रोगः ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथः । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीरर्थस्य नाथतेः शप्ते कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । शशिषी नाथनम् । आशिषीति किय । नाथयकनाथनम् । तस्यैवनिधनी दारुचेत्यर्थः ॥

616. Of the verb *nāth* when meaning 'to bless'; the object takes the sixth case-affix.

As शशिषी नाथनम् 'the blessing of the honey.' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe नाथयकनाथनम् 'he entreats the boy.' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case.

६१७ । जामिनिप्रदणनाटकाथपिपां द्विस्तायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

द्विस्तायानाथेपि । शप्ते कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्यैवजातनम् । पिपी संशयो द्विपंगमो रत्नो नृ । चौरस्य निपदगमनम् नाथिगमनम् । निपदगमनं महानं वा । नर भयसम्भवे पुण्ड्रिः । चौरस्यैवजातम् चौरस्य नाथनम् । दूतगमनं वेदगमनम् । द्विस्तायाम् किम् । धानावेदगमनम् ॥

617. The object of the verbs *jāsi* 'to strike : 'to hurt,' *han* 'to strike' preceded by *ni* and *pr*, jointly, severally or in any order, *nāt* to 'injure,' 'kīath,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix

चौरस्योद्धातनम्, निदहनं, प्रहणं, मणिकण्ठणं, उनादधाति, म्रययति, विनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief.'

The root *वद्* belonging to the Churādi class No. 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvādi. *वद्* with the prepositions *pra* and *ni* may be taken in any order. The root *क्रय* takes in the causative *vriddhi* irregularly. This verb is Bhvādi and falls into the subdivision *ghaṭādi*, and is called there a *निवृ* verb; all *निवृ* verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix *णिच्* (IV. 4. 92). Thus *क्राय* is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe *धानीपदमद्* 'the pounding of the barley.'

Note:—The word *क्षय* is also understood here as *चौरादुद्धातयति*. Only those govern the genitive, not so here *चौरं हिनाति*, *चौरं विदधाति* ॥

६१८। व्यवहृणोः समर्थयोः । २ । ३ । ५७ ॥

पक्षे कर्मणि पठीत्यात् । धूने क्रयविक्रयव्यवहारं चानयोस्तुत्याप्यता । एतस्य व्यवहारेण पणने वा समर्थयोः क्रिम् । शलाकाव्यवहारः । गणनेत्यर्थः ॥ ब्राह्मणपणने स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618. The object of the verbs *vṛvāhri* and *paṇ* when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix.

As *एतस्य व्यवहारेण* or *पणने* 'dealing in, or staking hundred

Why does not the verb *पण* take the affix *छाप्*? It takes *चाप्*, when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say *samarthayos*? Not so here *शलाका व्यवहारः*, 'counting the dice,' *ब्राह्मण पणने* 'praising the Brāhmaṇa.' The word *हृण* is also here understood, so that we have *एते पणने* 'he stakes a hundred.'

६१९। दिवस्तदर्थस्य । २ । ३ । ५८ ॥

धूतार्थस्य क्रयविक्रयव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिवः कर्मणि पठीत्यात् । एतस्य शिष्यति । सत्येत्य-
क्रिम् । ब्राह्मणं शिष्यति । स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

619. The object of the verb *div*, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the sixth case-affix.

As *एतस्य शिष्यति* 'he stakes or deals in hundred.' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking'? Observe *ब्राह्मणं शिष्यति* 'he praises the Brāhmaṇa.'

*Note:—*The yoga vibhāga, when this root might well have been included in the last aphorism, is for the sake of the succeeding sūtra, in which the anuvṛtiti of विद् runs, and not of others.

६२० । विमापेपसर्गे । २ । ३ । ५९ ॥

सुखयोगापवादः । अतस्य एते वा प्रसिदीष्यति ॥

620. The object of the verb *div*, when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking, optionally takes the sixth case-affix, when it is preceded by an upasarga.

As एवमप एतं वा प्रसि दीष्यति 'he deals in or stakes a hundred.'

*Note:—*But no option is allowed when the verb is simple as in the last aphorism; nor does this rule apply when the sense is not that of dealing or gambling. As. आलाकारं प्रसि दीष्यति 'he throws the missile.'

६२१ । प्रेष्यद्रुवोर्द्विषिषो देवतासंप्रदाने । २ । १ । ३ । ६१ ॥

देवतासंप्रदानेऽर्थे परमानयोः प्रेष्यद्रुवोः कर्मयो हविर्दिशेषस्य वाचकाण्युद्देशात्परीत्याह । अत्रये एतस्य हविषो वपाया वेदतः प्रेष्य अनुष्ठति वा ॥

621. The object of the verb *preshya* and *brūhi* (imperative singular of *Divadi* verb, meaning 'send' and 'utter,') denoting sacrificial food, takes the sixth case-affix, when making offerings to deity is meant or when deity is the recipient.

As अत्रये एतस्य हविषो वपाया वेदतः प्रेष्य अनुष्ठति वा 'send to fire as oblation the goat, the fat, and the marrow.'

*Note:—*But not here:—अत्रये एतं हविर्वपां वेदो अनुष्ठति. Because the verb is not *preshya* or *brūhi*. So also not here अत्रये गोमदाय प्रेष्य. Because it is not an oblation. Not here too वाचकस्य पुरोदासं प्रेष्य. Because the recipient is not a deity. Compare VIII. 2. 91.

This rule does not apply when the word *प्रतिपन्न* 'set out' qualifies the word *हविः* as; इन्द्रादिभ्यो एतान् हविर्वपां वेदः प्रतिपन्ते प्रेष्य 'send for Indra and Agni the oblation set out for them' &c.

६२२ । एतयोर्धर्मयोगे कालेऽभिधारणे । २ । ३ । ६४ ॥

एतयोर्धर्मो यतोये वाचकविशेषिकतरे तदे वहीत्याह । पक्ष्यहृतयोर्द्धो भोजनम् । विश्वो भोजनम् । १ । ३ । ६४ । इत्युक्तमत्र ॥

622. The sixth case-affix is employed in denoting location (*abhihikarapa*) after a word denoting time

(kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of *kṛitvasuch* (V. 4. 17) 'so many times.'

As *पञ्चकृत्वाऽहोभोजनम्* 'eating five times a day.' In short, ('words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative.') As *द्विरहोभोजनम्* 'he eats twice in a day.'

Why do we say 'having the force of *कृत्वयुक्*'? Observe *चाहि शोते* 'he sleeps in the day.'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (*prayoga*) as in *अहनि भुक्तम्*. Nor when the time is not meant, as *हिः कांस्यापात्र्यां भुक्ते* 'he eats in two brass vessels.' So also when location is not meant as *द्विरहो भुक्ते*.

Why is *शेष* understood here? Observe *द्विरहस्यभयनम्*.

६२३ । कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति । २ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कृत्योने कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी स्यात् । कृष्णस्य कृतिः । जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः ॥ सुयुक्कर्मणि षष्ठीः

• ॥ वेत्ताऽश्वस्य सुप्रस्य सुप्रस्य वा । कृति किम् । चाहि ते ना भूत् । कृतपूर्वी कटम् ॥

623. The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a *kṛit* affix (III. 1. 93), (the *anuvritti* of *शेषे* ceases.)

As *कृष्णस्य कृतिः* "the doing of Krishna."

जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः "Krishna is the creator of the world,"

But not in *अस्त्रेणवेत्ता* 'cutting with weapon.' Where it is neither agent nor object.

Ikhti:—According to Patanjali, the employment of the sixth case is optional when the word is an Indirect object (of a verb that takes two objects), as *वेत्ता अश्वस्य सुप्रस्य सुप्रस्य* ।

Why do we say 'kṛit'? Not so when a *Taddhita*-affix is employed as *कृतपूर्वीकट*. In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective.

Note:—Why do we say *कृत्*? Because the agent or the object will take the affix of the sixth case only in connection with *kṛit*, while in connection with a conjugated verb (*सिद्ध*) the sixth case is debarred by II. 3. 69. S. 627: Observe *कृतपूर्वी कट* ।

Here the object कर्तृ is not put in the sixth case, though it is not governed by a conjugated verb but by a Taddhita.

६२४ । उभयप्राप्तौ कर्माणि । २ । ३ । ६६ ॥

उभयोः प्राप्तीर्यस्मिन्कृति सच कर्मण्येव पटी स्यात् । व्याधयो गवां दोहोऽमेवेति ॥

स्त्रीप्रत्ययद्वोरकारयोर्नाम नियमः ॥

भेदिका विभित्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगत् ॥ दोषे विभाषा * ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यय इत्येके । विभित्ता जगत् कृतिर्दोर्दोषा वा । केचिदपिदोषेण विभावानिष्ठन्ति । दध्यानामनुशासनमाचार्येणाचार्यस्य वा ॥

624. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by a kṛit-affix, are both used in a sentence, and the sixth case can be employed after EITHER, then the sixth case-affix is employed in the object only, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent).

Note :—"When a primary noun is accompanied at the same time by both its agent and its object, generally only the object is put in the genitive, the agent being denoted by the Instrumental. As व्याधयौ गवां दोहोऽमेवेति wonderful is the milking of the cows, by one who is not a cow herd." (Keil horn).

व्याधयौ गवांदोहोऽमेवेति 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder.'

Vart :—"When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, and the restriction of the present sūtra regarding object does not apply when the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender ending in ण्क or ण (III. 3. 111. and III. 3. 102. भेदिका विभित्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगत् : "The destruction or the desire of destroying the universe by Rudra." Here in भेदिका we have ण्क, and in विभित्ता we have ण.

Vartika :—There is option in the remaining affixes. According to some when affixes are feminine other than ण्क or ण as, विभित्ता जगत् कृतिर्दोर्दोषा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful.' Some hold the option of this vārtika as unrestricted by any such condition ; as दध्यानामनुशासनमाचार्येणाचार्यस्य वा "the dissertation on words by the āchārya." Here anuśasanam is neuter, and not feminine.

६२५ । कस्य च वर्तमाने । २ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वर्तमानार्थस्य कस्य योगे पटी स्यात् । न लोकेति निषेधत्वाऽवयवाः । एतां गतो बुद्ध्यादिभिरा

625. The past participle ending in क् when used in the sense of the present tense, (III. 2. 187 and 188) is used with the genitive.

This sūtra debars sūtra 627 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishthā affixes. This is an exception to that sūtra.

As राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' So also राज्ञान्तो वृद्धोवा ॥

६२६ । अधिकरणवाचिनश्च । २ । ३ । ६८ ॥

कस्य योगे पठी स्यात् । इमेवानाशितं शयितं गते भुङ्क्ते वा ॥

626. The past participle in क् is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III. 4. 76).

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishthā contained in II. 3. 69. S. 627. As इमेवानाशितम् 'this is their seat.' इमेषां शयितं गतं भुङ्क्ते 'this is their sleeping.'

६२७ । न लोकाज्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतुनाम् । २ । ३ । ६९ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे पठी न स्यात् । कर्मणाः । कुर्वन् कुर्वन्तो वा वृत्तिं हरिः । उ । हरिं विदधुः । अक्षरि-
ण्युषां । उक् । इत्यान् घातुनो हरिः ॥ कर्मसमिपेथः * ॥ लक्ष्म्याः कायुनो हरिः । अज्ययम् । जगत् सृष्टु ।
खलं कर्तुम् । निष्ठा । विष्णुना क्ता दैव्याः । दैव्यान् हतवान् विष्णुः । खलर्याः । ईषत्करः मपञ्चो हरिया ।
वृत्तिरिति प्रस्थाशः घातुघातवाचिति तु गच्छदाघातुनो नकाधत् । घातन् । सोमं पवमानः । घातन् । आ-
स्थानं मपञ्चयमानः । सृष्टु । देवमर्थयन् । सृष्टु । कर्ता लोकान् ॥ द्विषः घातुर्व * ॥ घुरस्य घुरं वा द्विषन् ॥ घवो-
द कारकपञ्चमाः प्रतिषेधः ॥ रोपे पठी तु स्यादेव । आश्रयणस्य कुर्वन् । परकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

627. The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle which is the substitute of ल, or when the word is formed by the affix उ, or उक्, or governed by an Indeclinable, or by a past Participle in क् and क्वत्, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a noun of agency formed by तुन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object. This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II. 3. 65. The word लोक is formed by क + ल + उक् = ल + लक् = लोक.

1. The word ल means the substitutes of ल i. e., the Present Participles in क्, क्वत् (III. 2. 124 S. 3100), कान् (III. 2. 106 S. 3094) क्वत् (III. 2. 107

The affix **भक्त**, such as **भुङ्क्त**, **भुङ्क्ते** &c., denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness. The affix **इत्** such as **जिह्ति** (III. 3. 3 and 170.S. 3171, S. 3311), denotes both. Thus **सुतः पावकोऽववसति** "He takes birth to protect the good." **सोऽने भोजयी भजति** 'he goes to eat rice.' So also with **इत्**, as, **मने षासी** 'he has to go to Braja.' **राते दायी** 'he owes hundred.'

६२६ । कृत्यानां कर्तरि वा । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

ई वा स्यात् । मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः । कर्तरीति किय् । नेयः मानवकः । साम्राट् । भक्षणेनेति कर्तरि यद्विधानावननिहितं कर्म । अत्र सेवो विभक्त्यन्तः ॥

629. The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya).

By II. 3. 65, S. 623 primary nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object: The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those primary nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus मया मम वा सेव्यो हरिः.

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent?' (In denoting the object, no option is allowed; the Genitive is compulsory.) As नेयो मानवकः साम्राट् ॥

Here by III. 4. 68 S. 2894, the kṛitya word नेयः can denote the agent also, and is not necessarily confined to the object, like other kṛitya formed words (III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Hence the compulsory genitive. Of course, the objective may also be used, as नेयानि मानवकेन साम्राट् ॥

Var:—The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कष्टया वानं साक्षा देवदेवेन, नेत्रया व्रजे रायः कृष्णेन.

According to Patanjali the present sūtra should be divided into two rules, by the method of Yoga vibhāga. As,

६२६ क ॥ कृत्यानाम् ॥

अभ्यप्राप्ताविति नन्ति आहुर्वर्ते । तेन नेत्रया व्रजेः रायः कृष्णेन । ततः

629 A. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kṛitya affix are both used in a sentence and it is possible to employ the Genitive case after either of them, then the sixth case-affix is not used after the object.

Here the words उभयप्राप्ती of II. 3. 66 S. 624 and न of II. 3. 69 S. 627 must be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The meaning of the aphorism therefore is as given above.

As नेत्रया व्रजे रायः कृष्णेन ॥ Here we cannot employ the sixth case-affix, after the word व्रजे ॥

६२९ ख ॥ कर्तरि वा ॥

अन्ताः ॥

629 B. When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the *kritya* affix are both used in a sentence, then the sixth case-affix may optionally be used in denoting the agent.

As नैद्यः मानवकः साक्षात् ॥

Patanjali:—Why have we used the word “kartari” in the sūtra? (So that the affix may not come in the object.) No, this cannot be the reason: for the *kritya*-affixes are employed in denoting bhāva Impersonal action and karma (Passive Voice) only, and never kartā (agent). (See. III. 4. 70 S. 2833). Thus being governed by the *kritya*, the object of the Passive Participle will never take the Genitive affix, but will take the first case-affix. To this Kātyāyana gives the following answer:—

Vārtika:—The word “Kartari” is used in the sūtra, because the *kritya* words of the sūtra III. 4. 68 S. 2894 (*ais*, भव्य, नैद्य &c.) express agent also (are used in Active construction); and their object being not expressly taught, those *kritya* words do not govern any object directly. As नैद्यः मानवकः साक्षात् ।

The object of the Passive Participles भव्य &c., not being taught, the “agent” of the *kritya* words is taken here.

How do you say “the object of the Participles bhavya &c., is not taught by the *kritya* affixes,” for do we not find them also governing an object, as in the following example? आकृष्टव्या पानं वासा. The verb कृष्ट governs two objects, the Principal object is put in the accusative after the Participle. So it is necessary to use the word *kartari* in the sūtra.

If this be so, we shall divide the sūtra into two. First कृत्यानां and then कर्तरि च as given above.

८३० । तुल्यार्थैरनुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

तुल्यार्थेनेति तृतीया वा व्यासपक्षे पठेत् । तुल्य. सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य कुलेन वा । अनुलोपनाभ्यां किम् । तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

630. The third or the sixth case affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning ‘like to, or resemblance’; excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्यः सदृशः समो वा कृष्णस्य or कुलेन. Why do we say “excepting तुला and उपमा.” Here the Genitive must necessarily be employed. Observe तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

Note:—Though the anuvṛtti of वा was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. (The word च in II. 3. 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra; but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word कृतीति instead, which is not desired.)

६३१ । चतुर्थी आशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः । २ । ३ । ७३ ॥

एतदर्थेनैव चतुर्थी वा स्वात्मके पक्षे आशिषि । आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय कृष्णस्य वा भूयान् । एवं मद्रं भद्रं कुशलं निरामयं सुखं च अर्थः प्रयोजनं हितं पथ्यं वा भूयान् । आशिषि किम् । देवदत्तस्यायुष्यमस्ति । व्याख्यानास्तर्धचार्यमहणम् । मद्रभद्रयोः पर्वयत्वाश्च्यवतरो न पठनीयः ॥

631. The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good.'

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional: in the alternative we have Genitive.

Note:—In the sūtra आयुष्य &c., include their synonyms also.

Thus आयुष्यं चिरंजीवितं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य ॥ Similarly मद्रं, भद्रं, कुशलं, निरामयं, सुखं, छे. अर्थो, प्रयोजनं, हितं पथ्यं कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य भूयान् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्यं देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta.' Here there is no option allowed; and the Genitive case is only employed.



६३२ । आधारादधिकरणम् । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

कर्तृकगृह्णात कर्तृक्रियाया आधारेः कारकमधिकरणसंज्ञं त्वाम् ॥

632. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed, by reason of the agent or the object being in that place, is called Adhikaraṇa or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called ādhāra. As कटे शयते 'he is seated on the mat' कटे शेते 'he is sleeping on the mat.' गृह्णात 'he cooks in the pot.' The Adhikaraṇa takes the 7th case-affix.

६३३। सप्तम्यधिकरणे च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अधिकरणे सप्तमी स्यात् । चक्राद्भुवन्तिकार्येभ्यः । औपश्लेषिको वैषयिकोऽभिन्नपक्षभेदाधार
द्विधा । कदे भास्ते । स्यात्पां पचति । मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति । सर्वसिन्नास्ति । वनस्य दूरे अन्तिके वा ॥ दूरा-
न्तिकार्येभ्य इति विभक्तिवयेण सह चतस्रोऽनविभक्तयः कथितः ॥

कस्येन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसंख्यतम् * ॥ अर्थाति व्याकृत्यो । अधीतमनेनेति विभक्ते इदादिभ्यमेति
कर्तृदीनिः ॥

साध्वसाधुपदोमे च * ॥ साधु कृष्णो भातरि । असाधुर्मातुले ॥

निमित्ताध्वकर्मयोगे * ॥ निमित्तमिह कसम् । योगः संयोगसमवायात्मकः ॥

अर्धेणि ह्रीदिने हन्ति कृत्योर्हन्ति कृष्णरम् ।

केस्येभ्य अर्धे इत्वि रीद्धि पुष्कलको हतः ॥ १ ॥

हेतो नृनीयाऽयं प्राप्ता तद्विधारणार्पणिवम् । सीमाऽप्यवतोऽः । पुष्कलको गन्धधुसः ।

योगविरोधे किम् । वेतनेन धाम्ने लुगति ॥

633. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location, as well as after the word meaning 'distant' or 'near.'

The location is of three sorts:—

1. Location of contact.
2. Location of object.
3. Location of pervasion.

As कृत् भास्ते 'he sits on the mat' स्यात्पां पचति 'he cooks in the pot,' मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति. "He desires Liberation." सर्वसिन्नास्ति. अन्तिके दूरे वा वनस्य 'near or distant from the forest.' Thus the word- दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh. See II. 3. 35 S. 605.

Var:—Words formed by adding इद् to the past participle in क्, govern the locative of that which forms their object:—as अधीतो व्याकृत्यो 'versed in grammar.' It should be analysed as अपचितमनेन, and then is added इनि by See V. 2. 88 S. 1888.

Var:—The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown; as साधु कृष्णो भातरि 'Krishna is well behaved towards his mother.' असाधुर्मातुले 'ill-behaved towards his uncle.'

Var:—The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done. The *nimitta* here means "fruit"; *yoga* means *samyoga* and *samavāya*. As in the above verse:—

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk-deer for its musk.'

Here the third case-affix would have, otherwise, come in denoting "hetu". The present *vārtika* prevents that. The word *क्षीमा* in the above-verse means "testicle." The word *पुष्कलकः* means musk-deer. According to Padamanjari *pushkalaka* means "a spear or dart." *सीम्नि पुष्कलवोद्धतः* "a bolt or dart fixed in the ground, for the sake of demarcation or fixing the boundary."

Why do we say in this *vārtika* "purpose for which anything is done"? Observe *देहेन धान्यं जुनाति* "by wages he cuts the paddy."

६३४ । यस्य च भावेन भावलक्ष्णम् । २ । ३ । ३७ ॥

यस्य क्रियाया क्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततः सप्तमी स्वात् । गोषु दुग्धमानासु गतः ॥
यद्वायां कर्तुं त्वेऽनर्हणामकर्तुं त्वे त्वैपरीत्ये च * ॥ सख्यु तरख्यु असन्तं भावते । यस्खु तिष्ठख्यु
सन्तस्तेऽस्ति । सख्यु तिष्ठख्यु असन्तस्तरन्ति । असख्यु तरख्यु सन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥

634. By the action (*bhāva*) of what-so-ever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix.

This is *Locative Absolute*. *गोषु दुग्धमानासु गतः* 'the cows being milked he went away' *दुग्धमाप्त्वागतः* 'and returned when they were milked' *अग्नियु-
द्धमनेषु गतः*, *हृत्वेत्यागतः*.

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe *यो जयति-
स मुञ्चे*. Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness *यो मुञ्चे*, *य-
द्वेदताः*.

Vārtika:—In denoting the proper action of a person competent to perform it, in the same sentence with the non-performance of the same action by the person not competent to do it, or in the non-doing of the action by the person not competent to do it, in the same sentence with the performance of the action by the person competent to do it, the first part of the sentence is put in the *Locative* case and *vice versa*, when incompatibility of an action is denoted. As *सख्यु तरख्यु असन्तं भावते* "The good crossing over, the bad remain sitting." &c.

६३५ । पट्टी चानादरे । २ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनान्तराधिक्ये भावलक्षणे पटीसप्तमी स्तः । सखि स्तनो वा प्रायाजीत् । सन्तं पुत्रादिकपवा-
दस्य संन्यस्तवानिर्वाहः ॥

635. The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after

that by whose action the time of another action is indicated.

This is Genitive Absolute. रुदन्तः रुदन्ति वा प्राप्ताजीन् 'in spite of his weeping, he went away.' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with-standing' 'in spite of' 'for all, that' &c., रुदन्त पुत्रादिकमनाहत्य संन्यस्तवान् "disregarding the weeping sons and the rest, he became a Saṇyāsi."

६३६ । स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूषसूतैश्च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

इतिः सप्तमिद्योगे पञ्चमसप्तम्यौ स्तः । पञ्चम्येव प्राप्तायां वाकिकसप्तम्यर्थं यच्चनम् । गवां गोषु वा स्वामी । गवां गोषु वा मसूतः । वा एवातुभविदुं जात इत्यर्थः ॥

636. The sixth and the seventh case affixes are used, after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvar 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an heir,' sākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety' and prasūta 'be-gotten.'

Thus गवां गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वरः 'master of cows.' So also गवां गोषु वा मसूतः "born for the cows / i. e. to help the cows."

Note:—These words naturally would have governed the Genitive; the present sūtra ordains Locative as well

६३७ । आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् । २ । ३ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां योगे पञ्चमसप्तम्यौ स्तस्त्वर्थेऽर्थे । आयुक्तो व्यापारिणः । आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिद्वजो हरिद्वजनस्य वा ॥ आसेवायां किम् । आयुक्तो गोः शकटे । ईषयुक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

637. In conjunction with the words āyukta 'engaged,' and kuśala 'skillful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement, the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word.

As आयुक्तः कुशलं वा हरिद्वजने हरिद्वजनस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in worship of Hari'

Why do we say 'deeply absorbed'? For when not meaning 'deeply absorbed,' the construction is different. Observe आयुक्ता गोः शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart' Here the seventh case affix only is employed.

६३८ । यनश्च निर्धारणम् । २ । ३ । ४१ ॥

आनिगुणक्रियागतानि संप्रसारणदिदेशस्य पृथक्करणं निर्धारणे यनस्तत्र पञ्चमसप्तम्यौ स्तः । यनं

नृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः । गवां गोषु वा कृष्णः बहुशीरा । गच्छतां गच्छन्तु वा धावन् शीघ्रः । छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः ॥

638. The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class.)

A *nirbhārana* or specification is made by separating one from the many or a part from the whole, by reason of its genus, quality or action (II. 2, 10.)

As नृणां नृषु वा ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः : "The Spiritual man is the best among men or of men."

As गवां गोषु वा कृष्णः बहुशीरा : 'among cows the black one gives much milk.' गच्छतां गच्छन्तु वा धावन् शीघ्रः : "Of walkers, the runner is the fastest." छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्रः पटुः : "Among the pupils Maitra is most skillful."

६३९ । पञ्चमी विभक्तौ । २ । ३ । ४२ ॥

विभागो विभक्तम् । निर्धारमाणस्य यत्र भेद एव तत्र पञ्चमी स्यात् । माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकश्च आर्यपतराः ॥

639. The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended.

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रेभ्यः आर्यपतराः 'Mathuras are more rich than Pataliputra.'

६४० । साधुनिपुणाश्रयामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः । २ । ३ । ४३ ॥

आश्रयां योगे सत्पत्नी स्यादर्चायां न तु प्रतेः प्रयोगे । नातरि साधुनिपुणौ वा । आश्रयां किम् । निपुणौ राक्षो भूयः । इह तत्त्वकथने आर्यपत्नम् । अथस्याविभित्तिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ साधुनिपुणौ वा नातरं मत्तिपर्यन्तं वा ॥

640. In conjunction with the words *sādhū* 'good,' and *nipuṇa* 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case affix is employed ; provided that the word *prati* is not used.

Thus, नातरि साधुः or निपुणः 'good behaved towards his mother.'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted'? Observe, साधुर्भूयोरशः 'the servant is good towards the king.' Here it is a bare statement of a fact.

I *Artika* :—The exception applies not only to प्रति, but to other prepositions, like परि बहु &c., as साधुनिपुण्या नातरं प्रति पश्येदुषः ॥

६४१ । प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च । २ । ३ । ४४ ॥

आभ्यां योने तृतीया स्याद्यास्तन्वी । प्रसित उत्सुको वा हरिणा हरो वा ॥

641. In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh.

We read the anuvritti of सप्तमी by force of the word च "and" in the sūtra.

As प्रसति उत्सको हरिणा हरो वा.

६४२ । नक्षत्रे च लुपि । २ । ३ । ४५ ॥

नक्षत्रे प्रकृत्यर्थे यो लुप्तस्य लुप्यमानस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थस्तथ वर्तमानाचतुतीयासप्तम्यौ स्तोऽधिकरणे । मूलेनावहरोर्ध्वं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत् । मूले श्रवणे इति वा । लुपि क्तिम् । पुण्ये शनिः ॥

642. When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV. 2. 4); the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided.

Thus 'मूलेनावहरोर्ध्वं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्' or else मूले or श्रवणे.

Note:—पुण्ये पुण्ये वा पायसपत्रीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk' See Rules IV. 2. 4 and IV. 2. 5 So also मघाभिः पल्लोदने मघासु पल्लोदनम् But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla.' Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix.

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe पुण्ये शनिः Here there is no elision.

But why not in मघासुपुण्यं, मघासुपुण्यं. Because they do not denote location, which is understood. It is when location is expressed by such words, that we may use the third case-affix in the alternative.

६४३ । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये । २ । ३ । ७ ॥

शान्तिद्वयमध्ये यो कालावधानो वाभ्यांने स्तः । अथ भुक्त्वाऽथ ह्ये ह्यहोरात्रोक्त ॥ कर्तृ-
वृत्तयोर्गोच्येऽथ काल । इत्येवोऽथ गोच्ये मघाहोरात्रं विध्यत् । कर्तृकर्तृवृत्तयोर्गोच्येऽथ वेशः ॥ वाचिक-
वृत्तेन धामे सप्तमीपञ्चम्याविध्यते । सप्तमिपञ्चम्यामिति यस्मादधिकमिति च रूपनिर्देशात् । लोके लोका-
वापिको हरिः ॥

643. A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and ano-

ther action (or implies an interval of time and space between ^{two} to kārakas.)

Thus अद्य भुङ्क्ष्ये वृष्टि or अद्याह्नोक्ता 'having dined today, he will dine in or after two days.' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating. So also इहस्थीत्ये 'कोशान् कोशेवा संश्यं विधेत्' 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos.' Here kos or space is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location. The rule I. 3. 10 does not apply here.

Ishti.—According to Patanjali, the word अधि governs the fifth and the seventh case-affixes. This is inferred from the Jñāpaka of sūtras V. 2. 45 S. 1846, and II, 3. 9. S. 645 where Pāṇini uses the forms अस्मिन्नाधिकं and यस्मादधिकं ॥ Thus लोके लोकाश्च अधिका हरिः ॥

६४४ । अधिरीश्वरे । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

एतस्मान्निमावसंयन्धेऽधिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

644. The word *adhi* is *karmapravachaniya* when used in the sense of 'lord' ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

Note.—The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word *adhi* governs a Locative case. Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पंचालाः or अधि पंचालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchālas.

६४५ । यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अथ कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते सप्तमी स्यात् । उपपत्तिर्हरेरुपाः । परार्थाधिक्या इत्यर्थः । ऐश्वर्ये तु एतस्मान्निर्वाणं पर्यायेण सप्तमी । अधिभुवि रामः । अधिरामे भूः । सप्तमी दीर्घेरेरिति समासपक्षे तु रामाधीना । अथद्वेष्टेत्यादिना नः ॥

645. Where a word is governed by a *karmapravachaniya* in the sense of 'more than' (I. 4. 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4. 97) there the seventh case-affix (locative) is employed.

As उपपत्तिर्हरेरुपाः 'the qualities of Hari are more than billions.'

In denoting 'lordship,' the seventh case-affix is used either after the word denoting the thing possessed or after the possessor, indifferently. As अधि भुवि रामः or अधि रामेभूः "Rāma is lord of the world." By II. 1. 40 S. 717 there may be compounding also, as रामाधीना ॥ Here the affix ईन (technically अ) is added to the stem, अधि by V. 4. 7. S. 2079

६४६ । चिन्ताया कृञि । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधिः करोतौ प्राक्त्वंजो वा स्यादीश्वरेऽर्थे । यश्च मामाध करिष्यति । विनियोज्यत इत्यर्थः । इह विनियोज्यतेऽश्वरेऽर्थे न गम्यते । अगदित्वाऽन्तिङि पाठात्तदतीति विमतेः न ॥

946. The word *adhi* is optionally *karmapravachaniya* when the verb *kṛi* follows.

As यश्च मामाधि करिष्यति. Here *adhikarishyati* means "directs, controls &c." Here the word *अधि* may be treated either as a *सति* or a *कर्मप्रवचनीय*. When it is a *सति* the accent will be regulated by VIII. 1. 71. S. 3978, otherwise not.

अथाव्ययीभावसमास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVII.

THE AVYAYĪ BHĀVA COMPOUNDS.

SECTION I.

ANOMALOUS COMPOUNDS.

६४७। समर्थः पदविधिः । २ । १ । १ ॥

पदसंबन्धी यो विधिः स समर्थोऽभिहितो बोध्यः ॥

647. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixe out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected.

*Notes:—*This is a *paribhāṣā* or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a *पदविधि* is found, that must be understood to apply to *समर्थ* words. A rule relating to *पद* or complete words is called *पदविधि* ॥ The word *विधि* is formed by adding *वि* to the root *धा*म्; that which is ordained (*विधीयते*) is called *विधि* ॥ What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows.—(1) Rules relating to *समास* or compounding of words; (2) Rules relating to *विभक्ति* or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes; (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (*परिहृत्यद् भावः*) ॥

The word *समर्थ* means capable; and is of two sorts *vyapekṣā* and *ekarthi bhāva*. When a single word is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence, on analysis, it is called *ekarthibhāva Sāmartyam*; while that which depends upon the words of a sentence as connected in sense; is called *vyapekṣa sāmartyam*.—Thus *राजपुरुषः* a single compound word is an example of the first; while *राजः पुरुषः* of the second. In this second case *राजः* may be connected with other words also, as *राजपुरुषोऽश्वश्च* "The king's man and horse". But not so in the first case, there you cannot add any other word with *राज* ॥

Thus it will be taught in *sūtra* 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words *भित्त*, *जननी* &c. and forms *tatpuruṣa* compound; 'as, *कटं भित्तः* = *कटभित्तः* 'who has had recourse to pain.' But when these words are not *समर्थ* or connected in sense, there can be no

६४६ । विभाषा कृञि । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधिः कर्मात्, प्राकगर्हा वा व्यधीभ्यंऽर्थे । यदप्य सामान्यकरिष्यति । दिनयोदयत इत्यर्थः । इह सिनक्षेपकुम्भराय सम्बन्धे । अग्नितारार्त्तादि यत्तात्पर्यानि विधाने न ॥

946. The word *adhi* is optionally *karmapravachaniya* when the verb *kṛi* follows.

अ० यदप्य सामान्य करिष्यति Here *adhikarishyati* means "directs, controls &c" Here the word *अधि* may be treated either as a *गति* or a *कर्मवचनीय*. When it is a *गति* the accent will be regulated by VIII. 1. 71, S. 3978, otherwise not.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sūtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely :—

649 A. सह, (सुप्, समस्येत समर्थेन) 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sūtra 2, समस्येत from sūtra 3, and समर्थेन from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुस्यूचलद्, अनुस्यूचयंत, पर्यभूयद् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samāsa, the udātta accent is on the final.

649 B. सुपा (सह सुप् समस्येत) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word." The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुत्सृज्यं वासा देये पुनर्निष्ठतो स्यः This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c.

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रानिपदिकयोः । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोस्त्वयस्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्व उपसर्गोति निर्देशाद्भूतशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातः पूर्वो भूतो भूतपूर्वः ॥

एवेन समासो विभक्त्यन्तेष्व ० ॥ जीवूतस्येव ॥

650. There is *luk-elision* of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

In the sūtra भूतपूर्व एत् (VI. 3. 53. S. 1999), the word भूतपूर्व is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member. पूर्व भूतः = भूतपूर्वः and not पूर्वभूतः, though both nouns are in the nominative case; and there is no express sūtra of Pāṇini, which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being *upasarjana* would have stood first, but, the usage of Pāṇini is to the contrary.

Partika :—There is no elision of the case-affix when a word enters into composition with एव 'like.'

compounding; as, वदय देवदत्त कष्टं, भित्तो विष्णुमित्रो सुसकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house.' Here the words कष्टं and भित्तं though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ ॥

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि: and therefore, the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply there. Two words, however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sūtra Vī. 1. 77 declares: 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyāhāra इक् there is one denoted by the pratyāhāra सण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhāra अच् immediately follows;' as, वृधि + अन्नान्न = वृध्यान्न ॥ This substitution of स for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as तिष्ठतु वृध्यान्न एव शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta.' Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VL. 1. 76).

६४८ । प्राकङ्क्षारत्नसमासः । २ । १ । ३ ॥

कङ्क्षारः कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्राक्समास इत्यधिक्रियते ॥

648. From this point up to the aphorism kada-rākarmadhāraye (IL. 2. 38 S. 751), all the terms that we shall describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated. 'The indeclinable word यथा when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense.

६४९ । सह सुप् । २ । १ । ४ ॥

सह इति योगो निश्चयेति । सुप्स्त समर्थेन सह समस्यते । योगविभागस्येति द्विर्धवात्कानि-
पयतिदन्तोऽपरपदोऽयं समासः । सप्य छत्रस्यैव । पर्यभूतयत् । अतुल्यसत्त्वं ॥

649. The words 'saha supā' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words viz., सह, सुप्, सुप् ॥ All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow.

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sūtra would have stood thus: सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun.' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely:—

649 A. सह, (सुप्, समस्येत समर्थेन) 'a case-inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense.' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sūtra 2, समस्येत from sūtra 3; and समर्थेन from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like भगवन्मन्त्रम्, जन्तुप्रवर्धनं, पर्यमुपत् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samāsa, the udātta accent is on the final.

649 B. सुपा (सह सुप् समस्यते) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word." The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds; as, पुनरुक्त्युक्तं यासौ देव्यं पुनर्निष्ठतो स्यः This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c.

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रतिपदिकयोः । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतद्विषयवत्स्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्व पराङ्मिति निर्वेसाद्भूतवाच्यस्य पूर्वनिपातः
पूर्वं भूतो भूतपूर्वः ॥

इवेन सनातो विभक्त्यलोपय ० ॥ श्रीमृतस्येव ॥

650. There is *luk*-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form.

In the sūtra भूतपूर्वं पराङ् (VI. 3. 53. S. 1999), the word भूतपूर्वं is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member. पूर्व भूतः=भूतपूर्वः and not पूर्वभूतः, though both nouns are in the nominative case; and there is no express sūtra of Pāṇini, which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being upasarjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pāṇini is to the contrary.

Tiartika:—There is no elision of the case-affix when a word enters into composition with इव 'like.'

Thus जीमूतस्यैव ॥ This samāsa, like the previous, is of rare occurrence.

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III. 1. 8, S. 2657 "he wishes for a son of his own." A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude-form (I. 2. 46 S. 179); as कष्टभितः 'having recourse to pain'. राजपुरुषः 'king's man.' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided.

Thus पुष्य इच्छति = प्रवीयति, here the 2nd case-affix is elided. कष्टभितः = कष्टभितः &c.

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक? Because when it gets any other name such as अङ्ग &c., the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्षः, पक्षः ॥

SECTION II.

AVYĀYIBHĀVA.

६५१ । अव्ययीभावः । २ । १ । ५ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

651. From this forward, whatever we shall describe, will get the name of Avyayibhāva samāsa or adverbial compound.

Note :—This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last.

६५२ । अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यूहार्थमावात्ययासंमतिशयप्रातुर्भा-
वपक्षापचानुपूर्वयौगपदसादृश्यसंपत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु । २ । १ । ६ ॥

अव्ययमिति 'योगो विभज्यते । अव्ययं समर्थं सह समर्थे सौख्यदीभावः ॥

652. An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or 'of near to,' or 'prosperity,' or 'adversity,' or 'absence of the thing,' or 'departure,' or 'not now,' or 'the production of some sound,' or 'after,' or 'according to,' or 'order of arrangement,' or 'simultaneousness,' or 'likeness,' or 'possession' or 'totality,' or 'termination,' is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, which is connected with

it in sense, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*,

The words *सुप्* and *सुवा* are understood in this sūtra. The words *वचन* should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases. The examples of this sūtra will be found under 658.

This sūtra should also be divided into two, namely, the word *अव्यय* should form a sūtra by itself.

652. A. अव्ययं ॥

An Indeclinable is compounded with any word with which it is connected in sense.

Thus the two words *अव* and *दिशम्* may be compounded, when meaning *दिशबोर्गच्छे* ॥ In compounding, the following rules should be borne in mind; the actual compound is shown in sūtra 657.

६५३ । प्रथमानिर्विष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

समासशाब्दे प्रथमानिर्विष्टद्वयसर्जनसंज्ञे स्यात् ॥

653. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

Note:—This defines or rather describes the *Upasarjana*. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called *Upasarjanam*.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया भित्तीति पठितगतायस्तत्राणां पद्मेः) is a *saṁāsa* sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word *द्वितीया* is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, "An accusative (*द्वितीया*) is compounded with the words *भित्ति*, *भस्ति*, *पठित*, *गता*, *अयस्ते*, *आणा*, and *आपम* and forms *Tat-purusha*." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called *Upasarjana*. Thus *कटं + भित्तिः = कटभित्तिः* ॥ Here the word *कटं* being *Upasarjana*, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30 S. 654 *उपसर्जनपूर्वम्*, (In a compound the *Upasarjana* should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative *Tat-purusha*, the words standing in those cases will be *Upasarjana*. Thus *संक्षुत्ताखण्डः*, *दूषराहः*, *दुकर्मणः*, *राजगुरुः*, *गणसौमहः* ॥

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called *प्रधान* or principal.

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राक्प्राप्यम् ॥

654. The upasarjana (I. 2. 48 S. 653) is to be placed first in a compound.

Note :—The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first.

६५५ । एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विभक्ते यन्निवृत्तिविभक्तिकं तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् नतु तस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also upasarjana, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Notes :—A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i. e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix ; apārva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions विः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. As निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तशाम्बिः ॥ निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तशाम्बिना ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तशाम्ब्यै, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्क्रान्तशाम्ब्यै

Similarly the word, निर्व्याससिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी ; यज्ञः + कुमारी = यज्ञकुमारी ; राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी, राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I. 2. 48. S. 656

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बीनिः ॥

६५६ । गोक्षियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोराजः क्षीप्रत्ययात् न तु तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य इत्यः स्यात् । अष्टमीभावश्चे-
त्यप्ययत्स्य ॥

656. A short vowel is the substitute of that prātipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sūtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र+गो=चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi or possessive compound. So also चकटगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः+कौशाम्बी=निःकौशाम्बिः ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्धारणतिः ॥

Other examples are:—नति+शङ्खा=नतिशङ्खः 'without a bedstead' शतिमलः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word formed by the addition of an affix, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have शतिमलक्ष्मी 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' शतिश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम् स्वपञ्चम्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अदन्ताव्ययीभावात्तुपो न तुक् किन्तु तस्य पञ्चमी विना भगदेष्टः । द्विषोर्मध्ये भगदित्थम् ।
द्विषेऽप्ययं स्वपदितो द्विषोर्मध्ये विदित्थित्थानित्थनः ॥

657. There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in या; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the sūtra 1. 4. 82. instead of luk-elision, we have अम् added to the words

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राक्प्रयोग्यम् ॥

654. The upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) is to be placed first in a compound.

Note :—The word समासे is understood here. The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first.

६५५ । एकविभक्तिं चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विभक्तेः यन्नियतविभक्तिकं तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् नतु तस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

Note :—A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i. e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix ; apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c., when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. As निष्कान्तः + कौशाम्बा = निष्कौशाम्भिः ॥ निष्कान्तं + कौशाम्बा = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्कान्तेन + कौशाम्बा = निष्कौशाम्बिना ॥ निष्कान्ताय + कौशाम्बा = निष्कौशाम्बायै, निष्कान्ते + कौशाम्बा = निष्कौशाम्बे

Similarly the word, निर्वासासिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारिः ; राज्ञः + कुमारी = राजकुमार्यः ; राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमार्यः, राज्ञः + कुमारी = राजकुमार्यै ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I. 2. 48. S. 656

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30 S. 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशास्त्रीनिः ॥

६५६ । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोस्त्रियः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । अथ्यनीभावश्चेत्यव्ययस्य ॥

656. A short vowel is the substitute of that *prātipadika* which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as upasarjana.

The word upasarjana has been defined in sūtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a Bahuvrihi or possessive compound. So also रजतगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those *prātipadika* upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशास्त्री = निष्कौशास्त्रीः ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाचयसिः ॥

Other examples are:—अति + खट्वा = अतिखटुः 'without a bedstead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have अलितलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अवन्ताक्ययीभावात्तुयो न लुक् किन्तु तस्य पञ्चमी विना भवद्विषः । द्विषोर्नध्ये अपदिशब्दः । द्विषेऽप्ययं त्वपदिशब्दो द्विषोर्नध्ये विद्विषिष्यामित्यमरः ॥

657. There is not *luk-elision* of the case-affix after an *Avyayibhāva* compound that ends in अ; अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix.

This debars *luk-elision* which was to have taken place by the sūtra
A. 4. 82. instead of *luk-elision*, we have अम् added to the words

ending in short अ; as दिशोर्निधे = अवदिशम् ॥ This is neuter and an Indeclinable. But when दिश् is consonant-ending, then also we have the same form As दिशोर्निधे = अवदिशम् ॥ The word दिश being read in the शरशवि class, takes the samāsānta ङम् ॥ Another synonym of अवदिशम् is विदिङ् which is, however, feminine. It means "an intermediate quarter" See Amarakosha (Chat I. Vyoma Varga verse 5)

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ' ? Because after an Avyayibhāva compound, ending in any other vowel, there is not अन् substitution, but there is total-elision of the case-affixes ; as अधिहरि ॥

But the ablative case-affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अन् substitution ; as उपकुम्भादानम् ॥

६५८ । तृतीयासप्तम्योर्वहुलम् ॥ २ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अवन्तादप्ययीभावात्तृतीयासप्तम्योर्वहुलमन्भावः स्यात् । अवदिशम् । अवदिशेन । अवदिशम् ।

अवदिशे । बहुलमहजालुमद्रुग्मत्तग्नमित्यादौ सप्तम्या नित्यमन्भावः ।

विभक्तीत्यादिरेत्यर्थः । विभक्त्यर्थादिषु वर्तमानमप्ययं सुबलेन सह समस्यते सोऽप्ययीभावः ।

विभक्तौ तावत् । हरो इत्यधिरि । सप्तम्यर्थस्यैवात्र घोटकोऽधिः । हरि ङि अधि इत्यनेकिकं विग्रहवाक्यम् । अत्र निपातेनाभिहिते ऽप्यधिकरणे वचनसामर्थ्यात्सप्तमी ॥

658. The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely.

Thus Nominative and Accusative अवदिशम् ; Ins अवदिशेन or अवदिशम्, Dat, Abl., and Gen. अवदिशम्, Loc. अवदिशे or अवदिशम् ॥

Vārt :—The अन् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II. 1. 6 S. 652) or a compound of rivers (II. 1. 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II. 1. 19 S. 673) ; as सुमन्त्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras' ; सुमन्त्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas' ; similarly वन्यत्तन्त्रम् । लोहितगर्भम् । एकादिशक्तिमारहाजम् ॥ The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vārtika.

—:0:—

The meaning of sōtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 is now being given. "An Indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity &c. is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is Avyayibhāva."

(1) Thus विभक्तिवचन example is अधिहरि ॥ Here अधि has the force of the seventh case-affix. The analysis of this compound is हरि + ङि + अधि

This is the grammatical (alaukika) as opposed to syntactical analysis. Here though the location is expressed by a particle (adhi), yet there is seventh case by force of the sūtra. Because सुप् is understood and it is the rule that a सुबन्त can be compounded with a सुप् ॥ Some explain अधिहरि as हरे अधिक्लृप् ॥

The compound अधिहरि is Neuter by the next sūtra.

६५६ । अन्ययीभावश्च । २ । ४ । १८

अयं नपुंसकं स्यात् ॥ हस्तो नपुंसके प्रतिपदिकस्य ॥ गोपायतीति पाः पातीति वा गोपाः ; तस्मिन्नित्यभिगोपम् । समीपे । कृष्णस्य समीपद्वयकृष्णम् । सम्यक् प्राप्तम्, निष्कपा लक्ष्णम् । आराद्वनादित्यत्र तु नाव्ययीभावः । धामितः परितः अन्याराधिति द्वितीयपञ्चम्योर्यथानुसामर्थ्यात् । मद्राणां सशस्त्रिः सुमद्रम् । यवनाणां व्यृद्धिर्दुर्वयनम् । विगता कश्चिर्गृहिः । मक्षिकाणामभावो निर्मक्षिकम् । हिमन्यास्य गोपतिरिति । अत्यगो भयंशः । निष्ठासंप्रति न युज्यते इत्यतिनिद्रम् । हरिशब्दस्य प्रकाश इतिहरि । विष्णोः पश्चादनुविष्णु । पश्चाच्छब्दस्य तु नायं समासः । ततः पश्चात्संस्त्यते भवति इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । योग्यतावीप्तापसर्यान्वितवृत्तसादृश्यानि यथार्थाः । जानुरूपम् । रूपस्य योग्यमित्यर्थः । अयंमये प्रति प्रत्ययेम् । प्रतिशब्दस्य वीप्तायां कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात्तद्योगे द्वितीयागमं वाच्यमपि । शक्तिमत्तकाम्य यथाशक्ति । हरेः साहचर्यं सहरि । यक्षमात्रेण सहस्य सः । ज्येष्ठस्यानुपूर्व्येणानुज्येष्ठम् । चक्रेण शुभपदिति विभेदे ॥

659. An Avyayībhāva compound is also neuter

gender.

Thus, अधिहरि ॥

Note :—But for this rule, an Avyayībhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound; or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

A crude-form is shortened by the rule S. 318; therefore, पा will be shortened to प when last member in a compound, as अधि + गोपा = अधिगोप which in Neuter becomes अधिगोपम् ॥ The word गोपा is derived either from गोपायति (सुप् 'to protect,') or from पा 'to protect' with the noun गो; as पाः पाति = गोपा "protector of cows."

The word गोपा when derived from सुप् रत्ने is thus formed सुप् + प्राप् (III. 1. 28 S. 2303) = गोपाय ॥ Now add to this root क्तिप्, thus गोपाय + क्तिप् = गोपा (the अ of य is dropped by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308 and the इ is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873) गोपा "protector." The second गोपा (पाः पाति) is an upapada compound.

Now we give examples of समीपवचन &c. of S. 652 :—

(2) समीपवचनं, as कृष्णस्य समीपं=संप्रकृष्याम्, 'near to Krishna.' But in समयापामम्, निकाया लङ्काम्, आराद् वनात् there is no avyayibhāva. Because by the vārtika आभितः परितः &c. (S. 544) the words समया and निकाया govern Accusative case. If there were compounding, there would have been no necessity of that vārtika. Similarly by sūtra अन्तरात् &c. S. 595, आरात् governs the Fifth case, and therefore would give rise to no compounding.

3. सप्रसिधयनः—As सुगन्धे 'well or prosperous with the Madras'; सुमगधे 'well with the Magadhas.'

4. व्युत्थिवचनः—As दुर्गवदिकं 'ill with the Gavadikas'; दुर्वयने 'ill with the Yavanas.' The word vyridhi means विपत्ता वाञ्छे "want of prosperity, adversity."

5. अभावावचनः—As निर्निमित्तकम् 'free from flies'; निर्निवाकम् 'free from mosquitoes.'

6. अत्ययावचनः—As निर्निगमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather'; or अतिनिगमम् ॥ Atyaya means "destruction, departure."

7. अतस्मत्तिवचनः—As अतिलेखकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearing quilts,' so also अतिनिद्रम् "Past the time of sleeping," i. e. time to awake.

8. शब्दमाहुर्भाववचनः—As हति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णवगृहे हतिहरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari').

9. पश्चात्तवचनः—As विश्वोः पश्चात्=अनुविष्णु "after Vishnu." The word पश्चात् however itself cannot be so compounded; as Patanjali uses it separately in तसः पश्चात् संज्ञेते see Mahābhāṣya on I. 1. 57 S. 50 and II. 2. 24.

10. सपार्यवचनः—The meaning of the word स्या is four-fold, viz., correspondence, 2. severalty or succession, 3. the not passing beyond something, 4. and likeness; thus (1) अनुकृपम् 'in a corresponding, or becoming or suitable manner.' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according to each or several object of signification.' The word प्रति is a karmapravachantya also when it denotes severalty, and so there will be no compounding but a sentence optionally having an accusative case, (3) स्यात्प्रति 'according, to one's ability.' (4) सहृ 'like Hari.' Here सह् is changed to स, See also example 13 further on.

11. अनुपूर्ववचनः—As अनुपूर्वेण प्रविशन्तु भवन्तः 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority.'

12. समपवचनः—As सचक्रं चेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel'

Here सचक्रं is formed from चक्रेण युगपत् or सहचक्रेण ॥ At this stage applies the next sūtra, by which सह which has the meaning of युगपत् is changed to स ॥

६६० । अव्ययीभावे चाकाले । ६ । ३ । ८१ ॥

सहस्र सः स्याद्व्ययीभावे न तु काले । सचक्रम् । काले तु सहस्रार्थाङ्गम् । सहस्रः सख्यया ससखिः । यथार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धे पुनः सादृश्यमङ्गणे छणभूतेऽपि सादृश्ये यथा स्यादित्येवमर्थम् । भ्रमणां संपत्तिः सक्षयम् । ऋज्वेराधिक्ये सचृद्धिः । अनुसूय आत्मभावः संपत्तिरिति भेदः । नृगमव्यपरित्यज्य सतृणमस्ति । साकल्येनेत्यर्थः । नखञ्च नृगभक्षणे सात्पर्यम् । अस्ते । अग्निमन्थपर्यन्तमधीते साग्निः ॥

660. स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayībhāva, when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंवेति, but सहस्रार्थाङ्गम् when the second member is a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

13. सादृश्यवचनः—As ससखि 'like a friend.' Though this could have been formed by example 10, as सहस्रि, the repetition of सादृश्य is for the sake of indicating that compounding will take place where sādrishya is secondary even.

14. संपत्तिवचनः—As ससक्षम् 'as warriors ought.' The difference between सचृद्धि and सन्वत्ति is this, that the former means "abundance of prosperity," the latter "acting according to one's nature, or befitting one's self."

15. साकल्यवचनः—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' i. e. the whole, not leaving even a scrap, as in the sentence सतृणमस्ति 'He eats up every thing, even the straw.' The sense is not that he eats the straw, but that he eats everything.

16. अन्तवचनः—As साग्नि 'he studies as far as the chapter of fire' (i. e. the whole Veda).

६६१ । यथाऽसादृश्ये । २ । १ । ७ ॥

असादृश्ये एव यथावाक्यः समस्यते । तेनेह न । यथा हस्तिर्या हरः । हरेरपमानम् यथावाक्यो षोडशति । तेन सादृश्य इति वा यथार्थ इति वा प्रत्ये निदिधत्ते ॥

661. The indeclinable word yathā, when it does not signify 'likeness', is invariably compounded, with a word ending in a case-affix, which is in construction with it, and the compound is called an Avyayībhāva Samāsa.

Thus यथावृक्षम् ब्राह्मणानामामन्त्रयस्व "invite every old Brāhmaṇa." So also यथाप्यापकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated. As यथाहस्तिर्या हरः 'As is Har!

so is Hara ' Here यदा denotes comparison with Hari. Thus the compounding under cl. (10) when यदा means सादृश्य or under cl. (14), having the same meaning is prohibited here by.

६६२ । यावदवधारणे । २ । १ । ८ ॥

यावत्तः श्लोकास्तावन्तोऽच्युतमण्याना यावच्छ्लोकम् ॥

662. The indeclinable word *yāvat*, when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation. As, यावद्वक्त्रं ब्राह्मणानामन्वयस्य 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots': i. e.; if there are five pots then invite five Brāhmanas; if six pots, then invite six Brāhmanas.' यावच्छ्लोकम् प्रणामाः "Bowling the head down so many times as there are the verses," i. e. saluting the God with every verse.

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावत्तं तावत् मुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' i. e. I do not know for certainty how much I have eaten.

६६३ । सुप् प्रतिनामात्रार्थे । २ । १ । ६ ॥

शाकस्य ज्ञेयः शाकमिति । मात्रार्थे किम् । वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतेति विद्युत् ॥

663. A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word *prati*, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called *Avyayibhāva*.

The word मात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little,' 'a wee bit'; as, शाकमिति 'a little,' सुप्प्रति 'a little of soup.'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतेति विद्युत् 'it lightens in the direction of every tree.' Here it is not compounded.

Note :—Though the word सुप् was, by anuvritti from sūtra II. 1. 2, S. 3656, understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अण्यद् which began with sūtra II. 1. 6 S. 652 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras.

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I. 2. 43 S. 653) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2. 30, S. 654).

६६४ । अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा । २ । १ । १० ॥

शुतव्यवहारे पञ्चमे द्वाये समासः । अक्षेण विपरीतं वृत्तं अक्षपरि । शलाकापरि । एकपरि ॥

664. The words *aksha*, 'a die for playing with,' *śalākā* 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and *sankhyā* 'numeral' are compounded with the word *pari*, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

Note :—This *समास* is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called *pañchikā*, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned downwards then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses.

This compound is confined to words denoting loss in gambling. Thus *अक्षपरि* 'an unlucky throw of dice,' *शलाकापरि*, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces'; so also *एकपरि* 'an unlucky throw by one over.'

६६५ । विभाषा । २ । १ । ११ ॥

अधिकृतोऽयम् । एतस्मादर्थोऽपि प्राचीनानां नित्यसमासस्यम् । शुद्धोपेति तु न नित्यसमासः । अस्यनित्यादिसमास विधानाच्चापत्तौ ॥

665. The word *vibhāṣā* or option governs all the succeeding *sūtras*.

This is an *adhikāra sūtra*. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words, as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before this; for by the *jñāpaka* of this aphorism we infer that the compounds taught before must be *nītya* and not *vibhāṣā*. There is, however, an exception with regard to *शुद्ध* compounding. It is not *nītya*, because of the *jñāpaka* of the *sūtra* II. I. 6. S. 652, for *शुद्ध* would have covered the case of *avyayas* also; but the enunciation of a separate rule about *avyayas*, indicates that the previous rule *शुद्ध* is an *anītya* rule, and the compound so formed may be expressed by a sentence. Compounds like *शुद्ध*, *द्वयार्थ*, *वक्षपरि* &c. mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

Note :—The compounds taught previous to this *sūtra*, like the technical terms *दि*, *धु*, *भ* &c., would be necessarily *nītya*, because no *वा* is read in these *sūtras*. But the author strengthens this inference, by clearly enunciating the present *sūtra* "option

ally." Q. If so, then सुप्सुपा should also be a *nitya*, as that has also been taught anterior to this sūtra ? Ans. Not so, the repetition of the injunction with regards to Indeclinables, as contained in II. 1. 6. S. 652 indicates that सुप्सुपा compounding is not *nitya* ; because the Indeclinables are also सुप् and would have been covered by the rule of सुप्सुपा &c.

६६६ । अपपरिवहिरञ्चयः पञ्चम्या । २ । १ । १२ ॥

अपविष्णु संसारः । अपविष्णोः । परिविष्णोः । बहिर्वन्म । बहिर्वन्नात् । ग्रन्थनम् । ग्रन्थनात् ॥

666. The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahiḥ* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayibhāva*.

As अपविष्णु संसारः or अप विष्णोः संसारः "The *samsāra* is outside or away from *Vishnu*." So also, परिविष्णुर्लेम or परिविष्णुर्लेभ्यः 'round about *Trigarta*,' बहिर्गामम् or बहिर्गामात् 'outside the village' ग्राम् ग्रामम्, or ग्राम् ग्रामात् 'east of the village.'

Words formed from the verb *ञञ्*, 'to go,' are *उञ्च* 'north' *गञ्च* 'east,' &c.

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpaka*) that the word *बहिः* also governs the ablative case (see II. 3. 29 S. 595). But this is not universal, as we see in *कस्व कस्वोबहिः*, here it governs the sixth case.

६६७ । अञ्जिमर्यादामिविध्योः । २ । १ । १३ ॥

एतयोराङ् पञ्चम्यन्तेन वा सप्तम्यन्ते सोऽप्यधीभावः । आहुक्ति संसारः । आहुक्तेः । आबालेभ्यः ॥

667. The word *आङ्* when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As, आपातानिषुपं or आपातानिषुपात् बृहो देवः 'it rained up to *Pātaliputra*,' आहुक्ताः or आहुक्ताभ्यो यद्यः पाणिनेः 'the fame of *Pāṇini* extends even to the boys.' So also आहुक्ति संसारः ; आबाले हविमक्तिः or आबालेभ्यः ॥

६६८ । लक्षणेतामिमती अभिमुख्ये । २ । १ । १४ ॥

आनिषुपयसोऽनपापमिती पितृशानिना मन्त्र ग्रामम् । अयमि दानम् । पतन्ति । अभिमि यस्यामि अभिमिनि ॥

668. The words *abhi* and *prati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the goal, which regulates or marks the direction; and the resulting compound is *Avyayibhāva*.

The word *lakṣha* means a sign, goal. See also I. 4. 84 and 90 S. 547 and 552 for a further explanation of this word. As *अभ्यग्नि* or *अग्निमग्नि* *पक्षमाः पतन्ति* 'the moths fall in the direction of fire.' So also *प्रत्याग्नि* or *आग्निं प्रति*, the sense being, that making the fire their aim (*लक्ष्यं*) they fall towards it.

६६६ । अनुद्युत्समया । २ । १ । १५ ॥

ये पदार्थे समया शब्दत्वे तेन लक्ष्यभूतेनाहुः समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । अनुद्युत्समसमिर्गतः । यस्य समीपं गत इत्यर्थः ॥

669. The word *anu* 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is *Avyayibhāva*.

As, *अनुद्युत्समसमिर्गतः* 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest.'

Note.—Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 652, because nearness is mentioned there also: it is repeated here in order to show that an *Avyayibhāva* compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others.

६७० । यस्य चायामः । २ । १ । १६ ॥

यस्य वैष्णवतुना शब्दत्वे तेन लक्ष्यभूतेनाहुः समस्यते । अनुगङ्गं वातायनी । गङ्गाया णतुः गङ्गावैष्णवसदृशवैष्णवपलक्षितेत्यर्थः ॥

670. The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhāva*.

As, *अनुगङ्गं वातायनी* 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' *अनुयमुने मथुरा* 'Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna.'

६७१ । तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च । २ । १ । १७ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । तिष्ठन्त्यो माथे द्यस्मिन्काले स तिष्ठद्गुर्लङ्घनकालः । आद्यतीगवम् । इह वाचा-
वेदः पुनर्कावविरहः समाप्तान्तश्च निपात्यन्ते ॥

671. And the words *tisṭhādgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c. are *Avyayībhāva* compounds.

The words *tisṭhādgu* &c. are all irregularly formed *Avyayībhāva* compounds. Most of these words are epithets of various times. The force of च in the sūtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayībhāva* compound and nothing else. They are as follow:—

* तिष्ठद्गु "the time when the cows stand still ; i. e. the milking time." यहद्गु, आद्यतीगवम्. In आद्यतीगवम् there is the absence of the Present Participial affix णत् and in आद्यति (which is a conjugated verb), of the masculinisation and there is added the *samāsānta* affix अ ॥ All these are irregularities. खलेद्यवम् खलेद्युसम्, खलेद्युसम्, लुनयवम्, लुनयानयवम्, पुतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रियमाणयवम्, संहृत्युसम्, संह्रियमाण्युसम्, समभूति, समप्राप्ति, सुदनम्, विपमम्, दुष्यम्, निष्यम्, अपरस्तम्, आद्यतीतम्, प्राह्यम्, ग्रथम्, प्रगृह्यम्, महक्षिणम्, अपरक्षिणम्, संमति, असंसति, पापतम्, पुण्यतम्, इष्ट कर्मव्यतिष्ठरे V. 4. 127. ६. ८. कचाकाच ॥

६७२ । पारे मध्ये पष्ठवा वा । २ । १ । १८ ॥

पारमध्यशब्दौ पप्रक्षन्तेन सह वा समस्येते । एतन्तत्त्वं जानयौर्निपात्यते । पक्षे पप्रक्षितरुद्धः । पारेणङ्गादानम् । गङ्गापारम् । मध्येगङ्गात् । गङ्गामध्यात् । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । गङ्गायाः पारम् । गङ्गाया मध्यम् ॥

672. The words *pāra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pāre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayībhāva*.

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpuruṣa compounds. The present sūtra ordains *Avyayībhāva* instead. The force of वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpuruṣa compounding also takes place in the alternative. As, पारेणङ्गादानम् or गङ्गापारम् 'bring across the Gauges,' मध्येगङ्गात् or गङ्गामध्यात् 'middle of the Gauges.'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II. 1. ii S. 665 this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase ; as गङ्गायाः पारम् or गङ्गाया मध्यम्.

६७३ । संख्या वंशेन । २ । १ । २९ ॥

यस्यो हिषा विद्यया सम्पन्ना च । सप्त भवो वंशः । सहापिना सह संख्या वा सागत्यसि । दो
धुनी वंशो द्विगुनि । व्याकरणस्य विगुनि । विद्यासहस्रानमेदविचारायां विगुनि व्याकरणम् । एकविंशति
भारद्वाजम् ॥

673. A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva.

The word वंश is of two kinds and means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source, whether through (1) birth or (2) knowledge. A succession of (1) teachers and pupils, or of (2) ancestors and descendants, would constitute a वंश 'family.' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant.

As द्विगुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal exponents *vis.*, Pāṇini and Patanjali.' So त्रिगुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives *vis.*, Pāṇini, Patanjali and Śākaṭyāna or Kātyāyana.'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case : as द्विगुनि or त्रिगुनि व्याकरणम्.

So also when the relationship is by birth: as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् 'Twenty-one Bhāradvājas.' These and the subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

६७४ । नदीभिश्च । २ । १ । २० ॥

नदीभिः सह संख्या भगवद् ॥ सप्तगङ्गा चाम्बविष्यते ॥ द्विगुणम् ॥ द्विगुणम् ॥

674. A numeral (saṅkhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayibhāva denoting an aggregate.

Ishṭi:—According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (सप्तगङ्गा); as सप्तगङ्गा 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्विगुणं 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās.' See II. 4. 1, 17.

६७५ । अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । २१ ॥

अन्यपदार्थे विद्यमानं सुवन्तं नदीभिः सह निव्यं समस्यते संज्ञायाम् ॥ विद्यायाधिकारेऽपि दास्येन
सप्तानवगमादिह निव्यसमाप्तः ॥ उन्नसप्तगङ्गा नाम देशः । लोहितगङ्गम् ॥

675. A word ending in a case affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound, and is an appellative; the compound so formed being an Avyayibhāva.

The anuvṛtti of the word saṅkhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule : for no name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Gangam.' So also लोहितगङ्गा, कृष्णगङ्गा; शनैर्गङ्गा II. 4. 18.

६७६। समासान्ताः । ५ । ४ । १८ ।

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

676. The following affixes are added to the ends of compounds without changing their sense.

Note :—This is an adbhikāra or regulating sūtra.

६७७। अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १७७ ॥

शरत्शब्दश्च स्यात्समासान्तोऽव्ययीभावे । शरत्: सनीपशरदम् । प्रतिविषादम् । शरद् विषादः । अनस् । मनस् । उपानद् । दिग् । हिमवद् । अनद्धद् । दिग् । दृग् । विद् । भेत् । भृत् । तद् । प्र । कियत् । जगत् । जगत् । अपजगत् । प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽङ्गः ॥ अस्वेति च ॥ प्रत्यक्षम् । अङ्गः परमिति विग्रहे समासान्तविधानसामर्थ्यादव्ययीभावः । पराशे लिङिति निपातवाच्यस्यैकादेशः । परोक्षम् । परोक्षं क्रियेत्यादि तु अर्थश्चावधि । समक्षम् । अन्यक्षम् ॥

677. The affix ṭach comes after the words śarat &c, when forming an Avyayībhāva compound.

Thus शरद्. सनीपम् = उपशरदम्, प्रतिशरदम्, प्रतिविषादम् ॥

Those words of शरत्दि class which end in a ह्रस्व consonant add invariably (नित्य) the ṭach, in spite of V. 4. 111. S. 682 The anuvṛtti of avayayībhāva extends upto V. 4. 113 S. 832

1 शरद्, 2 विषादः, 3 अनस्, 4 मनस्, 5 उपानद्, 6 अनद्धद्, 7 दिग्, 8 हिमवद्, 9 दिक्, 10 दिग्, 11 शद्, 12 दिग्, 13 दृग्, 14 विद्, 15 भृत्, 16 तद्, 17 प्र, 18 कियत्, 19 जगत्, 20 अपजगत् (as उपजगत्), 21 प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽङ्गः (as प्रत्यक्षं, परोक्षः, समक्षम्, and अन्यक्षम्, The second is Tatpuruṣa) 22 पश्चिन्, 23 सदृश् ॥

20. The word जगत् assumes the form जगत् in the compound. As उपजगत् ॥

21. The words प्रति, पर, सम and अनु are compounded with अक्षी ॥ As, प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ It is thus formed प्रति + अक्षि + टच् = प्रति + अक्ष् + टच् (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = प्रत्यक्षम् so also जगत्: परम् = परोक्षम् ॥ Here खी replaces the final अ of पर, because we find the form परोक्ष used by Pāṇini himself in III. 2. 115 S. 2171. The form परोक्ष in परोक्षान्तिवद् &c. takes the affix टच् by V. 2. 127 S. 1933. so also समक्षम् and अन्यक्षम् ॥

६७८ । अन्तः । ५ । ४ । १०८ ॥

अन्तःत्वाव्ययीभावादृष्टम् स्यात् ॥

678. The affix *tach* comes after an *Avyayibhāva* compound ending in *अन्*, as the final of the compound.

Thus *उप+राजन्+ट्* ॥ Now applies the following *sūtra*, by which the *अन्* of *राजन्* should be elided.

६७९ । तस्तद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १४४ ॥

नान्तस्य अस्य देर्लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते । उपपजम् । अध्यात्मम् ॥

679. Of the stem *bha*, the final *न्* with the vowel that precedes it, is elided before a *Taddhita* affix.

Thus *उपपजम्*, *अध्यात्मम्* ॥

६८० । नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०९ ॥

अन्तःत्वं यच्छीर्षं तदन्ताव्ययीभावादृष्टम् वा स्यात् । उपचर्मम् or उपचर्म ॥

680. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avyayibhāva* compound, ending with a neuter word, whose final syllable is *अन्*.

Note—The word *अन्* is understood here also. The word 'Neuter' qualifies, the second i.e. last term of the compound. This allows option, where as the previous *sūtra* had made it compulsory.

Thus *उपचर्म* or *उपचर्मन्* ॥

६८१ । नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ११० ॥

वा ट् स्यात् । उपनद्यम् । उपनदि । उपपौर्णमासम् । उपपौर्णमासि । उपग्रहायणीम् । उपग्रहायणि ॥

681. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avyayibhāva* ending in *nadi*, *paurṇamāsi*, and *āgrahāyaṇi*.

Thus *नद्याः सदीपम्* = *उपनद्यम्* or *उपनदि*, *उपपौर्णमासम्* or *उपपौर्णमासि*, *उपग्रहायणीम्* or *उपग्रहायणि* ॥

६८२ । शयः । ५ । ४ । १११ ॥

अन्तःत्वाव्ययीभावादृष्टम् । उपसनिधम् । उपसनिध् ॥

682. The affix *tach* comes optionally after an *Avyayibhāva* compound ending in a letter of *jhay* class (a mute letter).

Thus उपसन्निधम्, or उपसन्निध् ॥

Note :—The भक्ष् here means the pratyābhāṣa ह्रस्व i. e. all the Mute consonants.

८८३ । गिरेश्च सेनकस्य । ५ । ४ । ११२ ॥

गिर्यन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृज्वा स्यात् । सेनकमहर्षेण पूजार्थम् । उपगिरिम् । उपगिरि ॥

683. The affix *ṭach* comes after an *Avyayibhāva* compound ending in 'giri', according to the opinion of the Grammarian Senaka.

Thus उपगिरिम् or उपगिरि ॥ The name of Senaka is mentioned for the sake of respect (*pujārtha.*), for the *anuvṛitti* of the word *अन्यतरस्याम्* "optionally" was understood here already.

Here end the *Avyayibhāva* compounds.

अथ तत्पुरुष समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TATPURUSHA COMPOUNDS.

६८४ । तत्पुरुषः । २ । १ । २२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । आगुबहुव्रीहिः ॥

684. From this aphorism as far as aphorism II. 2. 23, S. 829 the word Tat-purusha is the governing word and is understood in all the following sūtras.

Form this sūtra as far as the sūtra II. 2. 23 S. 829 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat-purusha should be read into each sūtra.

Note :—The Karmadhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dvigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds.

६८५ । द्विगुश्च । २ । १ । २३ ॥

द्विगुरपि तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः स्यात् । इदं सूत्रं तावत्तु बाधयत् । संख्यापूर्वं द्विगुभेति पठित्वा चकारत्वेन संज्ञाद्वयसमावेशस्य द्वयत्वस्यात् । समासान्तः प्रयोजनम् । पठ्यराजम् ॥

685. And the kind of compound called Dvigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha.

This sūtra could well have been dispensed with, by inserting a च in the sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730, and so that aphorism would mean that a compound preceded by a Numeral would get the designation of Dvigu as well as Tatpurusha. The object of its being a Tatpurusha is that टच् affix of samāsānta may be added ; as पठ्यराजम् ॥

Note :—The object of making Dvigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V. 4. 68-100 S. 676 &c., should apply to Dvigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra ; as sūtra II. 1. 52 S. 730 already defines Dvigu. Thus पठ्यराजम् V. 4. 91 S. 788 few पठ्यराजी (IV. 1. 15, 21 S. 470), an aggregate of 5 princes. According to Haradatta the feminine form is wrong, as इ is not part of राज but of the whole compound.

ACCUSATIVE TATPURUSHA.

६८६ । द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः । २ । १ । २४ ॥

द्वितीयानां श्रितादिप्रकृतिकैः सुबन्तैः सह वा समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । कृष्णं श्रितः कृष्णश्रितः
दुःखमतीतो दुःखातीतः ॥ गम्यासीनामपत्यवानम् ० ॥ प्राप्तं गमी प्राप्तगमी । भक्षं वृक्षुः भक्षवृक्षुः ॥

686. A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words *śrita* 'who has had recourse to,' *atīta* 'gone by' *patita* 'who has fallen upon,' *gata* 'who has gone to' *atyasta* 'who has passed,' *prāpta* 'who has obtained,' and *āpanna* 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

As कृष्णं + श्रितः = कृष्णश्रितः 'who has had recourse to Krishna.' So also
दुःखं + अतीत = दुःखातीतः 'who has passed over sorrow.'

Vart:—The words गमी, गामी &c. should also be included. As
प्राप्तं गमी = प्राप्तगमी : भक्षं वृक्षुः = भक्षवृक्षुः ॥

६८७ । स्वयं क्तेन । २ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वितीयेति न संबध्यते अदीप्तवशान् । स्वयंकृतस्यापत्यं स्वायंकृतिः ॥

687. The indeclinable word *swayam* 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

The *anuvritti* of the word द्वितीया being inappropriate does not take place; though, however, it is understood in the next *sūtra*. Because the word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case-affix. As स्वयं कृतस्यापत्यं
= स्वायं कृतिः ॥

६८८ । खट्वा क्षेपे । २ । १ । २६ ॥

खट्वाप्रकृतिकं द्वितीयानां क्तान्तप्रकृतेन सुबन्तेन समस्यते निन्दायाम् । खट्वाक्षेपो आत्मः
नित्यसनासीत्यम् । अहि दाक्ष्येन निन्दा गम्यते ॥

688. The word *khṭvā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when censure is implied, and the compound so formed is *Tat-purusha*.

As खट्वाक्षेपो or खट्वाक्षेपः (literally lying on a bed); silly, stupid, going wrong or astray.

Note :—The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word, as a whole, and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds :—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word.

There is no compounding when 'censure' is not meant. As खट्वानाह्नः 'lying on a bed.'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts :—a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house-holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharya i. e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmachâris were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachâris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वाह्नः 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way.' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action.

इ८६ । सामि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सामिकृतम् ॥

689. The indeclinable word *sâmi* meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As सामिकृतम् 'half-done.'

Note :—The word सामि being an *avyaya*, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore, the *anavṛitti* of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this spherism.

इ६७ । फालाः । २ । १ । २८ ॥

क्षेत्रेभ्यः । अमत्यन्तसंयोगार्थे षष्ठ्यन्तम् । मासप्रमितः प्रविष्टचन्द्रः । मासं परिच्छेदितुमाह्वयसामि-
शब्दः ।

690. The words denoting *time*, (but not duration thereof) being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As मासप्रमितचन्द्रमासः 'the new moon, (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month)'

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word कालः does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sūtra I. 1. 68, S. 25 the word-form काल but special words denoting काल ॥

६९१ । अत्यन्तसंयोगे च । २ । १ । २९ ॥

काल इत्येव । अन्तान्तार्थं वचनम् । गृह्यते सुखं गृह्यते सुखम् ॥

691. Words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of *complete connection throughout* with the time (i. e., duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

The word काल is understood in this aphorism ; but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix च ॥'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection.'

As गृह्यते सुखम् 'a momentary pleasure.'

—————:O:—————

INSTRUMENTAL TATPURUSHA.

६९२ । तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन । २ । १ । ३० ॥

तत्कृतेति लुप्तदृष्टीशकम् । तृतीयात् तृतीयान्तार्थकृतगुणवचनेनार्थशब्देन च सह प्राप्तम् । शङ्कुनेन शब्दः शङ्कुनाशब्दः । धान्येनार्थो धान्यार्थः । तत्कृतेति किम् । अक्षया कार्शः ॥

692. A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

As शङ्कुनेन शब्दः = शङ्कुनाशब्दः 'cut by nipper' धान्यार्थः 'wealth acquired by grain.' The word तत्कृत is an anomalous compound used only in sūtras and in which the 3rd case affix is elided. It is equal to तत्कृतेन ॥ Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case? Observe अक्षया कार्शः 'blind of one eye.' Here अक्षय in the 3rd case, is not the instrumental cause, that produced blindness, and hence there is no compounding.

Note :—The words गुण, गुणा are understood here; and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of these words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with

a word expressing quality, and with the word मयः, provided that, the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case.

६६३ । पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहानिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः । २ । १ । ३१ ॥

तृतीयान्तमेवैः प्राग्बन् । मासपूर्वः । मातृसदृशः । विदुसमः । कनार्थे । मासोन् कार्षापणम् । मासविक्रमम् । वाकलहः । आचारनिपुणः । शुद्धमिश्रः । आचारश्लक्ष्णः । मिश्रप्रद्वये सोपसर्गस्यापि ग्रहणम् । इत्येव चातुसर्गस्यन्यावित्यत्रातुसर्गग्रहणात् । शुद्धसमिथा धानाः ॥ अक्षरस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥ मासेनाक्षरे मासावरः ॥

693. A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words *pūrva* 'prior,' *sadṛśa* 'like,' *sama* 'similar,' *anārtha* 'words having the sense of less,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *nipuna* 'proficient,' *miśra* 'mixed,' and *ślakṣhṇa* 'polished, sleek' and the resulting compound is called *Tat-purusha*.

From this sūtra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c., govern the instrumental case.

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' विदुसमः 'similar to the father,' मासोन् कार्षापणम्, मासविक्रमम् 'a Karshāpāna coin less by a māśā' वाकलहः 'bandying words,' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' शुद्धमिश्रः 'mixed with juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour.'

Vart:—The compounding takes place even when मिश्र is preceded by an Upasarga. This we infer from VI. 2. 154 S. 3888 "The word मिश्र is acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition and does not mean a compact." This shows that it takes upasarga also. Thus we have शुद्धसमिथा धानाः ॥

Vart:—The word अक्षर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month.'

६६४ । कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् । २ । १ । ३२ ।

कर्तरे करणे च तृतीया दाघेन बहुलं प्राप्यत् । दृष्ट्या ज्ञाते हरिभानः । मद्योर्ध्वे न मद्यश्च ॥ कृदद्वये मतिकारकमुपस्थापि ग्रहणम् ॥ नृसन्निवित्रः । कर्तृकरणे इति किम् । भिन्नानिर्वाचनः । हेतावेवा तृतीया । बहुलमद्वये सर्वोपाधिबन्धिप्राप्त्यम् । तेन दाघेन तृतीयानिर्वाचो न । कदा किम् । कर्तृ पञ्चतित्तम् ॥

694. A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II. 3. 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a *krit*

affix; and the compound so formed is called Tatpuru-
sha.

As *सर्पिनाहतः* = *सर्पिहतः* 'killed by the snake.' *नखनिर्मितः* 'divided by the
nails.' *परशुच्छिन्नः* 'cut by the axe,' *हरिणाघातः* = *हरिणाहतः* ॥

Var:—The word *कृन्* here includes not only simple kridantas, but
words preceded by a Gati or a kārakā even. As not only *नखनिर्मितः* but *नखनिर्मितः*
also.

Why do we say 'when denoting the *agent* or the *instrument*'?
Observe *भिक्षाभिधूतः* 'dwelt with alms.' Here the force of the 3rd case is that
of हेतुः mentioned in sūtra II. 3. 21 S. 566 and not that of II. 3. 18. S. 561.

The word *बहुलं* shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules
and conditions. Observe *शणिण सुनवान्* 'cutting with the sickle.' *परशुनाछिन्नवान्*
'cutting with the axe.' Here there is no compounding. But there is com-
pounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word *बहुलः*—
as, *पादहारकः* and *गजे चोपकः*. Why do we say with a kridanta? See *कृच्छिः पचति*
हराम् where *पचति* is a verb and not a kridanta noun.

Paribhasha:—"A kṛit-affix denotes, whenever it is employed in
Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has
been added and which ends with the kṛit-affix; but moreover, should a Gati,
or a noun such as denotes a case relation, have been prefixed to that word-
form, then the kṛit-affix must denote the same word-form together with the
Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it."

६९५ । कृत्यैराधिकार्यवचने । २ । १ । ३३ ॥

कृत्यैराधिकार्यवचने वादवचनमधिकार्यवचने तच्च कर्तरि कृते च कृत्या कृत्यैः प्राग्वा । वात-
च्छेद्यं कृत्वा । काकवेवा नदी ॥

695. A word ending with the third case-affix when
it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded op-
tionally with a word ending in a *kṛitya* affix, when an *exaggera-
ted statement* (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and
the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

As *वातच्छेद्यं* कृत् 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by wind.) It
is praise, denoting softness, or it may be the reverse; denoting weakness.

So also *काकवेवा नदी* 'a full river' (so full that a crow may dip his beak,
into it and drink while sitting on the bank. In this sense it is praise. It
may be censure also, and it will mean a shallow river, so shallow that a crow
may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink.)

६९६ । अक्षेन व्यञ्जनम् । २ । १ । ३४ ॥

संस्कारकृतव्यवायकं सुनीयान्नमन्नेन प्राग्वत् । वृक्षा भोजनी व-भ्योदः । इहान्नभूतोपलेकक्रिया-
द्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

696. A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting a *condiment*, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, signifying *food*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन; as वृक्षोदः = वृक्षा वनासिक्त भोजन, 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd.' The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood.

६९७ । भक्ष्येण मिथीकरणम् । २ । १ । ३५ ॥

गृध्रेण धानाः गुडधानाः । मिथ्यक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

697. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *relish giving or refining ingredient*, is compounded with a word meaning *victuals*, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As गृध्रधानाः 'barley prepared with juggery ;'

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य; its refinement is called मिथीकरणम् ॥

Note :—The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood.

THE DATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९८ । अतुर्थी तदर्थार्थवन्निहितसुखरक्षितैः । २ । १ । ३६ ॥

अतुर्थ्यस्तार्थ्यं यत्तद्वाचिनाऽर्थविधिः अतुर्थ्यस्तं वा प्राग्वत् । तदर्थेन तद्वन्निरिच्छित्तिनाय एव दृश्यते । वन्निहितार्थव्याख्यायकान् । सुखाय शक्त्युपकारः । नेह । रक्ष्यमाय द्यासी । अन्धपरास्वस्तु यदीयमासाः ॥ तदर्थेन निरवसमासी विरोधविरूपा येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हितामार्थं हितायः सुखः । हितायः यथायुः । हितायः पयः । भूतवन्ति । गौहितम् । गौमुखम् । गौरक्षितम् ॥

698. A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words *artha* 'on account of,' *balī* 'a sacrifice,' *hita* 'salutary,' *rukhe*

'pleasure' and *raṁshita* 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

The words सुप, सुपा are understood in this sūtra : and the whole sūtra qualifies these words.

By the expression त्वर्थ 'for the purpose there of,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is, by Patanjali here, held to be intended. This we infer from the jñāpaka of the words *balī* and *raṁshita* used in this sūtra. As दूपाय शङ्खः = दूपशङ्खः 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake). But not so here. रन्ध्राय स्थाली 'pot for cooking.' So also or अश्वत्थामोदुल्लङ्घनं 'the wood mortar for threshing.' The words like 'अश्वत्थ' &c. are Genitive compounds.

From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose there of.' The word त्वर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable there to.' See VI. 2. 44. S. 3777. For accent see VI. 2. 45 S. 3779.

Part:—With the word कर्त्तव्य the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies ; as, द्विजार्थः दूपः "soup for the twice-born" ब्राह्मणार्थं पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans ;' and द्विजार्थं यवाणः 'gruel for the twice-born.' So also पुनः वलिः 'a sacrifice for bhūtas' महाराजवलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja.' गोहितं 'what is good for cows.' गोसुखं 'what is pleasant for cows' गोराक्षितं 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass).

—10:—

THE ABLATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९९ । पञ्चमी भयेन । २ । १ । ३७ ॥

भोतस्त्वयं भोतस्त्वयं ॥ भयनीवभीतिभोतिभिति वाच्यम् * ॥ वृकभीतः । वृकभीतिः । वृकभीः ॥

699. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word *bhaya* 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note:—The phrase सुप सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it.

As भोतस्त्वयं = भोतस्त्वयं 'fear from thieves'

Part:—So also with the words भीत, भीति and भीः as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः ॥

Note:—This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra II. 1. 32 S. 601 and an exposition of the word भूत there. So that we may have the following compounds also : ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village' अगमं सुपयु ॥

७०० । अपेतापोद्धमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैस्त्वशः । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

एतेः सशान्तं पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यमे स ह्यपुरुषः । मुखापेनः । कल्पनापोहः । चक्रमुक्तः । स्वर्गपतितः । तरङ्गपचस्तः । अल्पशः किम् । प्रासाशल्पवितः ॥

700. A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words *apeta* 'gone away,' *apodha* 'carried away,' *mukta* 'freed' *pat'ta* 'fallen,' *apatrasta*, 'afraid of,' when the action takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tat-purusha.

As, *मुखापेनः* 'gone away from pleasure' *कल्पनापोहः* 'carried away by imagination' *चक्रमुक्तः* 'freed from the wheel' *स्वर्गपतितः* 'fallen from heaven' *तरङ्गपचस्तः* 'afraid of the waves.' This is an expansion of II. 1. 32. S. 694.

Why do we use the word *अल्पशः* 'when the action is gradual'? It shows the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following case:—*प्रासाशन् अतितः*, 'fallen from the mansion.' For here the fall, is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight.

७०१ । स्तोकान्तिदूरार्थकृच्छ्रादि केन । २ । १ । ३९ ॥

स्तोकान्मुक्तः । अल्पान्मुक्तः । अन्तिकावागतः । अन्ताशावागतः । दूरावागतः । विप्रकृष्टावागतः । कृच्छ्रावागतः । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्य इत्यनुङ् ॥

701. Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dūra* 'far,' and also the word *kriichchhra* 'difficulty,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in *ta*, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As *स्तोकान् मुक्तः* 'loosed from a little distance.' *अल्पान्मुक्तः* ॥

So also *अन्तिकावागतः* 'come from near' *अन्ताशावागतः* 'come from near' *दूरावागतः* 'come from far,' *विप्रकृष्टावागतः* 'come from a distance,' *कृच्छ्रावागतः* 'come with difficulty,' *कृच्छ्राद् लब्धः* 'obtained with difficulty.'

By rule VI. 3. 2. S. 959 the case-affix is not elided in compounds of this kind.

७०२ । पट्टी । २ । २ । ८ ॥

पट्टः पुण्यो राजपुरुषः ॥

702. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः 'the king's man.'

७०३ । याजकादिभिश्च । २ । २ । ९ ॥

एभिः पद्वन्तं समस्यते । तुजकाभ्यां कर्तृरीत्यस्य प्रतिपत्तयोऽप्यम् । ब्राह्मणयाजकः । देवतुजकः ॥
 एणात्तेन मरुतोपमेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तत्रान्तं यदुल्लेख्यते तेन सह समासस्तरङ्गमस्यतीत्यम् । न
 निर्धारण इति पूरणमुपेति च निषेधस्य प्रतिपत्तयोऽप्यम् । सर्वेषां श्वेततरः सर्वश्वेतः । सर्वेषां महत्तरः ।
 सर्वमहत् ॥ कृद्योवा च पत्नी समस्यत इति वाच्यम् * ॥ इह्यस्य जघनः इह्यजघनः ॥

703. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yājaka* 'sacrificer' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As ब्राह्मणयाजकः 'a Brāhmana's sacrificer.'

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by II. 2. 15 S. 709 in the case of याजक &c. ; hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition.

(याजकादि)

1. याजक ॥ 2. तुजक ॥ 3. परिष्कारक ॥ 4. परिवेषक ॥ 5. परिषेचक ॥
6. आपक or आतक ॥ 7. अभ्यापक ॥ 8. वस्त्राहक or उस्त्राहक ॥ 9. सङ्कर्तक ॥
10. होतृ ॥ 11. भर्तृ ॥ 12. रथगजक ॥ 13. पत्तिगणक ॥ 14. पौतृ ॥ 15. हर्तृ ॥
16. वतक ॥

Vart:—A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word. As ब्राह्मणवर्णः 'Brāhmana-caste,' चन्दनगन्धः 'sandal-scent,' कपित्थरसः 'the wood-apple juice.'

Vart:—So also with an adjective in the comparative degree ; and the sign of comparison is elided. Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततरः = सर्वश्वेतः 'the whitest of all,' सर्वेषां महत्तरः = सर्वमहत् 'the greatest among all.' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sūtra and the one after next, which prohibit composition, when the genitive has the force of specification. Thus सर्वश्वेत गो 'a cow whitest among all.'

Vart:—When a word takes the genitive case, because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix ; that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word. Rule II. 3. 65 S. 623 states the conditions when a kṛit-formed word governs the genitive case. Thus रथप्रदहन 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter),

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by krit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II. 3. 38, 51, 52. In fact, the genitive case ordained by any rule of Pāṇini, other than II. 3. 50, S. 606 is a 'pratipada-vidhāna' genitive; and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition; see Vārtika under II. 2. 10 S. 704.

७०४ । न निर्धारणे । २ । २ । १० ॥

निर्धारणे या पक्षी सा न समस्यते । नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना पक्षी न समस्यत इति वाच्यम् ० ॥ सर्विषो ज्ञानम् ॥

704. A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirbhāraṇa).

As नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः 'The twice born is the best amongst men.'

Note :—With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirbhāraṇa.' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II. 3. 41. S. 638.

Vart :—A word taking a genitive-case by force of any rule other than sūtra II. 3. 50 S. 606. is never compounded. Namely the genitives formed by rules like 612, 613, 614, &c are incapable of Samāsa. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्विषो ज्ञानम्, मनुजो ज्ञानम् ॥

७०५ । पूरणगुणमुहितार्थसद्व्ययतत्त्वसमानाधिकरणेन । २ । २ । ११ ॥

पूणावर्धेः सदाविभिन्न पक्षी न समस्यते । पूणे । सतां पदः ।

गुणे । काकस्य काम्यर्धम् । ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लः । यदा प्रकृत्यादिना कृता इति विशेष्यं ज्ञातं तदेवमुदाहरणम् । अविधेयाऽयं गुणान् निषेधः । तदावर्धे संज्ञामानसाविद्यादिनिर्देशात् । तदवर्धेनैव बुद्धिमान्मनिसावि सिद्धम् ।

मुहितार्थास्तुत्यर्थाः । कलानां मुहितः । हनीयासमासस्तु स्वादेव । स्वरे विशेषः ।

सत् । द्विजस्य कुर्वन् कुर्वण्या वा । किकर इत्यर्थः ।

अव्ययम् । ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा । पूर्वोक्तसाहचर्यात्कृतव्यवनेव शुद्धये । तेन मनुजरीत्यादि सिद्धमिति रक्षितः ।

तत्त्वः । ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् । तत्त्वता तु भवत्येव । स्वकर्तव्यम् । स्वरे भेदः ।

समानाधिकरणेन । तत्तत्स्य सर्वस्य । विशेषणसमासस्ति न बहुवचनम् । गोर्धेनोरित्यादिषु चोदावृत्तरीत्यादीनां विभक्त्यन्तरे अविधेयार्थानां परत्वाद्वाच्यः पक्षीसमासः प्राप्तेः सोऽप्यनेन शब्देन ॥

705. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of (1) an ordinal, (2) an attribute, or (4) satisfaction, or (4) with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III. 2. 127 S. 3106) or (5) an indeclinable, or (3) ending with the affix tavya, or (7) with a word denoting the same object (i. e., when they are in apposition).

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) सप्तमेषु 'sixth amongst the goods'; (2) काकस्य काल्पयम् 'the blackness of the crow,' ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लः 'The Brahmana has white teeth.' This illustration is to be given when by context the word वन्तः is understood.

The prohibition about guṇa-compounding, is however not universal : for we find Pāṇini himself making such a compound in the following sūtra तद्विशिष्टं संज्ञामात्रेण I. 2. 53 S. 1295. Here the word संज्ञामात्रेण is a guṇa-compound, the word मन्त्रस्य being guṇa. So the compounds भर्ग्यरीत्ये, बुद्धिमान्द्रव्यम् are valid.

(3) The word सुहृन् means तृप्त or satisfied. फलानां सुहृन् 'satisfied of fruits;' फलानां तृप्तः The instrumental compound however is not prohibited. As फलेन तृप्तः = फलतृप्तः ॥ The difference is in accent. It is ādyudātta, while a genitive compound would have been final udātta.

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa;' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वणः 'the servant of a Brāhmaṇa.'

(5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmaṇa,' ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा ॥

The word avyaya in the sūtra means the Kṛidanta, 'Indeclinables only and not every Indeclinable. This we infer from the fact that the word avyaya here is associated with Kṛidanta words both before and behind. Namely चत् is a Kṛit affix and तस्य is also a kṛit affix, therefore अप्यव्य which is in the middle, must refer also to a kṛit-formed Indeclinable. Therefore, we can have a compound with Indeclinables other than kṛidanta, as तस्य तद्वरि = तद्वरि ॥ This is according to the grammarian Rakshita. According to others, namely Kaiyyata and Haradatta, the prohibition applies to every Indeclinable. But the latter opinion is not sound, as the former is supported by Patanjali, who uses the compound तद्वरि ॥

(6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्मण्यम् ॥ When however the affix is तस्य having the indicative त् (III. 1. 96) there is compounding; as ब्राह्मणकर्म-ण्य 'the Brāhmaṇa's duty.' एकन्यस्य 'One's duty.' The difference is in accent (VI. 1. 185. S. 3729)

(7) शतः पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pāṭaliputraka' पाणिनिः सूत्रकारस्य of the sūtra composer Pāṇini.' So also तत्त्वस्य सर्वस्य We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनिः । Even by the general rule relating to words in apposition one qualifying the other, as contained in sūtra II. 1. 57 S. 736 the compound cannot be affected here, because of the word bahula used in that sūtra ; the difference between that sūtra and the present is as to the position of the words. In the genitive compound, the genitive word would have stood first if compounded ; not so in the other, there the quality stands first.

In the case of तत्त्वत् the compounding takes place. The difference is in accent, तत्त्वत् is final svarita as it has an indicatory न् ॥ Thus कर्तव्यम् formed by तत्त्वत्, and कर्तव्यम् by तत्त्व ॥ In compounding with कर्तव्यम् the svarita will be retained by कृदन्तरमकृदन्तरः but had there been compounding with the second कर्तव्यम् the udātta would have remained in the middle.

In the phrase गोर्धनोः, the गो is a jāti word, and घेनु is read in sūtra II. 1. 65 S. 744, and so there ought to be compounding : is it so ? Now the compounding is ordained by II. 1. 65 S. 744 which applies to all cases in general (including genitive) but that sūtra is set aside by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which specifically applies to genitive cases. Therefore गोर्धनोः should be compounded by II. 2. 8 S. 702. But this sūtra itself is set aside by the present sūtra, so there is no compounding in गोर्धनोः either by II. 2. 8 S. 702, or II. 1. 65 S. 744. In fact, II. 1. 65 S. 744 finds its scope in all other cases than the sixth ; while the sixth case will be governed by the subsequent sūtra II. 2. 8. S. 702 ; which itself is limited by the present sūtra.

७०६ । केन च पूजायास् । २ । २ । १२ ॥

मतिबुद्धीति सूत्रेण विहितो यः कस्तस्मिन् वद्री न समस्यते । शशो मत्तो बुद्धः प्रकितो पा ।
समप्रकित इत्यादौ तु भूते क्तास्तेन सह पूजायासमासः ॥

706. A word ending with a sixth case affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' 'inclination', and 'understanding.'

The affix क् is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III. 2. 188. S. 3089. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजाः and pōjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also, namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding.'

the force of the affixes is that of an agent.

As अर्पां सदा 'the creator of waters' वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunder-bolt.'

Note.—The word 'kartari' qualifies the affixes *trich* and *aka*. The affix कृच् is taught in sūtra III. 1, 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix; all affixes that have an element क are अक; such as कृत् or कृञ् or कृन् (sūtra VII. 1. 1.)

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of अजक (II. 2. 9. S. 703) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband or lord,' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder.' Thus भूभर्ता "the lord of world." How do you explain the compound विभ्रवनविधातुः in the sentence वदानां निर्मातुः विभ्रवनविधातुः कलहः "The quarrel of the maker of pots and the ruler of the Three worlds." According to Kaiyyata it is compounded as shesha shashthi and it is not a pratipada vidhāna shashthi.

The above are examples of words formed by कृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक; thus सौदनस्य पाचकः 'the-cooker of rice.'

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इष्टनक्षिकां मे धारयसि.

७१०। कर्तरि च । २। २। १६॥

कर्तरि पठ्या अकेन न समासः । भवतः सायिका । नेह कृञ्प्रवर्तते । तद्योगे-कर्तृभिहितस्येन-कर्तृपठ्या अनाशान् ॥

710. A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'aka.' affix when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.,

As भवतः सायिका 'your honors' repose.'

The word 'kartari' qualifies the Genitive case. The Genitive case has the force of an agent under II. 3. 65 S 623. The anuvritti of कृच् is not to be read into this sūtra. Because a तप् formed word always denotes an agent, and so a Genitive case used along with such a word can never denote an agent. Thus सदा is a word formed with कृच् affix. It means "creator," and in अर्पां सदा हरिः the agent हरिः can never take the Genitive case in connection with सदा denoting the agent. But with अक (कृच् III. 3. 111 S 3288) we have सदाकार where हरि can take the Genitive case, as हरिः सदाकार "Hari's turn of creating."

७११ । नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः । २ । २ । १७ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोरकेन नित्यं पक्षी समस्यो । उद्दालकपुष्पभाजिका । क्रीडाजीविकेभ्यश्च संज्ञा ।
संज्ञायामिति भावः पृच्छ । जीविकायाश्च । इत्यनेनैकः । स च क्रीडायां दिक्त्वे आधिकार्या नृजकाभ्यां
कर्तरिति निवेद्ये प्राप्तं वचनम् ॥

711. A word ending with a sixth case-affix is in-
variably compounded with a word ending with aka, when
this affix denotes a sport or a livelihood; and the compound
is Tat-purusha.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभाजिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka (lasorā vernacular) flowers are broken or crushed.' Here पृच्छ् denotes mere action by III. 3. 109 S. 3286, and forms a Name. - As an example of livelihood we have इत्यनेनैकः "one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth." मखलेखकः 'a nail-painter by profession.'

Note:—This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis. The anurūpīti of the word 'na' which began with II. 2 10 S. 704, does not extend further. The affix पृच्छ् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood; the only examples possible are of 'aka'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood.' Observe
लोदन्त्य भोजकः.

उद्दालक पुष्पाणां भाजिका । Here neither the पृच्छ् denotes the agent nor the
genitive पुष्पाणां is a कर्तरि पक्षी ॥ Therefore both the preceding two sūtras
can not apply. Now the compounding will be the usual genitive
compound by sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702 which is optional, and to set aside
that usual optional compounding, the present sūtra is ordained which
makes the compounding compulsory. Similarly इत्यनेनैकः ॥ In this the
aka भाज denoting the agent could not have been compounded
with a genitive, by virtue of the prohibition of the preceding sūtra;
therefore, to accomplish both these objects in view, the sūtra-kāra has made
this present sūtra, and so the compounding by this is *invariable*. In other
words, the present sūtra sets aside the option of II. 2 8. S. 702 in the case
of उद्दालकपुष्प भाजिका, and the prohibition of II. 2. 15 S. 709 in the case of
इत्यनेनैकः ।

७१२ । पूर्वोपसर्गोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणम् । २ । २ । १ ॥

अपवादित्वा गद पूर्वोपसर्गः गदस्यो एकादश्यादिदिक्देशवधौ । पक्षीपश्यादिपश्याः । पूर्व
कादस्य पूर्वोपसर्गः । अदशकादः ॥

एतदेतिमात्रेण । पूर्वोपसर्गः कादस्य । एकदश्यादिदिक् । पूर्वोपसर्गः ।

सर्वोऽप्येकैवोऽहो समस्यते संख्याविसायेति ज्ञापकम् । मध्याह्नः । सायाह्नः । कोऽप्येव सर्वोऽप्येकैवः कालेन समस्यते न त्वद्वैतः । ज्ञापकस्य सामान्यपितृत्वम् । तेन मध्यमय । उपरस्ताः पश्चिम-
रात्रयोच्यते इत्यादि सिद्धमित्याहुः ॥

712. The words *pūrva* 'front,' *apara* 'rear,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity; and the compound is *Tat-puruṣa*.

Note.—The word 'ekādhipikarāṇa' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadesin.' This debars the Genitive Tat-puruṣa compound ordained by II. 2. 9 S. 702 which would have placed the words 'pūrva' &c. last in the compound, whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I. 2. 43 and II. 2. 30), they take the precedence.

This is an *apavāda* or exception to Genitive compounding under II. 2. 8 S. 702. Thus पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकायः 'the front of the body'; अपरकायः 'the back of the body';

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्व नामः कायस्य ॥ Why do we say 'distinguished numerically by unity'? Observe पूर्वद्वयानाम् 'the fore-most of the pupils': because here the substratum (*adhipikarāṇa*) is not unity (*eka*). But the compounds like मध्याह्नः 'noon'; सायाह्नः 'evening' are correct, because the word 'alīna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, as we learn this by inference from *sūtra* VI. 3. 110 S. 238.

Some say the rule which we have inferred from the *jñāpaka* of *sūtra* VI. 3. 110 S. 238 is not confined to अह्न only, but applies to all words denoting *time*: as the *jñāpaka* is general, and not merely limited to a particular word. As a result, we get compounds like मध्य रात्रः and पश्चिमरात्रः in the examples given in the text above.

७१३ । अर्धं नपुंसकम् । २ । २ । २ ॥

समांशवत्पर्यायशब्दो नित्यं क्लृप्ते स मास्वन् । एकविंशत्यावद्वचनस्य नमः * ॥ एकदेशिमयाद्य-
विषयतोऽव्युपसर्जनसंज्ञाविधेयः । तेन पठ्यमानो इत्यादि निश्चयति । अर्धं विषयः समविषयी ।
कृति किम् । भाषार्थः । इत्येवम् एव । अर्धं विषयीनाम् ॥

713. The word *अर्ध* when it signifies 'exactly equal parts i. e. halves,' is always neuter, and is compounded

with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Vart:—A word which has one fixed case, while the word compounded with it may vary its case, is an upasarjana, except when the case is a Genitive one. This is an exception to sūtra. I. 2. 44 S. 655. Therefore a Genitive noun denoting part, though fixed, will not be upasarjana. This prohibition of upasarjana relates to एकदेशितनाम that is, to compounds denoting *parts* of a substance, and not to a Genitive case in general. Therefore in वचनां सङ्गानां समाहारः = वचसङ्घी ॥ Here सङ्घा though in the Genitive case, gets upasarjana designation, and consequently it is shortened by योश्चिये &c. I. 2. 48 S. 656 The result of which is that the compound gets लीप् ॥

But in अर्धे विप्लव्याः = अर्धविप्लवी the word विप्लवी in the Genitive does not get upasarjana designation, as the present vārtika applies to it, because it is ekadesī; and so we have no shortening.

The word अर्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and इकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars II. 29; as अर्धविप्लव्याः = अर्धविप्लवी 'a half of the pepper'; अर्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośātaki.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्धः 'half the village' नगार्धः 'half the city.'

The word 'ekadesin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्धे पशोरेवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta'; we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta.'

The word 'ekādhikaraṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्धे विप्लवीनाम् 'the half of the peppers.'

७१४ । द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्तरस्याम् । २ । २ । ३ ॥

एकदेशिना सह प्राग्बह । द्वितीयं त्रितीया द्वितीयात्रितीया । एकदेशिना किम् । द्वितीयं त्रितीया त्रितीयात्रितीया । अन्वयत्वेनाप्रत्ययसमासार्थत्वेनानुमेने निदर्शयं यथिपत्वा एते पक्षीतगायः । । त्रितीयात्रितीया ॥

714. The word dvitīya, 'second,' tṛitīya 'third,' caturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has

parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity. The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

Note.—This also debars II. 2. 9. By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II. 2. 9. S. 703 also applies. The prohibition contained in II. 2. 11. 705 as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here; for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here.

As द्वितीयभिक्षादाः = द्वितीयाभिक्षा 'second begging.' When we apply sūtra II. 2. 9 S. 703 we have भिक्षाद्वितीयं.

Why do we say "which signifies a thing that has parts?"

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुक्तस्य.

By force of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" read in this sūtra, though it was not necessary, as the same effect could have been got by the great option (Mahāvibhāsa of sūtra II. 1. 11 S. 665), we infer that the sūtra II. 2. 11 S. 705 is set aside in the case of these words, and so we can form usual compounds also under sūtra II. 2. 8 S. 702. For these words are all ordinals, and so would have come under the prohibition of II. 2. 71 S. 705. Thus we have द्वितीयं भिक्षादाः = भिक्षाद्वितीयम् by II. 2. 8. S. 702 and by the present sūtra द्वितीयाभिक्षा ॥ Thus there are two forms.

७१५ । प्राप्तपन्ने च द्वितीयया । २ । २ । ४ ॥

पन्ते द्वितीयाभिक्षेति समानः । प्राप्ते जीविकां प्राप्तजीविकः । जीविकाप्राप्तः । आपन्नजीविकः । जीविकापन्नः । इह तु द्वितीयया अ इति द्वित्वा अकारोऽपि विधीयते । तत्र जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री प्राप्त-जीविका । आपन्नजीविका ।

715. The words prāpta 'obtained,' and āpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadesin' and 'ekādhikarāṇa' does not exist here. This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II. 1. 24 S. 686. Thus we have प्राप्तजीविकः (प्राप्ते जीविकां) or शीविकाप्राप्तः 'obtained his livelihood.' So also आपन्नजीविकः or जीविकापन्नः.

In this sūtra, the word द्वितीयया is a compound of द्वितीया + ञ; and the sūtra ordains अ substitution also, in case of feminine gender. Namely प्राप्ता and आपन्ता are shortened to प्राप्त and आपन्न ॥ In other words the sūtra

should be translated thus :—"The words प्राप्ता and आपत्ता are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case affix, and form Tat-purusha compound; and there is the substitution of short अ for long आ if these words are in the feminine." Thus औषिकां प्राप्ता स्त्री-प्राप्तौषिका. Here प्राप्ता is not upasarjana, and no sūtra would have shortened this. Similarly आपत्ता औषिका ॥ But if we compound it under sūtra II. 1. 24 S. 686, then we have औषिकां प्राप्ता स्त्री-औषिकाप्राप्ता ॥

७१६ । कालाःपरिमाणिना । २ । २ । ५ ॥

परिच्छेदशक्तिना मुक्त्यनेन सह कालाः समस्यन्ते । मासो जातस्य यस्य स मासजातः । द्वादशजातः । द्वादशोऽस्य स मासजातः । द्वादशे जातस्य यस्य स इति विग्रहः ॥ द्वादशस्येन परिमाणिना द्विगोः सिद्धये बहुना तत्पुरुषस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥ हे मासो जातस्य यस्य स द्वादशजातः । अद्वैतद्वैतं बहुमानोऽद्वैतः । पूर्वत्र तु न संख्यादेः समाहार इति विग्रहः ॥

716. Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, (with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time,) and the compound is Tat-purusha

This is also a kind of genitive compound. As मासो जातस्य-मासजातः 'month old' (born a month ago.) So also सप्तादजातः 'a year old' and द्वादशजातः 'Two days old.' This is a compound of two words द्वादश and जात, as द्वादशे जातस्य यस्य=द्वादशजातः ॥ The word द्वादश itself is a Dvigu Aggregate Compound, and is thus formed द्वादशोऽस्य-मासजातः ॥ Thus द्वि+अद्व+द्व (V. 4. 91 S. 788)=द्वि+अद्व+अ (अन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789) द्वादश ॥ Now this द्वादश is *one* word and so is compounded with जातस्य ॥

But if the analysis be हे मासो जातस्य यस्य स, then the form will be द्वादशजातः; and here arises the difficulty of compounding more than *two* nouns at a time. For the rule is that *one* noun is compounded with *another* noun, and not that *three* nouns can be compounded simultaneously. To obviate this difficulty we have the following.

Partika :—(Enumeration should be made of a Tat-purusha compound of more than two words, for the sake of accomplishing a Dvigu, with the third or last word denoting the thing measured,) So we can compound हे मासो जातस्य into द्वादशजातः ॥ The मासो is changed to मास by V. 4. 83 S. 790. But in the first case, we form a Samāhara compound, and so V. 4. 89 S. 793 applies, and we have no अद् substitution.

THE LOCATIVE TATPURUSHA

७१७ । सप्तमी शौण्डैः । २ । १ । ४० ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्वद्वा । अत्रेषु शौण्डः सप्तशौण्डः । अविश्वतोऽत्र पठ्यते । सप्तशुक्ल-
पकविति छः । ईश्वराधीनः ॥

717. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the words śaundā 'skilled' &c. and the com-
pound is Tat-purusha.

*Note:—*The word शौण्डैः in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates
a class of words beginning with śaundā.

As अत्रेषु शौण्डः = 'skilled in dice.' A word ending with
अवि will take the affix ख (ईन by V. 4. 7. S. 2079) and will be a सप्तशुक्लं com-
pound. Thus ईश्वराधीनः

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words:—1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त, 3 किरात,
4 व्याड, 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीर, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अवि, 9 पट, (or अविपट)
10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 अपल, 13 निपुण, 14 संघाट' 15 अन्ध, and 16 समीर.

७१८ । सिद्धशुक्लपक्वबन्धैश्च । २ । १ । ४१ ॥

एतैः सप्तम्यन्तं प्राग्वद् । सांकाश्यसिद्धः । आतपशुक्लः । स्वात्तीपक्वः । अक्षप्रबन्धः ॥

718. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,'
pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting
compound is Tat-purusha.

As, सांकाश्यसिद्धः 'perfect in sânkâśya.' आतपशुक्लः 'dried in the sun,'
स्वात्तीपक्वः 'cooked in pot.' अक्षप्रबन्धः 'bound on the wheel.'

७१९ । ध्रुवङ्क्षेणे । २ । १ । ४२ ॥

ध्रुवङ्क्षेपाधिनो सप्त सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते निन्दायाम् । तीर्थे ध्रुवङ्क्षे इव तीर्थेष्वद्भ्यः । तीर्थेष्वाक
इत्यर्थः ॥

719. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the word dhvāṅkṣha, 'a crow,' (and with
synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied; and the re-
sulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, तीर्थेष्वङ्क्षः 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' i. e., a very greedy
person; as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long anywhere, so

a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाकः or a तीर्थवायसः.

Note:—When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding: as तीर्थेष्वंशस्तिष्ठति. 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place.'

७२० । कृत्यैर्द्धणे । २ । १ । ४३ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कृत्यमत्ययान्तेः सह मास्यसावयके । नासदेयम् कथम् । पूर्वार्द्धेणैव साम् ॥

720. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a *kṛitya*-affix (a fut. pass. Participle) and the resulting compound is *Tat-purusha*, when 'debt' is implied.

Note:—This compound is confined to the words formed by the *kṛitya* affix *यम्* and not to every *kṛitya*-formed word.

As, नासदेयं 'a debt repayable within a month.' The case-affix is not elided optionally by VI. 3. 14. S. 972. Otherwise we have नासदेयम् ॥

By using the word कथम् we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt. Therefore we get compounds in the following case also :—पूर्वार्द्धेणैव साम् 'the *Sāma* that should be sung in the morning.'

७२१ । संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ४४ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं ध्रुवा मास्यन् संज्ञायाम् । वाक्येन संज्ञान्मासिष्यसमासोऽयम् । अपत्येतिशयाः । एते कतिपयाः । इत्यन्तास्तस्मिन्वा इत्यलुक् ॥

721. A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and it is called *Tat-purusha samāsa*.

A *sanjñā* is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (*nitya*) compound; for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence.

As, अमृतं निरुक्तः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil; any thing which does not answer to one's expectation. So also एते कतिपयाः 'anything found unexpectedly.'

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance with *sūtra*

VI. 3. 9. S. 966. The 7th case-affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative.

७२२ । केनाहोरात्रावाचवाः । २ । १ । ४५ ॥

अहो रात्रिवाचवाः सप्तम्यन्ताः कान्तेन सह प्राचवत् । पूर्वाह्नकृतम् । अपराधकृतम् । अथयव-
यहयं किम् । आहुि इष्टम् ॥

722. (The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta;) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वाह्नकृतम् 'done in the morning.' अपराधकृतं 'done in the last part of the night.'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अह्नि इष्टम् 'seen in day.'

७२३ । तत्र । २ । १ । ४६ ॥

तत्रेत्येतत्सप्तम्यन्तं कान्तेन सह प्राचवत् । तत्रभुक्तम् ॥

723. The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V. 3. 10S. 1957) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha.

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there.'

Note :—By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sâtra II. 1. 25. S. 687 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent.

७२४ । क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कान्तेन प्राचयस्त्रिन्वाचम् । अथत्ते नकुलस्थितं स एवम् ॥

724. A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अथत्तेनकुलस्थितं स एवम् 'thy this work is as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground'. (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) प्राचयम् ॥

*Note:—*The 7th case-affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also. See sūtra VI. 3. 14.

७२५ । पात्रेसमितादयश्च । २ । १ । ४८ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते लुपे । पात्रेसमिताः । भोजनसमये एव संगता । ननु कार्ये । मेहेशूराः । मेहेनर्दी । भाकृतिगणोऽयम् । चकारोऽवधारणार्थः । तेनैषां समासान्तरे षट्कतया भवेदो न । परमाः पत्रि-
समिताः ॥

725. The words like *pātre-samita* 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c., are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied.

*Note:—*All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त) ; they could have been formed by the previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udātta on the beginning ; because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'पुन्नायेत्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI. 2. 81.

Thus the following is the list of the words:—पात्रेसमिताः, 2 पात्रेसमिताः 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner (time)). 3 उदुम्बरमूकः, 4 उदुम्बरकृमिः, 5 उदरकृमिः, 6 कृपकचटपः, 7 अरकचटपः, 8 छूषमण्डूकः, 9 छूषमण्डूकः, 10 उदयानमण्डूकः, 11 नगरकाकः, 12 नगरपायसः, 13 मातरिपुरुषः, 14 पिण्डीशूराः, 15 दिनरिशूराः, 16 मेहेशूराः, 17 मेहेनर्दी, 18 मेहेक्षेत्री, 19 मेहेविजिती, 20 मेहेन्यायः, 21 मेहेमेदी, 22 मेहेशही, 23 मेहेमः, 24 मेहेपृष्ठा, 25 गर्भेष्टमः, 26 आसन्निकचकाः, 27 गोष्ठेशूराः, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्षेत्री, 30 गोष्ठेपृष्ठा, 31 गोष्ठेपाण्डिताः, 32 गोष्ठेमगल्लः, 33 कर्णोद्विष्टिः, 34 कर्णोद्विष्टः ॥ The force of च in the sūtra is to restrict it to these very words. Therefore, we cannot compound परमाः पात्रेसमिताः, and it cannot form part of another compound.

७२६ । पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्नपुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन । २ । १ । ४९ ॥

विशेषणं विशेष्येनेति सिद्धे पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थे सूक्ष्मम् । एकस्यस्य निमित्तस्य संज्ञायां निमित्तनियमबाधनार्थं च । पूर्वं यतः पश्चादुक्तिः आतादुक्तिः । एकपायः । सर्वमाश्रिताः । जग्निमादिकाः पुराणमीमांसकाः । नवपाठकाः । कैवल्ययोगाचार्याः ॥

726. A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (*pūrvakāla*), and the words *eka* 'one,' *sarva* 'all,' *jarat* 'old,' *purāṇa* 'ancient,' *nava* 'new,' and *kevala* 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them ; and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha.

Note:—These compounds could have been formed by the rule II. 1. 57 S. 736 but their especial enumeration here is for the sake of placing these words first in the compound. In the case of the word एक there is further object of precluding the prohibition of Sātra II. 1. 50 S. 727.

The phrase ह्युप युष्म is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it.

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकार्यं) or abiding in a common substratum.

In the present sūtra the word-form pūrva kāla is not to be taken (I. 1. 68 S. 25) but its significates; while of the rest एक-*acc.* the very word-form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it.

As, स्नातानुत्तिष्ठः 'bathed and perfumed.' कृष्टसमीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled.' दग्धप्रकृतम् 'burnt and healed.' एकनाथः 'having one master.' एकभिदा 'begging once in a day.' सर्वयात्रिकाः "all the members of a sacrifice." सर्वमनुष्याः 'all men.' जरद्वस्ती 'old elephant.' जरनैयायिकाः 'old logician' वृत्तवृत्तिः 'old occupation.' पुराणमीमांसकाः old Mimāṃsakas. पुराणवसथम् 'an old habitation.' So नवपाठकाः "New students." नवावसथम् ॥ केवल वैयाकरणः "Only grammarians."

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः पादौ 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I. 2. 42.)

७२७ । दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ५० ॥

समानाधिकार्येनेत्यापादयतिनमेरधिकारः । संज्ञायामेवेति नियमायै सूत्रम् । पूर्वदुक्तमस्मि । समर्पयः । वेद । उत्तर वृत्ताः । पञ्च ब्राह्मणाः ॥

727. (The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (saṅkhyā) enter into composition with the words correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative; and it is a Tat-purusha.

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter. This sūtra makes a *niyama*, namely these words are compounded only then, when the whole is a Name and Tat-purusha.

As, पूर्वेषुकागशमी 'the town of Ishukāmagamī-in-the-east.' सप्तर्षयः 'the seven-sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear)

But not in उत्तर वृक्षाः 'northern trees,' and पंच ब्राह्मणाः 'five Brahmanas,' because here the sense of the compounds is not that of an appellative. See IV. 2. 107.

७२८ । तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च । २ । १ । ५१ ॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परतः समाहारे च वाच्ये विवक्षिते प्राग्वह्य । पूर्वस्थां शालार्था भवः । पूर्वशालः । समासि कृतं विवक्षितं प्राग्वह्यं न इति नः ॥ सर्वनाम्ने वृत्तिभावे पुंवङ्गावः* ॥ आपरशालः । पूर्वा शाला प्रिया यस्येति विषये बहुव्रीहौ कृतं प्रियाशब्दे उत्तरपदं पूर्वयोस्तत्पुरुषः । तेन शालाशब्दे आकार उत्पन्नः । पूर्वशालाप्रियाः । विष्णु समाहारे नास्त्वन्निधानान् । संख्यायास्तद्धितार्थे । वर्णा मातृणामपत्यं पाप्मातुरः । पञ्च गावां धने यस्येति विषये बहुव्रीहौ वागन्तरस्तत्पुरुषस्य विकल्पे मतिः ॥ इन्द्रस्तत्पुरुषयोः उत्तरपदे विवक्षितमास्यपनम्* ॥

728. In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha.

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्थां शालार्था भवः 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) serves to represent the force of the Taddhita-affix त्र) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patanjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word; we have :—पूर्वा + शाला + म् (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) = पूर्वशाल (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 and VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Part:—The sarnāmāns become Masculine when parts 'of a compound or a Taddhita. The vrittis are of five kinds; Kṛit, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ēkshesha and Sanādyanta. Here two Vrittis only are to be taken. Similarly आपरशालः ॥

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade) As, पूर्व शालाप्रिया or आपरशालाप्रियाः 'loving the eastern or western hall.' These Uttarapada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements.

If we make a Bahuvrīhi compound of the three words पूर्व शाल दिव्य यस्य, where the word दिव्य is the uttarapada then the first two words (पूर्वशाल) form a Tatpurusha पूर्वशालः ॥ Here the शी of शाल is udātta by VI. 1. 223 S. 3734, and this udātta will be retained in the Bahuvrīhi also, As पूर्वशालदिव्यः ॥ Had the शाल and दिव्य been compounded first, and then the compound शालदिव्य further compounded with पूर्व as a Bahuvrīhi, then by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735, पूर्व would have retained its accent, and the compound would have been पूर्वशालदिव्यः ॥

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words) because the usage is against it.

The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix; as षण्मातुरः "a son of six mothers," a name of Kārtikeya. Here the Taddhita affix क्त is added by IV. 1. 115 S. 1118. In compounding पंचगवोधनं यस्य as a Bahuvrīhi of three words, when we take the intermediate Tatpurusha stage, as optional by the great option II. 1. 11. S. 665, and may so consider that the Tatpurusha compound need not take place, then the following vārtika applies :—

Vart :—The compounding is nitya when a Dvandva or a Tatpurusha is to be compounded with an uttarapada of more than two words. Therefore पंच and गवः must be necessarily compounded first as a samāhāra, there being no option possible here; and then the compound so formed, further compounded as a Bahuvrīhi with धनं ॥ The compound of पंच + गो gets the affix दच् by the following :—

७२९. । गौरतद्धितलुकि । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गौन्तात्तत्पुरुषादच् स्यात् समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि । पञ्चगवधनः ॥

729. The affix तच् comes after गो standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when no elision of a Taddhita affix has taken place in forming such compound.

Thus पंच + गो + दच् = पंचगवः ॥ पंचगवधनः ॥ The meaning is 'whose wealth consists of five cows.'

Note :—Why do we say "when no Taddhita affix has been elided in forming the compound"? Observe, पंचविंशोभिः कृतः = पंचशतः ॥ (Here the affix दच् V. 1. 37 S. 1702 is elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693 and hence the samāsanta affix दच् is not added). So also दशतुः ॥

Why do we say 'when there is elision'? Merely adding a Taddhita affix in forming a Tatpuruṣa, will not debar the samāsānta affix: as पंचमौ गोमय आ गन्धं = पंचमौ + दच् + रुच्य (the तच् is added by this sūtra, and the taddhita रुच्य to denote तत् स्वागतः by IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) = पंचमौरुच्यम्, पंचमौमयम्, or गन्धमयरुच्यम्, गन्धमयमयम् ॥

Thus we get above पंचमवधनः ॥ But if the option of II. 1. 11 S. 665 be applied, and पञ्च + गौ be not compounded as a Tatpuruṣa, then there will be no samāsānta दच्, and the Bahuvrīhi will be पंचगवधनः ॥ This is on the view that the vārtika above given is not to be applied. Similarly with a द्वन्द्व compound, as वाक् च दृष्ट्वा च श्रिये अस्य = वाग्दृष्टवश्रियः ॥ So also छन्दोवाचश्रियः ॥ Here वाक् and दृष्ट्वा are *invariably* compounded as a Dvandva, before becoming the first member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore it takes *always* the samāsānta दच् by V. 4. 106 S. 930.

—:—:—:—

THE DVIGU COMPOUND.

७३० । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः । २ । १ । ५२ ॥

तद्धितार्थेऽथोक्तः संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः स्यात् ॥

730. In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix (तद्धितार्थे) or when an additional member comes after the compound (उत्तरपदे) or when an aggregate (समाहारे) is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or a Numeral Determinative compound.

The word taddhitārtha of sūtra II. 1. 51 S. 728 is understood here also. This defines a Dvigu compound, which is a class of Tatpuruṣa, where the first member is a numeral. The examples of it will be given below. They are of three sorts, namely (1) Tadditārtha dvigu, as दशकपालः, "an offering prepared in ten cups, formed by the affix कल् of IV. 2. 16 which is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1217: 1080. (2) upapada dvigu, as, पंचमयश्रियः, and (3) samāhara dvigu, as, पञ्चपदं ॥ The feminine is formed by IV. 1. 21.

७३१ । द्विगुरेकवचनम् । २ । ४ । १ ॥

द्विगुः समाहार एकवचनम् । स नपुंसकमिति बहुवचनम् । पञ्चपदं पदं समाहारः पञ्चपदम् ॥

731. The compound Dvigu (II. 1. 52 S. 730) is singular in number.

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat-puruṣa compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say, it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity.

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu i. e., an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense. This Samāhāra Dvigu is always Nenter by II. 4. 17 S. 821. As, पञ्चगवै 'an aggregate of five cows,' (IV. 1. 21.).

Why do we say "a Samāhāra Dvigu is singular"? When it is a Paddhitārtha Dvigu it is not singular. As पञ्चसु कपिलेषु संस्कृताः = पंचकपालाः; similarly पंचभिः गोभिः क्रीताः = पंचगवः पटाः ॥

७३२ । कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः । २ । १ । ५३ ॥

कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः सह प्राप्तम् । वैयाकरणसूचिः । मीमांसकदुर्दृष्टः ॥

732. Case inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha.

As वैयाकरणसूचिः "A bad grammarian, who does not know grammar, but contemplates the heaven (स्व) when asked any question." So also मीमांसकदुर्दृष्टः "an evil conducted mimānsaka," From $\sqrt{\text{दृक्}}$ उत्त्विप् with the prefix दुर् and the Uṇādi कृद् ॥

Another example of such compounds is याज्ञिककितवः 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism, if both the words are not used in an opprobriatory signification as such. Therefore, it is not in the following case. कुत्सितो ब्राह्मणः 'the bad Brāhmayā' &c.

७३३ । पापानके कुत्सितैः । २ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रादवाहः । पापनपितः । अणककुत्सितः ॥

733. The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and anaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन); by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound; the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtra I. 2. 43 S. 653 and II. 2. 30, S. 654 that they will stand as first. As पापनपितः or अणकनपितः 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुत्सितैः 'a contemptible potter.'

७३४ । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः । २ । १ । ५५ ॥

पण २५ दद्यात् पणदद्यात् । १४ पूर्वपदे तत्पदस्य लाघाव्यत्तमिनि रूपयितुं सौचित्यकविभेदे व्यवहारः प्रयुज्यते । पूर्वविवाहनिमित्तार्थे रूपम् ॥

734. Case-inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with <words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, > and the compound is Tat-purusha.

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna; and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common.' Thus घनश्यामः 'cloud-black Kṛishṇa' (Kṛishṇa black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Kṛishṇa and cloud: therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमा is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्वेती 'lily-white,' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan-sounding,' गोमोक्ष-परिमल्लं 'globular as Nyagrodha tree.' For accent see VI. 2, 2.

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadattā' or फल इव सन्तुलाः 'the rice are like fruits,' पर्वता इव घताह्वयाः 'clouds like mountains.'

In analysing the above compound घनश्यामः we must use the word इव, as पद इव श्यामः, and this shows that it is merely a simile or metaphorical use of the word. This sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama rule, so that the upamāna word should stand *first*, >

७३५ । उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे । २ । १ । ५६ ॥

उपमेयं व्याघ्रादिभिः सह प्राग्वत्ताधारणधर्मस्याप्रयोगे सति । विशेषस्य पूर्वनिपातार्थं सूत्रम् । पुरुषस्याप्तः । दृष्टान्तः । व्याघ्रादिराकर्तृत्वगणः । सामान्याप्रयोगे किम् । पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव दूरः ॥

735. A case-inflected word denoting <subject of comparison> is compounded with the words vyāghra 'tiger,' &c., the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha; provided that, any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed.

This is a modification of last sūtra 734 by which the substantive (upamāna) would have stood first; by the present, the upameya or the qualified stands first. As पुरुषोऽपि व्याघ्र इव पुरुषस्याप्तः 'a person-tiger' (in strength).

The words व्याघ्र &c. are आह्वयिगणः i. e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a

posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts *a priori*.

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान words, but never with सामान्य उपमान ॥ Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence:—पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव दूरः 'a man strong as a tiger.' Similarly मुखपद्मम्, मुखकमलम्, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवपल्लवः ॥

The following is the list of such words:—

1. व्याघ्र = A tiger. 2. सिंह = A lion. 3. खट्व = A bear. 4. वृषभ = A bull. 5. चन्दन = Sandal. 6. वृक = A wolf. 7. वृष = A bull. 8. वराह = A boar, hog. 9. हस्तिन् = An elephant. 10. वृक्ष = A tree. 11. कुम्भज = An elephant. 12. हृद = A kind of deer. 13. पृथ्वी = The spotted antelope. 14. पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower. 15. पलाश = A tree, Butea Frondosa. 16. वितत = A rogue, cheat.

आकृष्टिगणोऽयम्

1. मुखपद्मम् } A lotus-like face.
2. मुखकमलम् }
3. करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand. 4. पार्थिवपल्लवः ॥

७३६ । विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् । २ । १ । ५७ ॥

नेत्रं सामानाधिकार्येण भेदेन बहुलं प्राप्नुवत् । नीलोत्पलं नीलोत्पलम् । पल्लवमणोरुत्पलितम् । कृष्णवर्णः । कृष्णः । रामो जामदग्न्यः ॥

736. A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing there by qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

Note—The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पलं 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पलं 'a red lotus.'

By using in the rule the expression बहुलं 'diversely' it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (नीलोत्पलम्) as कृष्णवर्णः 'a black snake,' and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामोजामदग्न्यः 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' ('as being the son of Jāmadagni'); अर्जुनः कर्त्तव्यः—and in some cases it is optional. नीलवर्णं or नीलोत्पलं ॥

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षकः सर्पः 'the Takshaka snake.' Why do we say 'qualified.' Observe लोहितस्तक्षकः 'the red Takshaka,

७३७ । पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमधीराश्च । २ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वनिवातनियमार्थनिष्ठम् । पूर्ववैशकरणः । अपराध्वापकः ॥ अपरस्यार्थे पञ्चमाक्षी वृत्तन्याः * ॥
अपरश्चासावर्थे पञ्चार्थः । कथमेकवीर इति । पूर्वकालैकेति चाधित्वा परत्वादेन समासे वीरैक इति हि
स्यात् । बहुलप्रहणाद्बिभ्यति ॥

737. The case-inflected words *pūrva* 'prior,' *aparast*, 'other,' *prathama* 'first,' *charama* 'last,' *jaghanya* 'hindmost' *samāna* 'equal,' *madhya* 'middle,' *madhyama* 'middle,' and *vīra* 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them ; and the compound is *Tat-puruṣa*.

This *sūtra* is also a *niyama* rule, and made for the purpose of declaring that these words must stand first in the compound. Thus पूर्ववैशक-
रणः ॥ अपराध्वापकः ॥

Vart—The word पञ्च is used for अपर when it is compounded with अर्थ ॥ As अपर + अर्थः = पञ्चार्थः ॥ How do you explain the word एकवीरः where *vīra* stands not first, for II. 1. 49 S. 726 with regard to *eka* is superseded by the present *sūtra* with regard to *vīra*, and the compound ought to be वीरैकः ॥ This is an illustration of the diversity of II. 1. 57 S. 736.

७३८ । श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः । २ । १ । ५९ ॥

श्रेण्यादिषु चाद्यर्थवचनं कार्यवत् * ॥ अधेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः श्रेणीकृताः ॥

738. The case-inflected words *śreṇī* 'class' &c., are compounded with words *krīta* 'made' &c., which are in agreement (same case), with them ; and the compound is *Tat-puruṣa*.

Vart :—The words *श्रेणि* &c., for the purposes of this *sūtra*, are <supposed to have the force of the affix चि (*chvi*) > Thus अधेणयः श्रेणयः कृताः
= श्रेणिभूताः 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before).

Note :—The class of words called *कृतादि* are *ākṛitī-gana* and cannot be known a priori. This *Samāna* is also an inevitable *Samāna* by reason of *sūtra* II. 2. 18, since all words that end in *chvi* (चि) are called *gatī* (1. 4. 61).

The aggregate of those who earn their livelihood by one art, or by selling one particular kind of commodity is called *śreṇī* or guild. The *samāna* is *niṭya*.
श्रेणीकरणं The lengthening here is by VII. 4. 26 S. 2120.

७३६ । केन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् । २ । १ । ६० ॥

मञ्जुविशिष्टेन कान्तानामञ् कान्ते समस्यते । कृते च तदकृतं च कृताकृतम् ॥ शाकपार्थिवः । सिद्धये उत्तरपदलोपस्योपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ शाकपार्थिवः पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः । देवब्राह्मणः ॥

739. A word ending with the affix *kta*, and not having the negative augment *nañ*, is compounded with *t* same word ending with the affix *kta*, but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment *nañ*; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

Thus: कृताकृतम् 'done and not done' *i. e.* partly done and partly not done.

Note:—The negative Past participle is compounded with the simple past participle, even when there is a slight difference in the forms, caused by *मुद्* and *इद्* augments.

As अशित + अमशित = अशितानशितम् ॥ So also क्लृष्टाक्लृषितम् ॥

Vart:—The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds. As शाकपार्थिवः पार्थिवः = शाकपार्थिवः 'the king beloved by the people of his era.' *i. e.* an era making king. So also देवब्राह्मणः = देवपूजको ब्राह्मणः "A Brāhmaṇa who worships any deva."

७४० । सन्महत्परमोत्कृष्टः पूज्यमानैः । २ । १ । ६१ ॥

सहैयः । दक्षयमाणेन महत आकारः । महावैश्याकरणः । पूज्यमानैः किम् । उत्कृष्टो गौः । पद्मादुद्धृत इत्यर्थः ॥

740. The words *sat* 'good,' *mahat* 'great,' *parama* 'highest,' *uttama* 'best,' and *utkrishṭa* 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect; and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As सहैयः 'a good physician. The महत् becomes महा as will be taught later on, as महापुरुषः 'a great man;' परमपुरुषः 'the highest person;' उत्तमपुरुषः 'the best person;' उत्कृष्टपुरुषः 'the excellent person.'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect?' Observe उत्कृष्टो गौः कर्ष्वान् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud.' Here उत्कृष्ट does not mean "excellent," but "pulled out."

७४१ । वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरेः पूज्यमानम् । २ । १ । ६२ ॥

गौवृन्दारक ॥ स्वाप्तादेनकुनिगण्यत्वादेव सिद्धे खानान्यप्रयोगार्थे यप्ययम् ॥

741. A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words *vrindāraka* 'eminent,' *nāga* 'serpent or elephant,' *kuṣjara* 'elephant,' and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As गोवृन्दारकः 'an excellent bull or cow.' The *Vyāghrādī* class (II. 1. 56 S. 735) being an *Akritigaṇa*, the forms like *go-vrindāraka* could well have been obtained under that *sūtra*, the making of it a separate *sūtra* is for the sake of making these general compounds, and not restricted by the conditions of II. 1. 56. S. 735.

७४२ । कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे ॥ २ । १ । ६३ ॥

कतरकतः । कतमकलापः । गोत्रं च चरणाः संज्ञेति जातिरूपम् ॥

742. The words *katara* 'which or who of two' and *katama* 'which 'or who, of many,' when used in asking questions about the *jāti* (IV. 1. 63. S. 518) are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is *Tatpurusha*.

As कतरकतः and कतमकलापः 'which of the two is *kāṭha*, and which of these *kāṭha*?' (Here *Gotra* and *charaṇa*, are *jāti*, as defined previously in IV. 1. 63. S. 518.)

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word *जातिपरिग्रहे* in the aphorism; since the word *कतम* is especially employed in asking such questions; (see V. 3. 93) and the word *कतर* will get the same signification, by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase in the aphorism, shows that the word *कतम* has other meanings, besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining *jāti*; as कतये भवतो देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs, is *Devadatta*.' and कतम भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is *Devadatta*.' Here there is no questioning about *jāti*, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding. (Accent VI. 2. 57.)

७४३ । किं क्षेपे । २ । १ । ६४ ॥

क्षिप्रक्षेत्रे राजा किमजा । यो न रक्षति ॥

743. The word *kim* 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is *Tat-purusha*.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his sub-

jects.' किं सखा वीरविद्वत्समि 'he is a bad friend who hates.' किं घोः घो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry.'

The affix ट् (V. 4. 91 S. 788) does not come after this compound as in कदम्बराजः, नृपराजः &c., by force of Rule V. 4. 70. S. 955 Otherwise the form would have been किंसज and not किंसजा ॥

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कदम्बराजा - किंसजः 'whose king'; किंसजः ॥ Or कौ राजा पटदिपुत्रे "who is king in Patadiputra?"

७४४। पोदायुवतिलोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशायेदहःकषणीप्रवक्त्रेऽग्निधा-
व्यापकचूर्नेजातिः। २। १। ६५ ॥

744. A case-inflected word denoting a jāti, is compounded with the words poṭā 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grīṣṭi 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow i. e. a cow which has calved recently,' vasā 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bāṣkayapī 'a cow that has a full grown calf,' pravakṭri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brāhmaṇa,' adhyāpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow'; and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣha.

For examples see under sūtra 746.

७४५। तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः। १। २। ४२ ॥

745. A Tat-puruṣha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or Appositional Determinative compound.

Note:—"Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat-puruṣha). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black-beetle, sky-blue," (Max Müller).

The compounds like नीलोत्पलं 'the blue lotus' परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c. are examples of karmadhāraya compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhikaraya), whereas in other Tat-puruṣhas, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the udātta accent would have fallen on the syllable रा by rule VI. 2. 130, S. 8864 (the word राज्यम् has udātta on the first syllable in Tat-puruṣa compounds, except in karmadhāraya).

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका ॥ (VI. 3. 42. S. 746 the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya) by the next sūtra :—

Note :—Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-puruṣa compound, it won't be karmadhāraya. As पाचिका + भार्या = पाचिकाभार्या ॥ 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

७४६ । पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु । ६ । ३ । ४२ ॥

746. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

कर्मधारय जातीयदेशीययोश्च परतो भाषितपुंस्कार्त्वर ऊङ्मात्रो यस्मिन्नथाभूतं पूर्वं पुंवत् । पूर्णविकल्पप्राप्तः पुंवङ्मात्रेणैव विधीयते । महावपरी । कृष्णचतुर्दशी । महात्रिया । तथा कोपवादिः प्रतिषिद्धः पुंवङ्मात्रः कर्मधारयादेशे प्रतिपद्यते । पाचकस्त्री । दत्तभार्या । पञ्चमभार्या । सौम्यभार्या । मुकुटभार्या । प्राद्वलभार्या । एवं पाचकजातीया । पाचकदेशीयेत्यादि । इभयोरा । पेटा खोपुल्लस्रया । इभयुवतिः । अग्निस्तोकाः । उदम्बिलकतिपयम् । गृष्टिः सकृद्यसूता, गोमृष्टिः । धेनुर्वयपमृष्टिका. गोधेनुः । यथा यस्या, गोयथा । वेदन् गर्भपातिनी, गोविदन् । ब्रह्मवर्षी सकृद्यस्या, गोवर्ष्ययने । कठवन्ता । कठश्रेणियः । कडाप्यापकः । कठधूर्तः ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras (VI. 3. 40 S. 841 &c.) Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37 S. 838). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38 S. 839 Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : S. 840 सौम्यवृन्दारिका, सौम्यजातीया, सौम्यदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, S. 841 as श्लक्ष्णवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णवृन्दजातीया and श्लक्ष्णवृन्ददेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, S. 842 as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine. (भाषितपुंस्क). So the rule does not apply to लक्ष्णवृन्दारिका, as लक्ष्ण has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ; as दृष्टव्यवृन्दारिका ॥

This sūtra ordains masculinisation, in cases where there would not have been this change because of the prohibition of the sūtras VI. 3. 34 S. 811 &c. (e.g. if the second word is an ordinal, द्विष, &c.) Thus the ordinal मय becomes in the feminine वपरी ॥ महर्षी भार्यामवपरी = महावपरी ॥ Here महर्षी has become masculine, in spite of the prohibition of VI. 3. 34. so also दत्तवृन्दारिका ॥ Similarly महावपरी ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 37 S. 838 declares "a feminine word having a penultimate क does not assume the Masculine form." The present sūtra is an exception to this prohibition also. Thus पाचकस्त्री ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 38 S. 839 teaches "the feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a name or an ordinal numeral." The present sūtra makes an exception to this also. As. इक्ष्माया, पंचमभार्या and not इक्ष्माभार्या &c. पंचमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 39 S. 840 ordains "the feminine is not changed into masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the viddhi of the first syllable." The present sūtra is an exception to this also. As सौप्तभार्या and not सौप्तीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 40 S. 841 states "a feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of the body, does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to this also. As सुकेतभार्या and not सुकेतीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI. 3. 41 S. 842 says "a feminine word expressing jāti does not become masculine." This sūtra makes exception to it also. As बाह्यनभार्या ॥

Similarly with the words जातीय and देशीय ॥ As, पाचकजातीय and पाचकदेशीया ॥

Now we shall give examples of sūtra II. 1. 65. S. 744.

As इमवाटो 'a young female elephant' ऐवा is a female, having the marks of a male, such as whiskers &c. इमयुवति 'a female elephant.' So अग्निस्तोकः 'a little fire' उदधिन् कक्षिपयम् 'a little butter milk,' गोघृष्टिः, गोधेनुः गोवेहव, गोवष्कयणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Kātha,' कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brāhmana who has mastered the Kātha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठप्रवक्त्रः 'a teacher of the Kātha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्तः प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder.'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here. Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmana well versed in the Kātha branch of the Yajur Veda.'

७४७ । प्रशंसाचचनेश्च ॥ २ । १ । ६६ ॥

धृतेः सह आतिः प्राम्दन् । गौमन्त्रिका । गौमन्त्रिका । गोप्रकाण्डम् । गयोक्षः । गोतन्त्रः । प्रवक्ता गौत्रियः । वैदिकिकाद्यो नियतलिङ्गा न तु विशेष्यनिष्ठाः । आतिः किम् । कुमारी मन्त्रिका ॥

747. A case-inflected word, denoting a jāti, is compounded with a word, denoting praise, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढी) words like मत्तिका &c., which retain their specific gender, though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as गोमत्तिकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तिका 'an excellent cow' गोमत्तिका 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तिका: and गोमत्तिका: ॥ These words are generally used at the end of a compound, to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind.' Words like प्रशस्त, शोभन, रमणीय &c., which etymologically denote praise, or specific praise words like शुचि, वृद्ध &c., are not to be taken here. In गो + उद्ग there is अवय्व् by VI. 1. 123.

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारो मत्तिका 'an excellent virgin.' Here there is no compounding. "मत्तिका, गोमत्तिका, मत्तिकाण्ड, वृद्ध, वृद्धा are praise denoting words." (Amarakosha).

७४८ । युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः । २ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमायै सुप्र. । निरुपदिष्टपतिभाषया युवतिशब्दोऽपि समस्ये । युवा खलतिः युवखलतिः । युवतिः खलती युवखलती । युवजरती । युवखलतिव जरतीधर्मोपलम्भेन तदुपायोपास्तानामधिकरणम् ॥

748. The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case); and the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

The sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama, that these words should stand first in the compound.

Note:—The word जरतीभिः is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रतिपदिकग्रहणे निरुपदिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.'

As, युवा + खलतिः = युवखलतिः ॥ So also युवतिः खलती = युवखलती in the feminine: 'bald in youth.' So युवपलितः fem. युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिनः fem. युववलिन्या 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरती fem. युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old).

७४९ । कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या । २ । १ । ६८ ॥

भोक्तृत्वम् । ज्ञान्यन्तः । सदन्तः । अजात्या किम् । भोक्तृत्वम् । प्रतिपदिकानामधिकरणम् ॥

749. Words ending with a kṛitya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded

with words which do not denote *jāti*, being in the same case with them ; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, भोजदोषणम् 'hot food,' तुल्यश्वेतः 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेतः 'equally white.'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a *jāti*'? Observe भोज्य भोजनः 'eatable rice.' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun. Hence there is no compounding even under II. 1. 57. S. 736.

७५० । वर्णो वर्णेन । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

समानाधिकरणेन सदृशश्वेतः । कृष्णसारङ्गः ॥

750. A case-inflected word denoting 'colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कृष्णसारङ्गः 'spotted antelope.'

७५१ । कदाराः कर्मधारये । २ । २ । ३८ ॥

कदारादयः सख्याः कर्मधारये वा पूर्व्ये प्रयोक्तव्याः । कदारजैमिनिः । जैमिनिकदारः ॥

The words *kadārah* and the like, are optionally placed first in the *karma-dhāraya*.

Thus कदारजैमिनिः or जैमिनिकदारः *Kadārajaiminīh* or *Jaiminikadārah*, 'The tawny Jaiminī.' So also कदुरलशाण्डिल्यः or शाण्डिल्यकदुरलः ॥

७५२ । कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः । २ । १ । ७० ॥

कुमारी श्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा । एह गणे श्रमणा मन्त्रजिता गर्भिणीत्यादयः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः पठ्यन्ते । कित्तिचिकित्तिपरिभाषाया एवमेव ज्ञापकं बोध्यम् ॥

752. The word *kumāra* 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words *śramanā* 'an ascetic,' &c., and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, कुमारीश्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा "a virgin ascetic".

In this list of *श्रमणा* and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as *श्रमणा*, *मन्त्रजिता*, *गर्भिणी*, the word *कुमार* must also be in the feminine gender ; with the words which appear as masculine, e. g. *सन्ध्यापक*, *अभिरुचक*, *पादक*

the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender.' In fact, this is the sūtra from which we infer the existence (jñāpaka) of the above paribhāṣā of तिङ्शित् &c.

श्रमणादिः ।

1. श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling. 2. प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile. 3. कुलटा = An unchaste woman. 4. गर्भिणी = A pregnant female. 5. सापत्नी = A hermit, "devotee. 6. दासी = A female servant. 7. बन्धकी = An unchaste woman. 8. श्रमणापक = A teacher. 9. अभिरूपक = Handsome. 10. पण्डित = Learned, wise. 11. मृदु = Soft. 12. कुशल = Right, proper, good. 13. चपल = Shaking, trembling. 14. निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful.

७५३ । चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या । २ । १ । ७१ ॥

चतुष्पादज्जातिवर्धिनो गर्भिणीशब्देन सह प्राग्वत् ॥ गोगर्भिणी ॥ * चतुष्पादज्जातिवर्धिनो वक्तव्यम्. ॥ नेह । स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी ॥

753. A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhīṇī, and the compound is Tat-puruṣa.

As गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow.' जज्ञगर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat.'

Part:—It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds. So not here :—कालाक्षि गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kālākṣhī or Svastimatī.'

Note:—Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe ज्ञाद्यणीगर्भिणी ॥

७५४ । मयूराव्यंसकादयश्च । २ । १ । ७२ ॥

एतं निपात्यते । मयूरो व्यंसका मयूराव्यंसकः । व्यंसको भूतः । व्यंसकाव्यंसक उपायचमः । निधितं च प्रपितं च निशप्रथम् । मरितं चिप्यन मर्य सः शक्तिचनः ॥ नास्ति कुतो भयं मर्य सोऽकुतोभयः । अन्यो राजा राजानरः । चिदेव चिन्मायम् ॥

शास्त्रानुगच्छातेन क्रियासातत्ये * ॥ अश्वेत विगतलोच सततं यथाभिधीयते सा अभीतविद्यता । पश्यतश्चक्षता । एतत्तमोदता ॥

एहीडाल्लोऽप्यपार्थे * ॥ एहीड इति यस्मिन्कर्तुं तदेहिडम् । एहिपचम् । उद्धर कोष्टादुद्धृत इतीति मर्या क्रियायां सा उद्धरोद्गृहा । उद्धरापेयः । असातत्यार्थविद पाठः ॥

अहि कर्मणा बह्मणाभीक्ष्णे कर्तारं आदिशति । * ॥ अहीलेऽर्जुनः बह्मं समस्यते आभीक्ष्णे वन्ये वनातेन चेत्यर्थाभिधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ अहिजोडः । अहिस्तम्भः ॥

754. And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c., are Tat-puruṣa compounds.

These are irregularly formed Tat-purusha compounds. (The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसकः is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसकः ॥) So also उदक् चानाक्च = उद्यावक्च । निमित्तं च प्रदितं च = निमित्तप्रदितम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य = अस्ति किञ्चन ॥

The following is the list of such compounds :—

मयूरव्यंसकादयः ॥

1. मयूरव्यंसकः ॥ 2. छात्र व्यंसकः ॥ 3. कम्बोजवृण्डः ॥ 4. वनमृण्डः ॥ 5. हस्तमृण्डः or हस्तमृण्डः is the Vedas. 6. पादमृण्डः or पादमृण्डः ॥ 7. लङ्गुलेमृण्डः or लङ्गुलेमृण्डः ॥ 8. पुनर्वयः ॥

GAṆA SŪTRA. एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे ॥

As, 1. एहीडं वर्तते ॥ 2. एहिषं वर्तते ॥ 3. एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) ॥ 4. अपेहिवाणिजा ॥ 5. प्रेहिवाणिजा ॥ 6. एहिस्वामिना ॥ 7. अपेहिस्वामिना ॥ 8. एहिहितीया ॥ 9. अपेहिहितीया ॥ 10. प्रेहिहितीया ॥ 11. एहिकदा ॥ 12. अपेहिकदा or अपेहिकदा ॥ 13. प्रेहिकदा or प्रोहकदा ॥ 14. आहरकदा ॥ 15. प्रेहिकदा ॥ 16. प्रोहकदा ॥ 17. विषमचूडा ॥ उदमचूडा ॥ 18. उदरचूडा ॥ 19. आहरचला ॥ 20. आहर यत्ना ॥ 21. (आहरसेना) ॥ 22. आहरवनिता ॥ 23. (आहरवित्ता) ॥ 24. कुन्तविषच्छा ॥ 25. उदरचूडा ॥ 26. उदरचूडा ॥ 27. उदमविषमा ॥ 28. उदमविषमा or विषमा ॥ 29. उदमविषमा ॥ 30. उदमचूडा ॥ 31. उदमचूडा ॥ 32. भाषाचूडा ॥ 33. भाषाचूडा ॥ 34. नक्षत्रचूडा ॥ 35. निधनचूडा ॥ 36. अक्षिचूडा ॥ 37. छात्राक्षक ॥ 38. धीक्षाक्षक ॥ 39. भुक्तवायुहित ॥ 40. प्रोहवायुहित ॥ 41. उदमचूडा or उदमचूडा ॥ 42. निधनचूडा ॥ 43. निधनचूडा ॥ 44. अपेहिप्रमसा ॥ 45. एहिप्रमसा ॥ 46. उदमचूडा ॥ 47. उदमचूडा ॥

G. S. स्मृतिर्कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारि चाभिदधाति ॥

1. अहिनीदः ॥ 2. अहिनीदः ॥ 3. अहिनीदः ॥ 4. (अहिनीदः) ॥ 5. उदमचूडा or उदम ॥

G. S. आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातसे ॥

I. अभीतविषमा ॥ 2. पक्षमचूडा ॥ 3. खरवनिता ॥ 4. खरवनिता ॥ 5. छात्राक्षक ॥ 6. आहरविषमा ॥ 7. आहरविषमा ॥ 8. आहरविषमा ॥ 9. उदमचूडा ॥ 10. निधनचूडा ॥ 11. कुन्तविषमा ॥ 12. पक्षमचूडा ॥ 13. पक्षमचूडा ॥

आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1. अकृतोऽयम् ॥ 2. कान्तिर्णकः ॥ 3. कन्विशीकः ॥ 4. ब्राह्मोपुष्पिका ॥
5. भवनहविका ॥ 6. यदृच्छा ॥ 7. एहिस्थाहिरा ॥ 8. अन्धुजायधृजा ॥ 9. ब्रह्मान्तरम् ॥
10. भवस्वकार्यम् ॥

Gaya-sūtra :—A finite verb is compounded with another finite verb, when the continuity of the action denoted by the verbs is meant. As भजीतविवता "the place where constantly is heard the cry "eat ye", "drink ye."—a feast where people are called to eat and drink. Similarly पचतपुष्पता "cook-roast"—a kitchen. खातमुदितम् ॥

Gaya-sūtra :—The compounds एहीङ् &c. are formed when they refer to some other object. Thus एहीङ् is the name of the sacrifice in which the words एहीङ् are used. So also एहिवचम् ॥ So also उद्धरोत्सृजा meaning "उद्धकाष्टाह वरमुज्ज्वेहि" इति यस्यां क्रियायां ॥ So also उद्धगविधम् ॥ These are words which do not denote "constant action".

Gaya-sūtra :—(The finite verb जहि is diversely compounded with its object, when repetition is denoted, and the whole compound refers to the agent.) As जहिजोदः "He who constantly repeats jahi-jōḍa." Similarly जहिस्तम्भः ॥

He who has fear from no one is अकृतोऽयम्; another kingship is ब्रह्मान्तरम्; that which is purely Intelligence is called विष्णुवचम् ॥

७५५ । ईषवृक्ता । २ । २ । ७ ॥

ईषवृक्तालः ॥ ईषवृक्त्वचनेनेति वाच्यम् * ॥

755. The word *ishat* 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a *kṛit*-affix; and the compound is *Tatpurusha*.

Vart :—It should be stated that the word *ईषत्* is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as *ईषस्कन्दरः* 'a somewhat proud.' *ईषलिङ्गलः* 'a little brownish.' *ईषविकरः* 'a little hideous.' *ईषदुस्तः* 'a little raised.' *ईषत् पीतम्* 'a little yellow.' *ईषद्वन्तम्* 'a little red.'

Note :—Why do we say 'with words expressing qualities'? Observe *ईषहृगार्थः*; there is no compounding here.

७५६ । नम् । २ । २ । ६ ॥

नम दाया सह सगच्छते ॥

756. The negative word *na* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tatpuruṣha.

As वाङ्मनः = अवाङ्मनः 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man). The *n* of न is elided by VI. 3. 73: which is given below.

७५७ । नलोपो नञः । ६ । ३ । ७३ ।

नमो नस्य लोपः स्यादुत्तरपदे । न द्वाह्यणः अवाङ्मनः ॥

757. The *n* of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided, when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अवाङ्मनः ॥ But if the second term begins with a vowel, then a *v* is inserted after न by the following :—

७५८ । तस्मान्नुडचि । ६ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुत्तनकाराग्रम् उक्तपदस्यावादेर्नञानमः स्यात् । अन्वयः । अर्थाभावेऽप्ययमीभावेन सहार्थविकल्पयते । रक्षोहानमन्यवसेद्वाः प्रयोजनमिति बहुलायामसंहितमिति न भाष्यवार्तिकप्रयोगात् । तन्नामुपलब्धिप्रविवादेऽविस्मयसादि तिङ्मन् ॥ नमो नलोपस्तिष्ठि चेदे * ॥ अवपयति त्वं आत्म ॥ नैकधेत्वाद्यौ तु नञाद्येन सह सुप्पुणेति समासः ॥

758. After the above *n*-elided नञ् (i. e. after न) is added the augment जुद्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अन्वयः 'an animal which is not a horse.' Why do we use तस्मात् "after such a नञ्"? Otherwise जुद् would have been the augment of नञ् and not of the subsequent word, for the sūtra would have read thus जुडचि ॥ Adding जुद् to नञ् or rather to न, we have नञ् (granting that जुद् is not to be added *before* न but *after* it, against I. 1, 46). Now नञ् + अञ्जः will be अन्नञ्जः and not अन्नञः for VIII. 3. 32 S. 134 will cause the doubling of the final न of नञ् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, जुद् is ordained with the second member and not with regard to न or नञ् ॥

When the force of नञ् is that of "absence," i. e. it expresses the "absence of the object denoted by the second term," then the compound resembles Avyayī bhāva. For in an Avyayībhāva, the sense of the first term is prominent; in a Tatpuruṣha the sense of the second member is predominant. Thus in the Mahābhāṣya, we find the compound असन्देशः in the sentence रक्षोहानमन्यवसेद्वाः प्रयोजनम् where he gives the reasons for studying grammar; similarly असंहिते in बहुलायामसंहिते a vārtika. On the analogy of these, we can form compounds like अनुपलब्धि, अप्रिदातः, अप्रियम् &c.

*Part:—*The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that reproach is implied, as अयं चसि स्वं वारं 'thou cookest very badly O knave.'

In the expression नैका &c. 'not at one time,' there is composition with the word न in accordance with II. 1. 4 S. 649.

७५६ । नभ्राणनपाशवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्र-
कृत्या । ६ । ३ । ७५ ॥

पाणिनि राजन्तः । वेदा इत्यमुजन्तः । न सत्या असत्याः न असत्या नासत्याः । न मुञ्चतीति
गमुचिः । न कुलमस्य नकुलम् । न खमस्य नखम् । न स्त्री पुमान् नपुंसकम् स्त्री पुंसयोः पुंसकमात्रे
निपातनात् । न क्षत्रीनि नक्षत्रम् । क्षीयतेः क्षुरितर्था क्षयमिति निपात्यते । न क्रामतीति नक्रः ।
क्रमर्दः । न जन्ममस्मिन्निति नाकः ॥

759. The Negative particle remains unchanged in
नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र,
नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the
sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative । नभ्राज्ते = नभ्राज् "a dark cloud,"
formed by क्तिच् and नम् composition. न पाति = नपात् "a grand son." Formed
by क्त्वा affix. न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed by अञ्च् । न सत्या साधयः = सत्या, न सत्याः = असत्याः,
न असत्याः = नासत्याः "Ashvins." न मुञ्चति = न मुचिः "a demon slain by Indra."
formed by क्तिच् इच् affix (Unādi). नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री
न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षत्रे क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by क्त्वा affix. न अस्मिन्
जन्मम् = नाकम् ॥

७६० । नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ७६ ॥

नग इत्यत्र नञ् प्रकृत्या वा । नगः अगः पर्वताः । अप्राणिष्विति किम् । अगो वृषलः शीतेन ।
नित्यं क्षीयित्वं निश्चयित्वमुपलभ्यते ॥

760. The Negative particle is optionally retained
unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate
being.

Thus नगः or अगः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not
move'. The affix इ is added to नम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring
to animate being. Observe अगो वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed
here. See II. 1. 17, S. 711.

In the next sūtra, the word *nitya* should be read as understood.
Its anuvṛtti comes from II. 2. 17 S. 711.

७६१ । कुगतिप्रादयः । २ । २ । १८ ॥

एते समर्थेन निर्ये समस्यन्ते । कुत्सितः पुरुषः कुपुरुषः । गतिश्चेत्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

761. The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the 'particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c., are *invariably* compounded with other words with which they are in construction ; and the resulting compound is Tatpuruṣha.

The word ku means 'badness or sin'; as, कुपुरुषः 'a sinful man'; (2) Gati (I. 4. 60 S. 23.) as, वस्तीकृतं 'having asserted'; (I. 4. 61.) चपूरीकरोति ॥

Note.—So also with the words प्र &c., when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati'; as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुषः 'a bad man'; so also वृ and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुषः 'honorable man'; अतिपुरुषः 'excellent man'; आ means a 'little' as आपिहृतः 'brownish.

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कौण्ठे or कटुण्ठम्, कवौण्ठम् 'tepid.' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आवद्धम् ॥

७६२ । ऊर्यादिचिवडाचक्ष । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

एते क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञाः स्तुः । ऊरीकृत्य । वरीकृत्य । शुक्लीकृत्य । पदपदाकृत्य ॥ कारिका-
दृष्टस्योपसंख्यानम् ° । कारिका क्रिया । कारिकाकृत्य ॥

762. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kri or अस्) are called Gati.

In this sūtra the word gati is understood from I. 4. 60 S. 23.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अस् (V. 4. 50 and 57 S. 2117 and 2128) ; ūri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else, in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati.

The word ऊरी and वरी mean 'to assent and spread.' As ऊरीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 S. 761 and VII. 1 37 S. 3332).

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य "having made white what was not white."

So also the words ending in डाच् as पश्यदाकृत्य "having made the sound pat,"

Vartika :—The word कारिका should also be included in the list of गति.

Thus कारिकाकृत्य ॥ Here kârikâ means "action."

७६३ । अनुकरणं चानेतिपरम् । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

खादिकृत्य । अनितिपरं किम् । खादिति कृत्वा निरखीयत् ॥

763. A word imitative of a sound is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

Note :—The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrīhi compound; अनु-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it.'

As खादिकृत्य "having made the sound khât." खादिकृतम् (VI. 2, 49 S. 3783), अनुखादकरोति (VIII. 2, 71.)

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खादिति कृत्वा निरखीयत्.

७६४ । आदरानादरयोः सदसती । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सत्कृतम् । असत्कृतम् ॥

764. The words sat and asat, when in composition with a verb, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृतम् 'having honored' (II. 2, 18 and VII. 1, 37 S. 761 and 3332) असत्कृतम्, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI. 2, 49 S. 3783).

Note :—Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्वा काण्डं गतः ॥

७६५ । भूषणोऽलम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

भनङ्कृतम् । भूषणे किम् । भनं कृत्योदनं गतः । पद्यान्निमित्तार्थः । अनुकरणनिर्यादि विस्तृषी रचनासत्कृतमिदम् ॥

765. The word alam, in composition with a verb, is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

As भनङ्कृतम् (II. 2, 18, VII. 1, 37 S. 761 and 3332). Why do we say 'when भनं means ornament'? Observe भनं कृत्योदनं गतः 'he goes having eaten enough.'

This sūtra, with the two sūtras preceding it, naturally takes the auxiliary verb कृ after the words mentioned therein.

Note :—The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings :—‘prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.’ The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament.

७६६ । अन्तरपरिग्रहे । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अन्तर्हृत् । मध्ये हरेत्यर्थः । अपरिग्रहे किम् । अन्तर्हृत्वा गतः । हन्ते परिग्रह्य गते इत्यर्थः ॥

766. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of ‘non-accepting,’ in composition with a verb.

As अन्तर्हृत् गृहं गतः “he went away having abandoned home.”

Note :—The word परिग्रह् means ‘taking’ or ‘accepting,’ अपरिग्रह् means, therefore, the opposite of this, namely ‘rejecting,’ ‘abandoning.’

Why do we say ‘when meaning to abandon’? Observe अन्तर्हृत्वा हृषिकां दवेनोगतः “the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.”

७६७ । कणेशंसन्सी अखाप्रतद्याते । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

कणेशस्य पयः पिबति । मनोहस्य । कणेशस्यः सप्तमीप्रतिष्ठापको निपातोऽभिलाषातिष्ठये वर्तते । मनःसहस्रोऽप्यथैव ॥

767. The words kape and manas are gati, when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of ‘reaction by satiation.’

The word कप-मनोपात means ‘satisfaction of desire.’ As कणेशस्य पयः पिबति “he drinks milk to his heart’s content or till he is satisfied” So also मनोहस्य पयः पिबति. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (असत) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense, we have कणे or मनोहस्यागतः “he went away with food or mind satisfied.” Here the word कण means the small particles of rice. The word कणे an apparently locative inflected noun, is really a particle, and denotes ‘eager desire.’ So also मनः ॥

७६८ । पुरोऽव्ययम् । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

पुरस्कृत्य ॥

768. The word purah “in front of,” when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati.

As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and यत् पुरस्करोति ॥ When not an indeclinable, we have
पूरः पूरैः, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डगतः.

Note:—The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix अस्ति forms पुरस्, and by I. 1. 38 S. 448 it becomes an Avyaya. (See V. 3. 39 pur being substituted for pūrva). The object of making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 S. 761 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 S. 3783 (3) to change the: h into स् by VIII. 3. 40 S. 154.

७६६ । अस्तं च । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अस्तमिति मान्तगन्धयं गतिसंज्ञं स्वातं । अस्तंगन्ध ॥

769. And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb.

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I. 1. 39 S. 449); and means 'not visible.' As अस्तंगन्ध्य सदिता पुनश्चेति '(the sun) having set, rises again'; अस्तंगतानि धनानि 'riches that have vanished.' अस्तं गच्छति, When not an indeclinable it is not gati, as अस्तं काण्डम् 'the arrow has been thrown.'

७७० । अच्छ गत्यर्थवद्देसु । १ । ४ । ६९ ॥

अव्ययानित्येय । अच्छगन्ध । अच्छोष । अभिमुखं गत्वा उक्त्वा चेत्यर्थः । अव्ययं किम् । अस्तमच्छं गच्छति ॥

770. The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before, in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word अच्छ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभि As अच्छगन्ध, and अच्छोष । Why do we say when an Avyaya? Observe अस्तमच्छं गच्छति.

७७१ । अदोऽनुपदेदो । १ । ४ । ७० ॥

अदः कृत्य अदः कृतम् । परं मनुष्येण मनुष्यहरणम् । अदः कृत्वा । अदः कुरु ॥

771. The word adas 'that' is called gati, when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम् ॥ When used as a demonstrative pronoun, we have, अदः कृत्वा, अदः कुरु,

Note :—The word upadesa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa. That is, when it is not a demonstrative pronoun.

७७२ । तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ ॥

772. The word *tiras* when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called *gati*, when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः i. e., standing apart.

७७३ । विभाषा कृत्रि । १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिरःकृत्य । तिरस्कृत्य । तिरः कृत्वा ॥

773. The word *tiras* meaning 'disappearance,' is optionally called *gati*, when the verb *kṛi* follows.

This is an example of प्रात-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42 S. 156).

Note :—The change of visarga into *स्* is optional VIII. 3. 42 S. 156. When not meaning disappearance, we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति 'he stands having laid aside the stick.'

७७४ । उपाजेऽन्वाजे । १ । ४ । ७३ ॥

एतौ कृत्रि वा गतिवन्तौ स्तः । उपाजेकृत्य । उपाजे कृत्वा । अन्वाजेकृत्य । अन्वाजे कृत्वा । दुर्बलस्य बलमाधारेत्यर्थः ॥

774. The words *upāje* and *anvāje* both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called *gati* when used along with the verb *kṛi*.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा 'having given support.' अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

७७५ । साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च । १ । ४ । ७४ ॥

कृत्रि वा गतिवन्तौ स्तुः ॥ अन्वर्थ इति वाच्यम् * ॥ साक्षात्कृत्य । साक्षात्कृत्वा । तदर्थकृत्य । तदर्थकृत्वा । मानस्य निपातनात् ॥

775. The words *sākshāt*, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called *gati*, when used along with the verb *kṛi*.

Vart:—In the words साक्षात् &c. the force of the affix चि is understood, namely, making a thing what it was not before. As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा; लब्धं कृत्य or लब्धं कृत्वा "making evident what was concealed before." The कृ in लब्धं &c. is an anomaly or *nipātana*.

७७६ । अनन्याधान उरसि मनसि । १ । ४ । ७५ ॥

उरसि कृत्य । उरसि कृत्वा । अन्त्युपगम्येत्यर्थः । मनसि कृत्य । मनसि कृत्वा । निश्चित्येत्यर्थः । अनन्याधानकृपश्चेत्यर्थं तत्र न । उरसि कृत्वा पाणि रोते ॥

776. The word *urasi*, 'in the breast,' and *manasi* 'in the' mind' are optionally *gati*, when the verb *kṛi* follows, provided that, they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As उरसि कृत्य or उरसि कृत्वा "having realised in the heart," मनसि कृत्य or मनसि कृत्वा. That is "having so determined in his mind." When it has the sense of "placing," we have उरसि कृत्वा पाणि रोते "he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast," मनसि कृत्वा यन्मन् ध्यायति "he ponders having placed the word in his mind."

७७७ । मध्ये पदे निवचने च । १ । ४ । ७६ ॥

एते कृमि वा गतिसंज्ञाः स्तुरलन्याधाने । मध्ये कृत्य । मध्ये कृत्वा । पदे कृत्य । पदे कृत्वा । निवचने कृत्य । निवचने कृत्वा । दार्थं नियमित्यर्थः ॥

777. And the words *madhye* 'in the middle,' *pade* 'in the foot' and *nivachane* 'speechless' are optionally *gati*, when *kṛi* follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा; पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा । निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा. "Having controlled the speech."

Note:—But when it has the meaning of 'placing' we have हस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा टिः रोते 'he lies down having put his hand under the foot of the elephant.'

७७८ । नास्य हस्ते पाणायुपयमने । १ । ४ । ७७ ॥

कृमि । उरसि पदे । विवाहः । स्त्रीकृत्यादितिदन्त्ये । उरसि कृत्य । पाणि कृत्य ॥

778. The word *हस्ते* 'in the hand,' *pāṇau* 'in the

hands' are always and necessarily called *gati* when used with the verb *kri*, in the sense of 'marriage.'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य 'having married.'

Note:—But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः 'he went out having taken in his hand a *kāṛṣāṇa* (a coin).

The word *वृषभमन* means "marriage." According to others it means "merely acceptance."

७७९ । प्राध्वं बन्धने । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

प्राध्वनिश्च बन्धनम् । प्राध्वंकृत्य । बन्धनेनानुकूलं कृत्वेत्यर्थः । प्रार्थनादिना त्वानुकूल्यकारणे । प्राध्वं कृत्वा ॥

779. The indeclinable word *prādhvam*, followed by the verb *kri*, is always called *gati*, when used in the sense of "binding."

The word *प्राध्वम्* ends in *म्* and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a *gati*: as, *प्राध्वंकृत्य* "having bound properly and so made agreeable." But when not meaning to bind, we have:—*प्राध्वं कृत्वा* "having made agreeable, by prayer &c."

७८० । जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

जीविकां निव कृत्वा जीविकाकृत्य । उपनिषदं निव कृत्वा उपनिषत्कृत्य । औपम्यं किम् । जीविकां कृत्वा ।

प्रादिमहणमगत्वर्थम् । सुपुत्रपः । अथ वार्त्तिकानि ॥

प्रादये गतावर्थे प्रथमया* ॥ प्रगत आचार्यः ॥ प्राचार्यः ॥

अध्याप्यः क्रान्तावर्थे द्वितीयया* ॥ अतिक्रान्तो गालामतिशालः ॥

अवाक्यः कुत्राद्यर्थे तृतीयया* ॥ अवकुटः कोकिलया अवकोकिलः ॥

पर्याहयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थया* ॥ परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय पर्याध्ययनः ॥

निरादयः क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चमया* ॥ निष्क्रान्तः कोशाम्ना निष्कौशाम्निः ॥

कर्मप्रवचनीयानां प्रतिषेधः* ॥ वृक्षं प्रति ॥

780. The words *jivikā* and *upanishad*, followed by the verb *kri*, are called *gati*, when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance.'

As *जीविकाकृत्य* "having made it, as if it was a means of living"; *उपनिषत्कृत्य*—"having made it like an *upanishad*." Why do we say in the sense of likeness or resemblance? Observe *जीविकां कृत्वा* "having made his livelihood."

PRÂDI SAMÂSA.

Having given above illustrations of gati-samâsas; we now take up compounds formed with the upasargas प्र &c. by II. 2. 18. S. 761. The प्र &c., as used in these examples are not gati. Thus सुबुद्धः ॥ Here सु is not gati, as it is not joined with any verb. We give the following yârtikas, which treat of Prâdi Samâsa :—

Vart :—The word प्र &c., when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case-affix. Thus गुरुः 'a former teacher'; so also प्रदिनामहः 'who precedes the grand-father i. e. a great-grand-father.' प्रमातामहः ॥

Vart :—The words अति &c., when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As अतिशान्तः स्वद्वारे = अतिशुद्धः (I. 2. 44 and 48 S. 655 and 656) 'without a bedstead,' अतिमालः 'exceeding the necklace in beauty.' So also अभिशुभः (= अभिगतो ह्यशुभः); उद्भूतः, प्रत्यक्षः ॥

Vart :—The words अव &c., when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c., are compounded with what ends with third case-affix; as अवकुटः क्लोकित्वा = अव क्लोकिटः 'what is announced by the cuckoo' i. e., the Spring. So also परिशील्य (= परिच्छेदो वीक्षणः), संवर्ग (संवर्द्धो वर्मणा).

Vart :—The words परि &c., when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix; as परिश्रान्तोऽध्ययनाय = पर्यध्ययनः 'weary of study,' अलङ्कुनारिः 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart :—The words निर &c., when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c., are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निरक्षीपाम्बिः 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi'; So also निरक्षयसिः ॥ So also वस्तुनः (= उन्मूलनः कृत्वा) and निरस्तुनम् (निर्गतमस्तुतिभ्यः) ॥

Vart :—A word enters into composition with द्वय 'like'; and there is no elision of the case-affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागवादीय 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीद्वय 'like two garments.'

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c., when they are 'Karma-pravachaniya'; as दृश प्रवि दिशामन्त विष्णुम् 'the lightning flashes in the direction of the tree,' सायु देवराजं मातरं पति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother.'

UPAPADA-SAMĀSAS

UPAPADA DEFINED.

७८१ । तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् । ३ । १ । ६२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते परे कर्मणीत्यादि वाच्यत्वेन स्थितं कुम्भादि तद्व्यञ्जकं पदमुपपदसंज्ञं स्वात्तात्पर्येण सत्येव वक्ष्यमाणः प्रत्ययः ॥

Here (in this Third Book of Pāṇini's Grammar referring to verbal roots), (the word implied 'in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.)

Thus in sūtra III. 2. 1. S. 2913 कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणे is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case; will be called उपपद. (Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + क्त = कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.)

७८२ । उपपदमातिङ् । २ । २ । १६ ॥

उपपदं भुवन्ते सगर्थेन नित्यं सनत्यते । भाविकृत्वव्यायं समासः । कुम्भं करोतीति कुम्भकारः । इह कुम्भं कर्तुं कार इत्यलौकिकं प्रक्रियावाक्यम् । आतिङ् किम् । ना भवान् भून् । मतिङ् मतिङिति सप्तमीनिर्देशाभ्यामुपपदम् । अतिङ्प्रत्ययेऽप्यति सुपत्येतद्वत्प्रत्ययसंज्ञा इति । पूर्वसूत्रेऽपि मतिप्रत्ययेऽप्यलौकिक-सिद्धद्वयं वत्तापकृत्यते । सुपेति च निवृत्तम् । तथा च ॥ गतिकस्त्वोपपदानां कृञ्ङिः सह समासवचनं प्रा-
कमुत्पत्तेरिति सिद्धम् ॥ व्याघ्री । अर्थश्रीरी । कच्छपी ॥

782. An upapada or attendant word (III. 1. 92 S. 781), which ends with a case-affix (III. 4. 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction, and this compound is not one which ends with a tense-affix. The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha.

Thus कुम्भकारः 'one who makes pots,' नगरकारः 'one who makes cities.' The grammatical analysis will be कुम्भ + क्त (genitive) + कारः "the maker of pot;" for kṛit words govern Genitive. This is, of course, an analysis which cannot be used in actual speech.

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix? Observe ना भवान् भून् ॥ Here the word ना is an upapada, as it is exhibited in the locative case in III. 3. 175 S. 2219, by which rule it is added to the Aorist. Had there been compounding, भवान् could not have been placed between it and its second member भून् ॥

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant ; since the anuvṛitti of the words सुप् सुप् is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply, that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप् should not be read into this and the aphorism II. 2. 18 S. 761. The following Paribhāṣhā also arises from this sūtra.

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्धिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुदुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with kṛt-affixes, before a case-termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter."

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras III. 2. 18 and 19 S. 2932 with case-inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns, before a case-termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kārakas also. Thus व्याप्तिः ॥ The word व्याप्ति is formed by the affix क added under III. 1. 136 S. 2898 as qualified by the vārtika under III. 1. 137 S. 2899. The compounding of वि + व्याप्ति is a Gati samāsa, for वि and व्याप्ति are Gati with regard to the verb प्राप्तिः ॥ Had this compounding taken place after प्राप्ति had become a noun प्राप्ति and taken case-affixes, then on the parity of reasoning, the compounding would be suspended till प्राप्ति had taken the feminine affix टाप् also, and it would not have taken ङीप् ॥ Because the word प्राप्ति by itself does not denote any jāti. So the feminine प्राप्ति will be used in the compound and as it does not end in short प्राप्ति, it will not take jāti ङीप् ॥ Though this result could have been obtained by the word टपवत् alone in the above Paribhāṣhā, yet the use of gati in it is not redundant. For when प्राप्ति is compounded with the noun प्राप्ति, we get व्याप्तिः ; then for the compounding of व्याप्ति with वि, the employment of Gati is necessary. The affix क being added to the प्राप्ति when preceded by प्राप्ति, the word प्राप्ति may be treated as an *upapada* (and not *gati*), but the word वि cannot be treated as an *upapada* by any rule. So the word *gati* is properly used in the above Paribhāṣhā.

So also अद्वयनीति 'a female bought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अद्वयनं अद्वयेति ता = अद्वयनीति ; add ङीप् (IV. 1. 50 S. 506) and we have अद्वयनीति. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टाप् had been added to अद्वयनं previous to its composition with अद्वय the form would have been अद्वयनीता, and we should have had no base ending with short प्राप्ति and in that case ङीप् could not have been added by IV. 1. 50.

This word अद्वयनीति is an example of kāraka. The compounding takes place by कर्तृकरणे कृत् &c., (II. 1. 32 S. 694),

As an example of Upapada, we have कच्छरी ॥ कच्छेन विवति = कच्छरी ॥ The affix क is added by III. 2, 4. S. 2916, by Yoga-vibhāga. Here also, had the compounding depended upon the noun व taking the case-affixes, the feminine would have taken शप् and not ङीप् ; similarly as in व्याघ्री ॥

७८३ । अमेवाव्ययेन । २ । २ । २० ॥

अमेव तुल्यविधानं यदुपपदं तदेवाव्ययेन सह समस्यते । स्वाहुङ्कारम् । नेह । कालसमवेलास्तु तुमुन् । कालः समयो वेला वा भोक्तुम् । अमेवेति किम् । अमे भोजम् । अमे भुक्त्वा । विभाषामे प्रथमपूर्वेष्विति क्त्वाणमुक्तौ ॥ अमा आन्येन च तुल्यविधानमेतत् ॥

783. When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम् (णमुल and खमुङ्).

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule. As स्वाहुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet.' So also लवणंकारं 'having seasoned.' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III. 4. 26) &c,

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating.' Here the avyaya ends in ण् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III. 3. 167 S. 3179 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय, or वेला 'time.')

{The force of the word "only" is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root, with regard to any upapada} so that no composition will take place where the affix अम्, as well as another affix, is ordained after a root with certain upapadas. Thus sūtra III. 4. 24, S. 3345 declares: "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अमे, प्रथम and पूरे are upapadas." Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained; but there is a co-ordinate affix with it, namely क्त्वा. Therefore in अमेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition, because अमेभोजम् is not the only form we can have; for, अमेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense

७८४ । तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्तरस्थासु । २ । २ । २१ ॥

उपपदं तृतीयायादित्यद्वितीयान्युपपदान्धनन्तेनाव्ययेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । मूलकोपदेशम् ॥

784. An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III. 4. 47 S. 3368 &c.,) 'is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tat-purusha.

The term अच् is understood here. The upapadas ending with a third case-affix &c., are given in sūtra III. 4. 47. S. 3368 and the sūtras that follow. As मूलकोपबंधं सुद्धन्ते or मूलकेकोपबंधं सुद्धन्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish.

Note :—For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III. 4. 52 &c S. 3373 This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya-vidhāna with the अच् ; so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III. 4. 59 S. 3381 where अच् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well. This vibhāshā may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhāshā. It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अच् is the only affix employed; and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अच् is not the only affix.

७८५ । क्त्वा च । २ । २ । २२ ॥

वृत्तीयामभूतीन्नुपपदानि क्त्वान्तेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । उच्यते क्त्वा उच्यते क्त्वा । अन्त्ये ययानि-
भेदेति क्त्वा । वृत्तीयामभूतीर्नास्ति किम् । अन्ते क्त्वा । खलु क्त्वा ॥

785. An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix क्त्वा; and the compound is Tat-purusha.

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide. Thus we have उच्यते क्त्वा or उच्यते क्त्वा. Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III. 4. 59 S. 3381. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute एव; other wise not, ' See VII. 1. 37.

Why do we say 'an upapada ending in the 3rd case-affix'? Observe &c.? अन्ते क्त्वा, or खलु क्त्वा. Where there is no composition.

७८६ । तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

संख्याव्ययैर्द्व्यङ्ग्यन्तस्य तत्पुरुषस्य समासान्दोष्प स्यात् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमात्रे इत्यङ्गुल-
शब्द । निर्गतमङ्गुलियो निर्द्व्यङ्ग्यम् ॥

786. The affix ach comes after a Tatpurusha compound ending in the word aṅguli, when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes it.

Thus द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमात्रे = द्व्यङ्गुलम् इत्यङ्गुलम् ॥ So also, when an Indeclinable precedes it : as निर्गतमङ्गुलियो = निर्द्व्यङ्ग्यम्, अन्ते अङ्गुलम् ॥

Note :—This compounding takes place by II. 1. 51. This is a Taddhita compound, the taddhita affix माचच् being elided by the Vārtika समासे ही द्व्यङ्गुलियङ्ग

"there is always the elision of the affix रात्रच् denoting measure when a Dvigu compound is formed". See V. 2. 37 Vart.).

७८७ । अहःसर्वकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याश्च रात्रेः । ५ । ४ । ८७ ॥

एवो रात्रेर्च् स्थावास्तस्याव्ययारेः । अहर्माह्वं ह्यहर्माह्वं । अहश्च रात्रिश्चाहोरात्रः । सर्वा रात्रिः सर्वरात्रः । पूर्व रात्रेः पूर्वरात्रः । संख्यातरात्रः । पुण्यारात्रः । इयो रात्र्योः समाहारो द्विरात्रम् । अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिरतिरात्रः ॥

787. The affix अच् comes after the word *rātri*, when preceded by *ahan*, or *sarva*, or a word denoting a portion of night, or *saṅkhyāta* or *punya*, when the compound is *Tatpurusha*, as well as when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes the word *rātri*.

The anuvritti of संख्यान्ययादिः is drawn in to this sūtra by force of the word च् "and" of the sūtra. The word अहन् forms a Dvandva compound; as अहश्च रात्रिश्च = अहोरात्रः "day and night." So also सर्वरात्रः, पूर्वरात्रः 'the first part of night'. These are formed by II. 2. 1. S. 712. So also संख्यातरात्रिः = संख्यातरात्रः ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 57 S. 736. So also पुण्यारात्रिः = पुण्यारात्रः ॥ So also when compounded with a Numeral or an Indeclinable: as, इयो रात्र्योः समाहारः = द्विरात्रः, अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिश्च = अतिरात्रः ॥

७८८ । राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतदन्तात्सखिरुपादृच् रसात् । परमराजः । अतिराजी । कृष्णसखः ॥

788. The affix षच् is added to the words *rājau*, *ahan*, and *sakhi*, when standing at the end of a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus परमराजः; अतिराजी, कृष्णसखः सखा = कृष्णसखः; ॥

Note:—Why not so here मद्गानां. राज्ञी = मद्गान्नी instead of मद्गान्नी ॥ For according to the maxim "a pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, also such a nominal stem, as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender" (प्रातिपदिकमहणे लिङ्गविहितस्यापि महणम्); the stem राजन् would denote the feminine also. To this we reply, that the construction of the sūtra shows that the feminine राज्ञी is not to be taken. Because अहन् being a prosodially lighter word than राजन् ought to have been placed first in the compound. Its not being so placed indicates that that form राजन् only is to be taken, whose final vowel becomes lengthened into ञ् in compounding with अहन्; i. e. राजा + अहन्; and not राज्ञी + अहन् ॥

In fact, the above Paribhāṣhā is anitya, not of universal application, and so we have मद्राज्ञी ॥ See also the next sūtra.

७८९ । अह्नोऽस्योरेव । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एतयोरेवपरतोऽह्नि लोपः स्यान्नान्यत्र । दत्तमाहः । द्वे अहनी भूतो ह्यहीनः क्रतुः । तद्विनायेद्विद्युः । तगधीद्विधाधि कारे द्विगोर्द्वेयनुवृत्तौ रात्र्यहः संवत्सराचोत्ति स्तः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्निर । मद्राणां राज्ञी मद्रपज्ञी ॥

789. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes द and ख ॥

Thus दत्तमाहः (V. 4. 91 S. 794 with दच्) ॥ द्वे अहनी अधीदो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = ह्यहीनः क्रतुः (with ख V. 1. 87 S. 1751).

Vart:—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes द and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule: अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = शादिकम् (with दच् V. 1. 79 S. 1743). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before द and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvān, before ख, in VI. 4 169 S. 1671.

In the sub-division of तगधीद्विः (V. 1. 80 S. 1744) reading the anuvṛtti of द्विगोर्धा (V. 1. 86. S. 1750) in the sūtra रात्र्यहः संवत्सराय (V. 1. 87. S. 1751), we get the affix ख ॥ The Paribhāṣhā relating to gender being anitya, (see 788 above) we have no दच् here in मद्राणां राज्ञी = मद्रपज्ञी ॥

७९० । अहोऽह्नौ पक्षेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १८८ ॥

सर्वादिभ्यः पक्ष्याह्नरात्र्याह्नादेभ्यः स्वात्समासान्ते परे ॥

790. For ahan is substituted ahna, when preceded by the words, mentioned in V. 4. 87 S. 787. (and taking the affix ṣach mentioned in V. 4. 91 S. 788).

Note:—When the affix दच् follows अहन्, and the latter is preceded by the words अर्धे &c., then अह्ना is substituted for अहन् ॥ By the term अर्धेभ्यः "these words", is meant the numerals (with the exception of एक V. 4. 90 S. 794) the In declension, the words अर्धे, मध्यमाह्ना and words denoting a part of a day, for there are the words mentioned in the sūtra. V. 4. 87 S. 787. The word अहन् is also mentioned therein, but it is not taken here, for there can be no Tatpuruṣa

compound of अहन् with अहन् ॥ The word पुण्य is also excluded by V. 4. 90, S. 794. Thus ह्योरह्नोर्भवः = अहः, अहः, अहरतिकान्तः = अत्यहः, निरहः ॥ So also सर्वाह्नः, (VIII. 4. 7 S. 791) पूर्वाह्नः, अपराह्नः, संख्याताहः (according to some संख्याताहः V. 4. 90).

७६१ । अहोऽदन्तात् । ८ । ४ । ७ ।

अदन्तपूर्वपक्षपात्रेकाक्षरस्याऽह्नादेशस्य नस्य यः स्यात् । सर्वाह्नः । पूर्वाह्नः । संख्याताहः । ह्योरह्नोर्भवः । कालाह्न् । द्विर्गोर्लुगनपत्य इति ऋपो लुक् । अहः । खियानवन्तत्वाद्वाप् । अह्ना । अह्नमियः । अत्यहः ।

791. The ण is the substitute of न of अहन् when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change (i. e. the letter र).

Thus सर्वाह्नः पूर्वाह्नः "fore-noon"; अपराह्नः "after-noon" But in संख्याताहः no change.

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरहः, दुहः ॥

The word अह्न् is substituted for अहन् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. The word अह्न् being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words. Thus दीर्घाह्नी शरत् ॥ The word अह्न् in the sūtra in the the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वने (VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039), वाहने (VIII. 4. 8 S. 1052), जने &c. The compounding takes place by II. 2. 1, then is added the samāsānta affix इच् (V. 4. 91 S. 788), and अह्न् substitution by V. 4. 88.

The word दीर्घाह्नी is a Bahuvrīhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix इच् does not apply to it. The feminine ह्नीप् is added by IV. 1. 28, S. 462 there is elision of अ of अह्न् by VI. 4. 134 S. 234.

Why do we say "when meaning a collective noun"? Observe ह्योरह्नोर्भवे = अहः, ॥ This is a Tadditārtha Dvigu compound formed by II. 1. 51; S. 728 the affix इच् of कालाह् इच् (IV. 3. 11, S. 1381) is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080 and the final अन् of अहन् is elided by VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

In the Feminine, there will be शप् as the base ends in short अ ॥ As अह्ना ॥ So also अह्नमियः and अत्यहः ॥

७६२ । क्षुब्धादिषु च । ८ । ४ । ३६ ॥

एषु पाठे न स्यात् । दीर्घाह्नी प्रावृत् । एवं येतदर्थमह इत्यन्तात्तुकारणकैश्चो न कर्तव्यः । प्रातिपदिकान्तेति अन्वारणाय क्षुब्धादिषु पाठस्यापश्यकत्वात् । अदन्तादिति तपक्कारणानिह । पतगतमहः पराहः ॥

792. The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c.

Note:—The 'not' of sūtra VIII. 4. 34 S. 2340 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभ्नाति, so also in क्षुभ्नीतः, क्षुभ्नन्ति, the substitutes of अक्ष being like the principal I. 1. 57. S. 50. So नृनमनः where the change was called for by VIII. 4. 3. S. 857 and VIII. 4. 26 S. 3648 नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दनः, गिरिनगरः ॥ The word नृन् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीयुज्यते ॥ नृन्तु, नृमोति also belongs to this class. नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अक्षुप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII. 4. 14 S. 2287 शरनिवेशः, शरनिवासः, शराग्निः, शर्माक्षुपः ॥ All these are Names. After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीनः, आचार्यानी ॥ इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुवेर and हरि and कर्मर followed by वन do not cause change in the व of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 क्षुभ्ना (क्षुभ्नाति), 2 नृनमनः; 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एतान्पुत्रपदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दन 8 गिरिनगरम्; 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीयुज्यते; 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन, 12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश, 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अक्षुप, एतान्पुत्रपदानि प्रयोजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेशः, 21 शरनिवासः, 22 शराग्निः 23 शर्माक्षुपः, 24 आचार्यद्वयत्वं च आचार्यभोगीनः (आचार्यानी) ॥ क्षुभ्ना, 25 नृन्तु, नृनमन, 26 नननगर, नन्दन-यङ् नृती, 27 गिरिनदी, 28 गहननमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अक्षुप, आचार्य-भोगीन, 29 चतुर्दश्वन, 30 इरिकादीनि एवोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुवेर, हरि कर्मर, आकृतिगणः ॥

Thus दीर्घादी प्राप्द ॥

This being so, there is no necessity of taking the trouble of making the substitute अह्ना *ahna* end in short अ for the purpose of this case. Because of the necessity of reading such examples in kshubhnādi class, in order to prevent the न change required by VIII. 4. 11 S. 1055.

In the sūtra VIII. 4. 7 S. 791 we read "when preceded by a word ending in short अ"; therefore, when the preceding word ends in long आ, we have no न change; as पराटः (परागत्तवटः) ॥

७२३ । न संख्याद्वैः समाहारे । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

समाहारे पर्वधानस्य संख्यादेष्टादेवो न स्यात् । संख्यादेति त्वदर्थम् । एवोत्तरः समाहारो ऋदः । ऋदः ॥

793. This substitution of *ahna* for *ahan*, does not take place after a Numeral, when it forms a Collective noun, meaning a number of days taken as a unity.

This substitution is prohibited in the case of Samāhāra-Tatpurusha. Thus द्वादशी महाहारः=ऋदः, so also ऋदः ॥ Here rule V. 4. 91 applies.

There can be no samāhāra Tatpuruṣa compound, unless it is a Numeral compound. So the use of the word संख्यादेः in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary ; but it is employed merely for the sake of clearness.

७६४ । उत्तमैकाग्र्यां च । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

आभ्यानद्वादेशो न । उत्तमशब्दोऽन्वयार्थः । पुण्यशब्दनाह । पुण्यैकाग्र्यामित्येव सूचयितुमुचितम् । पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् । सुदिनशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । एकाहः । उत्तममहत्त्ववृत्तान्तस्यापि संमत्तार्थमित्येके । संख्याताहः ॥

794. And also after the word that stands last in the above list (i. e. पुण्य) and eka, this substitution does not take place.

The word उत्तम means 'last' ; and refers to पुण्य which is the last word in V. 4. 87. S. 787. The word उत्तम 'last' is used instead of पुण्य as a वैचित्र्य ; the better draft would have been पुण्यैकाग्र्याम् ॥ Thus पुण्याहम्, सुदिनाहम् ॥ The word सुदिन is a term of praise. एकाहः ॥ Some include the penultimate word संख्यात् also in the prohibition. According to them संख्याताहः is the proper form and not संख्यातहः ॥

७६५ । अत्राख्यायासुरसः । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अत्र स्यात् । अश्वानासुर इव अश्वोरसम्, सुख्योऽश्व इत्यर्थः ॥

795. The affix tach comes after the word 'uras,' standing at the end of a Tatpuruṣa compound, when it has the sense of (the most excellent of its kind)

Thus अश्वानां उरः = अश्वोरसम् "the most excellent of horses".

Note:—The word अश्व means 'the principal' . as the word अश्व is the principal member of an animal, so by metonymy it has come to mean 'the principal'.

Why do we say "when meaning the most excellent". Observe देवदत्तोरः = देवदत्तोरः "the breast of Devadatta"

७६६ । अनोद्भायः सरस्तां जातिसंज्ञयोः । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

अनोद्भायमाती संज्ञार्थं च । उपानसम् । अष्टाश्वयः । जानाश्वयम् । मङ्गलशस्त्रमिति यातिः । मरानसम् । विष्टाश्वयः । लोहिताश्वयम् । अनसस्यमिति संज्ञा ॥

796. The affix tach comes after anas, aśman, ayas, and saras, when at the end of a Tatpuruṣa compound, it denotes a jāti or a name.

Thus वृषानसम्, अघृतायः, कालायसम्, and मण्डूकसरसम्, are examples of आति words, while मङ्गलनसम्, पिण्डायनः, मोहितायसम्, and जनसरसम् are examples of संज्ञा ॥

Note—Why do we say “when meaning a jāti or a sañjñā? Observe सन्तः, सवशनाः, सस्तरः ॥

७९७ । ग्रामकौटाश्यां च तक्षः । ५ । ४ । ९५ ॥

ग्रामस्य तज्ञा ग्रामनक्षः । साधारण इत्यर्थः । कुर्वा भवः कौटः स्वतन्त्रः । सचासौ तज्ञा च कौटतक्षः ॥

797. The affix *tach* comes after *taksna*, when preceded by *grāma* and *kauṭa*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

The *anuvṛtti* of *jāti* and *sañjñā* does not run into this *sūtra*. Thus ग्रामस्य तज्ञा = ग्रामनक्षः, बहुना साधारणः ‘the public carpenter of all.’ कुर्वा भवः = कौटः “independent.” कौटः तक्षः = कौटतक्षः meaning स्वतन्त्रः कर्मजीवी, न कस्मैचित्कामासिचक्षः ‘and independent artisan, not particularly bound under engagement to any one’.

७९८ । अतेः शुनः । ५ । ४ । ९६ ॥

अतिश्वो वराहः । अतिश्वो-सेना ॥

798. The affix *tach* comes after the word *śvan* preceded by *ati*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus अतिश्वान्तः श्वानम्, = अतिश्वो वराहः “the boar that surpasses the dog” i. e. अस्वान् “very swift”. So अतिश्वो सेना “the dog-surpassing soldier i. e. more devoted to his master than a dog” or “a servile army, as mean as a dog.”

७९९ । उपमानाद्ग्राणिषु । ५ । ४ । ९७ ॥

ग्राणिषु विषयोपमानवाचिनः शुनद्वयेन । आकर्षः श्वेद आकर्षश्च । ग्राणिषु किम् । वानरः श्वेव वानरो ॥

799. The affix *tach* comes after the word *śvan* ending in a *Tatpurusha* compound, when another thing not being a living object is compared with it.

Thus आकर्षः श्वेद = आकर्षश्चः ‘a dog-like bow.’ This compounding takes place by II. 1. 56. S. 735

Why do we say “when the thing compared is not a living being”? Observe वानरः श्वेव = वानरश्चा “a dog-like monkey”.

८०० । उत्तरमृगपक्षां च सफटः । ५ । ४ । ९८ ॥

चादुपनानात् । उत्तरसक्यम् । मृगतक्यम् । पूर्वसक्यम् । कलकनिव सकथि कलकसक्यम् ॥

800. The affix *ṭach* comes after *sakthi*, when preceded by *uttara*, *mṛiga*, and *pūrva*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound, as well as when a thing is compared with it.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we read in the word उपनानात् also. Thus उत्तरसक्यम्, मृगतक्यम्, पूर्वसक्यम् ॥ So also in कलकनिव सकथि = कलकसक्यम् ॥

८०१ । नावो द्विगोः । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

नौसङ्घान्ताद्विगोष्ठश्च स्यान्न तु तद्धितलुकि । हाभ्यां नौभ्यानागतः द्विनावरूप्यः । द्विगोलुगावपस्य इत्ययं अचीत्यस्यापकर्षणाद्धलावेन लुक् । पञ्चनावधियः । द्विनावम् । त्रिनावम् । अतद्धितलुकीति किम् । पञ्चभिर्नौभिः क्रीतः पञ्चनौः ॥

801. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *nau*, when at the end of a *Dvigu* compound, but not so when the *Taddhita* affix is elided.

Thus हाभ्यां नौभ्यानागतं = द्विनावरूप्यम्, द्विनावनम् (IV. 3. 81 S. 1461) The elision of IV. 1. 88 S. 1080 does not apply here, as that rule is restricted by the word ज्ञाच्च of IV. 1. 89 S. 1081 and so it does not apply to affixes beginning with a consonant.

So also द्वे नावौ सप्तसङ्घे = द्विनावम्, so also त्रिनावम् ॥ Thus द्विनावधनम्, पञ्चनावधियः are also formed.

Why do we say 'when in a *Dvigu* compound'? Observe राजनौ: "the king's ship". The phrase अतद्धितलुकि "when a *Taddhita* affix is not elided" of sūtra V. 4. 92 S. 729 applies here also. Therefore षच् does not apply in पञ्चभिर् नौभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चनौः, दशनौः ॥

८०२ । अर्धाश्च । ५ । ४ । १०० ॥

अर्धाज्ञावष्टश्च स्यात् । नार्धोऽधम् । अर्धनावम् । क्रीयत्वं लोकात् ॥

802. The affix *ṭach* comes after the word *ardha*, in a *Tatpurusha* compound.

Thus नावो अर्धे = अर्धनावम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. S. 713. The compound is of neuter gender, and does not take the gender of the term, as required by II. 4. 26 S. 812 ; for gender is regulated by usage, more than any grammatical rules (लोकावयत्वं लिङ्गस्य) ॥

८०३ । खार्याः प्राचाम् । ५ । ४ । १०१ ॥

द्विवेर्धाष खार्यादञ्च स्यात् । द्विखारम् । द्विखारि । अर्धखारम् । अर्धखारि ॥

803. To the word khârî, at the end of a Dvigu compound, and to the same, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound, the affix tach is added, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians.

The words द्विवेः and अर्धात् are both understood here. Thus द्वे खार्यो समादत्ते = द्विखारम् or द्विखारि ॥ So also अर्धे खार्याः = अर्धखारम् or अर्धखारि ॥

८०४ । द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलिः । ५ । ४ । १०२ ॥

ञ्चा स्यात् द्विर्ग । द्व्यञ्जलम् । द्व्यञ्जलि । अतद्धितलुकीत्येव । द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां त्रीनो द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥

804. The affix tach is added to the word añjali, when preceded by dvi or tri, in a Dvigu Tatpurusha compound.

Thus द्व्यञ्जली समादत्ता = द्व्यञ्जलम्, so also द्व्यञ्जलम् ॥ The word द्विवेः is understood here also, so that when the compound is not a Dvigu, the rule does not apply. Thus द्विवेद्व्यञ्जलिः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ The phrase "when a Taddhita is not elided (V. 4. 92 S. 729)," is understood here also. Therefore the affix टच् does not apply here द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां त्रीनः = द्व्यञ्जलिः ॥ (V. 1. 28).

Note:—The phrase "according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians" V. 4. 101 S. 803 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus in the alternative we have द्व्यञ्जलिभिः ॥

८०५ । प्रत्यक्षो जानपदादद्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १०४ ॥

मन्त्रान्ताचार्यस्याहम् स्यात्प्रत्यक्षेन जानपदादद्यायामेवेत्यम् । पुराष्ट्रे ब्रह्मा वसुष्ट्रे ब्रह्मः ॥

805. The affix tach comes after the word brahmayā in a Tatpurusha compound, when the compound denotes a person belonging to a certain country.

The word जानपद is equivalent to जनपदेषु यः 'belonging to a country.' This affix comes after that Tatpurusha, the first member of which is a word denoting a country. Thus पुराष्ट्रे ब्रह्मा = पुराष्ट्रब्रह्म, and अश्विनब्रह्मः "a Brāhmaṇa of Surasṭra or Avanti." This is an example of Locative Tatpurusha compound.

*Note:—*Why do we say "when referring to the name of a country"? Observe देवब्रह्मा नारदः 'Narada the bard of the gods'.

८०६ । कुमहद्ब्रह्मामन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

आभ्यां ब्रह्मणो वा ऽच् स्यात् तत्पुरुषे । कुस्तितो ब्रह्मा कुब्रह्मः । कुब्रह्मा ॥

806. The affix *tach* comes optionally after the word *brahman* preceded by the words *कु* and *महत्*, in a *Tatpuruṣa* compound.

Thus *कुब्रह्मः* or *कुब्रह्मा*, 'a bad Brahmana'. The word *ब्रह्मन्* is a synonym of *ब्राह्मण* "a Brāhmaṇa".

८०७ । आत्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

महत आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्समानाधिकरणे उत्तरपदे जातीये च परे । महाब्रह्मः । महाब्रह्मा । महाशेषः । महाजातीयः । समानाधिकरणे किम् । महतः सेवा महत्सेवा । लाघणिकं विहाय प्रतिपक्षोक्तः सन्महत्सि सनासो गरीष्यति इति चेत् महाबाहुर्न स्यात् । तस्माद्विज्ञानप्रतिपक्षोक्तयोः प्रतिपक्षोक्तस्योति परिभाषा नेह प्रवर्तते । समानाधिकरणग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् ।

आशिति योगविभागात्त्वम् । प्रगिकावसभ्य इति निर्देशात् । एकावश । महतीशत्वस्य पुंवत्कर्तृभारयोति पुंवदाद्ये कृते आत्वम् । महाजातीय ॥

महत्वात्वे पातकरविशिष्टद्रूपसंख्यानं पुंवद्भावश्च * ॥ असमानाधिकरणव्याप्यनिश्चम् । महती महत्त्वा वा पातो महापातः । महत्करः । महाविशिष्टः ॥

अटनः कपाले हविषि * ॥ अष्टाकपालः ॥

शवि च युक्ते * ॥ शोभन्ने परे युक्त इत्यर्थे गर्भेऽटन आत्वे वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ अष्टागवं शकटम् । अष्टमश्वत्थवैज्याजिति योगविभागाद्गुह्यग्रीहवप्यच् । अष्टानां गवां समाहारः अष्टगवम् । तद्वत्कत्वाच्छकटमष्टागवामिति वा ॥

807. For the final of *महत्* is substituted *आत्* (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before *जातीय* ॥

As *महाब्रह्मः* or *महाब्रह्मा*, *महत्सेवः*, *महाजातीयः* ॥ Why do we say 'before a word which is in apposition with it'? Observe *महतः सेवा*—*महत्सेवा* "the service of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. Obj. We shall explain the compound *महत्सेवा* by saying that the rule of *आ* substitution applies to those compounds only of *महत्* which are ordained specially by II. 1. 61 S. 740 and not to the general compounding of *महत्* with any noun.

And as *महत्सेवा* can not be compounded under II. 1. 61 S. 740 so there will be no *आ* substitution here.

Ans.—Not so ; for how then you explain the आ in महाबाहुः which is also not a compound under II. 1. 61 S. 740 but a Bahuvrīhi, and which according to your explanation ought to be महद्बाहुः ॥

Therefore, we come to this conclusion that the Pratipadokta Paibhāshā does not apply here, and this because the word समानाधिकरण is employed in the sūtra. Therefore, the present sūtra applies to all compounds of महत्, where it is in apposition with the second word.

How do you explain the lengthening in एकादश? Either by yoga-vibhāga, taking आत् as a separate sūtra ; or because Pāṇini himself uses it in V. 3. 49 S. 1995.

In महती + जातीया, the feminine महती is first changed into the masculine महत् by VI. 3. 42 S. 746 ; and then the त् is changed to आ by the present sūtra, and thus we get महाजातीया ॥

The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61 S. 740. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrīhis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact, this is the object of using the word samānādhikaraṇa in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpuruṣa compounds of mahat, taught under II. 1. 61 S. 740, but not to Bahuvrīhis like महाबाहुः ॥ In महद्भुतयन्त्रम् = अमहान् महान् संयन्त्रः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vārt :—आ is substituted for the final महत् before पास, कर and विशद, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या पासः = महापासः, महत्या करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिदः = महविशिदः ॥

Vārt :—आ is substituted for the final of महत् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टकपालं परं निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं दद्यात् ॥

Vārt :—आ is substituted for the final of महत् before नी, when the meaning is that of 'yoked.' As, यथागमेन अकटेन ॥ But अष्टमय दद्यात्, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in अत् is for the sake of distinctness.

The affix अत् of V. 4. 75 S. 943 is made applicable here by the method of yoga-vibhāga : though the compound is Bahuvrīhi ; महत् + ते = अष्टा + ते + अत् ॥ The aggregate of eight cows is अष्टमय (Samāhāra Dvandva). The chariot is also called अष्टमय, because they are yoked there to.

८०८ । द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः । ६ । ३ । ४७ ॥

आस्थान् । द्वौ च दश च द्वादश । व्याधिका ऽशीति वा । द्वाविंशतिः । अष्टादश । अष्टाविंशतिः ।
अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः किम् । द्विचाः । द्व्यशीतिः ॥ प्राक्शतादिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । द्विसप्तम् । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

808. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टद् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादश (=द्वौ च दश च or द्वि अधिका दश). द्वाविंशतिः, द्वाविंशन्, अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टाविंशन् ॥

Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows? Observe द्वित्राः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

—*Var:*—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विसप्तम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टसप्तम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

८०९ । त्रैस्तयः । ६ । ३ । ४८ ॥

(त्रयसहस्रस्य त्रयन् स्यात्पूर्वविषये । त्रयोदश । त्रयोविंशतिः । बहुव्रीहौ तु त्रिंश निर्देशाः । घञ्च बहुव्रीहिः । अशीतौ तु त्र्यशीति । प्राक् शतादिति च । त्रिसप्तम् । त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

809. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशन् ॥ But not in त्रिंशतः which is a Bahuvrīhi. (II. 2. 25 S. 843) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिसप्तम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

८१० । विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् । ६ । ३ । ४९ ॥

अष्टनोक्तेषु प्रायुक्तं वा स्याच्चत्वारिंशदौ परे । द्विचत्वारिंशन् । द्वाचत्वारिंशन् । अष्टचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टचत्वारिंशन् । त्रिचत्वारिंशन् । त्र्यचत्वारिंशन् । एते षड्चास्यपठितप्रतिनियतिषु ॥

810. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टद्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशन्, त्रिचत्वारिंशत् or त्र्यचत्वारिंशन्, अष्टचत्वारिंशत् or अष्टचत्वारिंशन् ॥ This is also before hundred : as, द्विसप्तम् and अष्टसप्तम्, त्रिसप्तम् ॥

So also with पञ्चाशद्, षड्श, सप्तति and नवति ॥

८११ । एकात्रिंशकस्य चातुक् । ६ । ३ । ५० ॥

काचिद्विम् मल्लस्य स्यात्कस्य च मरुतागमस्य । मरुता एवमस्य सप्त सप्तति कृते एकचत्वारिंशत्

सङ्गे द्वितीयोति योगविभागास्तथासः । शत्रुनातिकविकल्पः । एकेन नविशतिः एकानाविशतिः । एका-
व्नाविशतिः । एकोनविशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

एष उरुं दशदशासुत्तरपदविः दृष्टं च धातु इति वाच्यम् ॥ षोडश । षोडश । षोडा ।
षड्धा ॥

811. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्).

Thus एकने नविशतिः = एकानाविशतिः, एकानाविशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds formed under II. 1. 30 S. 692 by the method of yoga-vibhāga taking वृत्तीया as a separate sūtra. The nasal is optional, so we have एकाव्नाविशतिः also, meaning "nineteen." The augment अदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकाद् न विशतिः and एकात् न विशति by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116.

Vart.—The final of एद् is changed to द before वत्, दृष्ट, and धा (meaning 'location'); and the first letter of the second member is changed to ष or ड ॥ Thus एद् वन्ता गत्य = षोडश; so षोडश; षड्धा or षोडा कुरु ॥ The addition of ष is optional here. The putting of धातु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (बानाधिकरण). In fact, it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore, does not apply to these:—एद् वधाति or धधाति = षड्धा ॥

—:0:—

THE GENDER OF COMPOUNDS.

८१२ । परचल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः । २ । ४ । २६ ॥

एतयोः परचल्लेखे लिङ्गे स्यात् । कुक्कुटमय्यादिने । मय्यीकुक्कुटादिने । अर्धेपिप्पली ॥ द्विगुमात्रपञ्चादिपूर्वगमितसर्वास्तु प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः ॥ पञ्चसु कपटिषु संस्कृतः पञ्चकपालः पुरासायः । मासे जीविषो मग्नजीविकः । नापन्नजीविकः । अने कुमार्थे अनेकुमारिः । अथ एष ज्ञापकास्तथासः । विष्कोशमिति ॥

812. The gender of a Dvandva or a Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it.

This applies to an Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction. As कुक्कुटमय्यादिने 'those two (fem.) the cock and the peahen' मय्यीकुक्कुटदिवि 'those two (mas.) the peahen and the cock.' The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter. So also in a Tat-purusha compound, not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्धेपिप्पली, अर्धेपिप्पली 'half a pippali.'

Vart:—Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with *प्राप्त*, *आपन्न* and, *अलं*, and (3) compounds with Gati words i. e. *Prādi* compounds; as, *पंचकपालः* 'Purodāsa prepared in five cups'; *प्राप्त* *जीविकः* (*प्राप्त* + *जीविका*) 'has obtained living.' *आपन्न* *जीविकः* ॥ *अलंकुमारिः* 'who is a suitable match for the girl.' There is no special rule of Pāṇini by which *अलं* can be so compounded. We infer such a rule, by the implication (*jñāpa-*ka) of this *vārtika*. *निन्तौशाम्बिः* 'gone beyond Kauśambi.'

८१३ । पूर्ववदश्ववद्वौ । २ । ४ । २७ ॥

द्विषयनमतमन्तः । अश्ववद्वौ । अश्ववद्वान् । अश्ववद्वैः ॥

813. The gender of the compound of the word *aśva* 'horse' and *vaḍava* 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it.

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II. 4, 12. S. 916, in that case it will be neuter. *अश्ववद्ववाविनौ* ; *अश्ववद्ववान्*, *अश्ववद्ववैः* &c., (in every number and case) 'those two (mas.) the horse and the mare.' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound.

८१४ । रात्राह्नाह्नाः पुंसि । २ । ४ । २९ ॥

एतदन्तौ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषौ पुंसि च । अन्तर्दत्त्वात्परवाङ्मिहतापवादोऽप्ययं परत्वात्समहारानुसक्ततां दाधते । अहोरात्रः । रात्रेः पूर्वभागः पूर्वरात्रः । पूर्वह्नेः । अहः ॥ संख्यपूर्वे रात्रे स्त्रीत्वम् ॥ द्विरात्रम् । त्रिरात्रम् ॥ रात्राह्नाह्ना ॥

814. The Dvandva and Tatpursha compound ending with *rātra* and *ahna* and *aha* are spoken of in the masculine.

This debars the neuter gender of Samāhāra even (II. 4. 17 S. 821) because it is a subsequent sūtra to that in the order of Pāṇini and thus it serves double purpose, being read immediately after II. 4. 26 S. 812 it debars the gender of the subsequent, and also the Neuter of II. 4. 17. S. 821. Thus *अहोरात्रः* ॥

These words refer to *kṛit* and *Samasānta* affixes. Thus the word *रात्र* is formed by *रात्रि* + *अच्* (V. 4. 87 S. 787) *अह* is formed by V. 4. 88 S. 790 and *अह* by V. 4. 91. S. 788. The general rule II. 4. 26 S. 812 also does not apply here.

पूर्वरात्रः ; *द्विरात्रः* ; *त्रिरात्रः*, 'A space of two or three nights' *पूर्वाह्ने*, *अधरात्रे* ; *मध्याह्ने* ; 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon,' *द्वयः* 'two days' *त्रयः*, 'three days'

Vart:—The word तत्र preceded by a numeral is always neuter, as शिरामम् &c., गयरात्रम् ॥ गयानां बहूनां रात्र्याणां समाहार = गयरात्रम् ॥

८१५ । अपथं तपुस्तकम् । २ । ४ । ३० ॥

तत्पुरुष इत्येव । अन्यत्र तु अपथो देशः । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नैह । अपथ्याः ॥

815. The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter.

The word "Tat-purusha" only is understood in this sūtra and not Dvandva.

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road.' But अपथोदेशः (masc.) 'a roadless country.' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi, the word is masculine; so also अपथ्याः where the rule does not apply, because the sūtra has exhibited the form अपथम् with the samāsānta affix. So where there is no samāsānta affix, the form is अपथ्याः also. The samāsānta is optional by V. 4. 72 S. 957.

८१६ । अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च । २ । ४ । ३१ ॥

अर्धर्चाद्वयः शय्याः पुंसि स्त्रीष्वेव च स्तुः । अर्धर्चः । अर्धर्चम् । ध्वजः । ध्वजम् । एवं तीर्थं, शरीरं, शय्या, पीडय, वस्त्रं, अङ्गुली, कलश इत्यादि ॥

816. The words 'ardharcha' &c., may be masculine and neuter.

As अर्धर्चः and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' ध्वजः or ध्वजम् 'a flag'. So also तीर्थः or तीर्थम् 'a place of pilgrimage'; शरीरः 'the body'; शय्याः 'a shed'; शीतम् 'nectar'; देशः 'the body,' अङ्गुली 'a goad for an elephant'; कलशः 'a jar' &c.

Note:—These twofold genders sometimes, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter, another. Thus धनः 'treasure,' धनः or धनम् 'lotus,' शंखः 'treasure,' and शय्या or शय्यः 'conch-shell,' भूतः or भूतम् 'ghost.' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies, सैन्धवः or सैन्धवम् 'salt'; but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies. शीरः 'best' शीरं 'compendium.' So धर्मः and धर्मम्.

८१७ । जात्याख्यायामेकास्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ५८ ॥

एकस्मिन्वर्धो वा बहुवचनमस्ति । जात्याः पुंशः जात्यः पुंशः ॥

817. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

Note:—The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. <The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular> The anuvṛtti of asishyam does not go further ॥ Thus ब्राह्मणः पूज्याः or ब्राह्मणः पूजः

Note:—It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common nouns, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्ना यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववत् ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयः or पूर्ववत्सो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? <A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of kāsya may also be called 'kāsya'; this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.>

Why do we say 'ekasmin' ? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley:' the rule does not apply.

<An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रीहिः संपन्नः क्षुनिजं करीति>

८१८ । अस्मदो द्वयोश्च । १ । २ ५९ ॥

एकत्वे द्वित्वे च विवक्षितेऽस्मदो बहुवचने वा स्वात् । वयं स्मः । पक्षेऽहं त्वीमि । आर्वा ह्व इति वा ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधः * ॥ पद्वहं त्वीमि ॥

818. The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I', is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं त्वीमि or वयं स्मः), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आर्वा ह्वः 'we two speak' or वयं स्मः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as पद्वहं त्वीमि. 'I Patu am speaking.' Here we cannot use the plural.

८१९ । कल्युनीप्रोद्यपदानां च तत्तुजे । १ । २ । ६० ॥

द्वित्वे बहुवचनयुक्तं कार्यं वा स्वात् । पूर्वे कल्युनी । पूर्वाः कल्युन्यः । पूर्वो प्रोद्यपदे । पूर्वाः प्रोद्यपदाः नभये किम् । कल्युनी नाणयिजे ॥

819. And the dual of Phalgunī and Proshṭhāpadā, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛitti of the word द्युः from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proshṭhāpadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual) ; or उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proshṭhāpadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally.

Why do we say 'when signifying asterisms'? Because if phalgunī and proshṭhāpadā are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number : as फल्गुन्यौ माणवकाः ॥

८२० । तिष्यपुनर्वसोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् । १ । २ । ६३ ॥

बहुतत्वं द्विवचनं इत्यति । तिष्यश्च पुनर्वसु च तिष्यपुनर्वसु । तिष्येति किम् । विशाखादुराधाः । गच्छेति किम् । तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः ॥

820. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasū, the dual invariably comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसुद्वन्द्वे 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual).'

Why do we say 'Tishya, and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखादुराधाः 'the stars Visākhā and Anurādhā.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars, but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus.'

Notes—There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number.

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasu. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु, पुष्यपुनर्वसु तिष्यपुनर्वसु ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus *निष्प्रगुनर्वसवः* is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasū."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As *निष्प्रगुनर्वसु इति*.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular"; for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'invariably' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend further.

८२१ । स नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । १७ ॥

समाहारं द्विगुल्लेख नपुंसकं स्यात् । परवाङ्मिमांसाद् । पञ्चमवच । दन्तोष्ठम् ॥

अकारान्तोत्तरपदा द्विगुः स्त्रियामिदः ॥ पञ्चमूनी ॥

आद्यन्तो वा * ॥ पञ्चसद्वी । पञ्चसद्वी ॥

अनो नलोपेय वा द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् * ॥ पञ्चसद्वी । पञ्चसद्वी ॥

वाङ्मिमांसास्य न * ॥ पञ्चसद्वी । द्विगुवचम् । चतुर्गुणम् ॥

द्विगुल्लेखनाभ्यामहः स्त्रीगतेषां * ॥ पुण्यादम् । द्विगुल्लेखम् ।

पयः संख्याव्ययविः * ॥ संख्याव्ययविः परः कृतसमासान्तः पञ्चमवचः स्त्रीवचनार्थः । पञ्चमवचः पञ्चाक्षरपदम् । विरूपः पञ्चाक्षरः विपयम् । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशाद् द्विगुल्लेखः । सतिपञ्चाक्षरः ।

सामान्यं नपुंसकम् * ॥ बहुवचनम् । प्रातः कर्मणीयम् ॥

821. It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules (see II. 4. 1. S. 731 and II. 4. 2. S. 906) is always a neuter gender.

Note :—This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II. 4. 26. S. 812.

As, पञ्चमवचम् 'an aggregate of five cows,' दन्तोष्ठम् 'the teeth and lips' द्विगुल्लेखम् 'head and neck.'

Vat :—A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short च, is employed in the feminine gender only ; as पञ्चमूनी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in वाप् affix, is optionally feminine; as, पञ्चखट्वम् Or पञ्चखट्वी.

Vart:—A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in न्न, is optionally feminine and the न is elided; as, पञ्चनक्षम् Or पञ्चनक्षी.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in वाप् &c., पञ्चपात्रम्; चतुर्गम्; त्रिभुवनम्.

Vart:—The Neuter gender is employed after the word अह् preceded by पुष्य or सुदिन; as पुष्याहम् 'sacred day'; सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day.'

Vart:—The word एष ending with the samāsānta affix (V. 4. 72 S. 957) is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Aavyaya; as त्रिपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्. But not so in सुपन्था and त्रिपन्था: where the samāsānta has not been added, because of the prohibition of V. 4. 69 S. 954

Vart:—The Neuter is employed when the application is general, and no particular gender is meant.

As नृदु पचति 'he cooks soft' (anything in general that he does cook),
प्रातः कसनीयम् 'in the morning it is pleasant.'

—:0:—

८२२ । तत्पुरुषोऽनङ्कर्मधारयः । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

822. A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle नां, and of the Karmadhāraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras.

Note:—This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorism which show when a Tat-purusha may be Neuter.

८२३ । संज्ञायां कन्धोऽनीनरेषु । २ । ४ । २० ॥

कन्धमन्त्रास्तु गणः इति संज्ञायां तेषु नीनरेषु येषां कन्धायाः संज्ञा । सुशमस्यापस्थाने संज्ञायः । तेषां कन्धा योऽनिकन्धम् । संज्ञायां किम् । नीनकन्धा । उनीनरेषु किम् । शक्तिकन्धा ॥

823. When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word kanthā 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that, it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśīnaras.

As, सौशमिकन्याम् 'the town of Sauśamis, the descendents of Śúshama."

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe वीरिणकन्या. Why do we say 'if the town is situated in the country of the Uśīnaras? Observe दाक्षिकन्या.

Note:—This debars the rule (II. 4. 25. S. 828) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term. (For accent see IV. 2. 124.)

८२४ । उपहोपक्रमं तदायाचिख्यासायाम् । २ । ४ । २१ ॥

उपह्रान्त उपक्रमान्तश्च तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् तथोपज्ञायनानोपक्रम्यमाणयोरादिः प्राथम्यं ज्ञेयस्यतुमिच्छते । पाणिनेरुपज्ञा पाणिन्युपज्ञं ग्रन्थः । नन्वोपक्रमं द्वेष्टः ॥

824. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work, which is first invented or commenced

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञग्रन्थः 'the book *i. e.* the grammar which is Pāṇini's invention'; नन्वोपक्रमं द्वेष्टः 'the measure Drona first introduced by the king Nanda.'

Note:—Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed; as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथः 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथः 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta.' So also the sense may be that of invention &c., but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used; as वाल्मीकिसंज्ञोक्तः 'the slokas invented by Valmiki.'

८२५ । छाया बाहुल्ये । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात्पूर्ववर्ण्यबाहुल्ये । इक्षुयां छाया इक्षुच्छायम् । विभाषासेनोक्तं विकल्पस्यायमववादः । इक्षुच्छायाविपादिन्य इति तु भासवन्ताविपादिन्य इत्याक्षय्यश्लेषो बोध्यः ॥

825. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *chhâyā* 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term.

Thus, इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade *i. e.* groves of sugarcane.'

The sūtra II. 4. 25 S. 828 gives *optional* neuter; this rule enjoins *invariable* neuter when *chhâyā* has the sense of profuseness. In the sentence "इक्षुच्छायाविपादिन्यः" there is also shortening, there is *षा* between *ikshuchâyā* and *nishādinyah*. Another reading is इक्षुच्छाय विपादिन्यः ॥

८२६ । राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा । २ । ४ । २३ ॥

राजपदार्थपूर्वोऽमनुष्यपूर्वश्च समान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् ॥

पर्यायस्यैवेत्येते * ॥ नेह । राजसभा । चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ।

अमनुष्यपदो कृत्वा रत्नःपिशाचादीनाम् । रत्नःसभम् । पिशाचसभम् ॥

826. A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word *sabhā* 'court' is neuter ; provided that, it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word *Rājā*, or by a word denoting a non-human being.

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court,' ईश्वरसभम् 'the Lord's Court.'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' and चन्द्रगुप्तसभा the word is not neuter ; for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word-form राजा ; an apparent exception to Rule I. 1. 68. S. 25.

So also रत्नःसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas,' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Pisāchas.' The word is neuter. The word non-human has a technical significance meaning "a Rākshasa or a monster &c."

८२७ । जशाला च । २ । ४ । २४ ॥

सपातायो या सभं तवन्तस्तत्पुरुषः स्त्रीर्नि स्यात् । स्त्रीसभम् स्त्रीसंपात इत्यर्थः । जशाला क्षिप्र । धर्मसभा । धर्मसामेल्यर्थः ॥

827. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *sabhā*, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter.

As, स्त्रीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies.' Why do we say when it does not mean 'house'? Observe धर्मसभा : here सभा means a house or an institution.

८२८ । विभाया सेनासुराच्छायाशाब्जानिशानाम् । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

एतन्तत्पुरुषः स्त्रीर्नि वा स्यात् । आद्यसैनम् । आद्यसैना । स्यसुरम् । स्यक्ष्मा । स्यच्छायायम् । स्यच्छाया । स्यशाब्जम् । स्यनिशम् । स्यनिशा । तत्पुरुषोऽनन्तर्यभावे इत्यनुक्तौ भेदः । दहसेनो राजा । ससैना । परमसैना ॥

828. A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words *senā* 'army,' *surrā* 'wine,' *chhāyā* 'shadow,' *śālā* 'house' and *niśā* 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of

that which is formed by the particle *nañ* (II. 2. 6) and the *karmadhāraya* compound.

As *ब्राह्मणसेना*, *ब्राह्मणसेनम्* 'the Brāhmaṇa army,' *दधसुरम्*, *दधसुरा* 'the barley wine,' *कुम्भच्छायाम्*, *कुम्भच्छाया* 'the shadow of the wall,' *गोशालम्*, *गोशाला* 'the cow house,' *श्वनिशम्* *श्वनिशा* 'tomorrow night.' But *वृद्धसेनोरथा*। *असेना* 'non-army,' *परमसेना* 'good army,' the former being a negative and the latter a *karmadhāraya* compound. For II. 4. 19 S. 822 applies here also.

Here ends the Chapter on Tatpurusha Compounds.

अथ बहुव्रीहि समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIX.

BAHUVRĪHI COMPOUNDS,

८२६ । शेषो बहुव्रीहिः । २ । २ । २३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । द्वितीयाश्रित्यादिना यत्त्रिकस्य विशिष्य समासो नोक्तः सः शेषः प्रथमान्तमित्यर्थः ॥

829. The remaining compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

Note:—A compound which does not fall within any one of the rules given above i. e. from S. 686 downwards will be Bahuvrīhi. This is a governing aphorism.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. A triad (of singular, dual and plural) whose compounding has not been taught in the previous sūtras 686 and the rest, is the śeṣha or "remainder." Now the compounding of all the triads beginning with the Accusative and ending with the Locative have been taught in the preceding sūtras. The only case that remains is the Nominative. The compounding of nouns, both of which are in the Nominative case, is therefore governed by this sūtra, and gives rise to Bahuvrīhi.

Note:—Under sūtra I. 4 79 S. 780 there is the vārtika वादयो सहायार्थे प्रथमम् ॥ It teaches the compounding with the Nominative case. But it is a vārtika and not a sūtra. Moreover according to Kāśikā, the śeṣha refers to "all where no other compounding is ordained, the words which do not give rise to compounds like avyayibhāra &c. will form Bahuvrīhi."

The Bahuvrīhis like कण्ठकाः are exceptional.

८३० । अनेकमन्यपदार्थे । २ । २ । २४ ॥

अनेक प्रथमान्तव्यम् वन्मार्थे वर्तमानं वा सप्तम्यो स बहुव्रीहिः । अथवाविभक्त्यर्थे बहुव्रीहिर्नि सान्नायिकसमासादिनि च कश्चिन्म । मान्मसुक्तं यं प्राचीनको नामः । ऊरुष्योऽनुजान् । उदयनपत्न्य हः । उदृष्टैः श्वान् म्यानी । पीताम्बरो हरिः । गीरपुरुषको प्रायः । प्रथमार्थे तु न । वृद्धं देये शान् । अशिरुसमासादि न । पञ्चमिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

प्राथम्यं पातुमस्य वाच्ये वा चोत्तरपदार्थे ॥ १ ॥ अथानिपत्ये । प्रपत्नेः ॥

नमोऽन्यपदार्थे वाच्ये वा चोत्तरपदार्थे ॥ २ ॥ अथानिपत्ये । अथ ॥

अन्तीनि विभक्त्यर्थेन रूपसमस्यम् । अन्तिनीध गी ॥

830. Two or more words, ending in the First case-affix, form a compound, (denoting, another new thing, not connoted by those words individually) and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi.

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first; as प्राप्तावको ग्रामः = प्राप्तावको ग्रामः 'a water-reached village.' ऊरुधोऽगङ्गात् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn.' उपहतपशून् रुद्रः 'Rudra to whom cattle is offered.' उद्युतोऽन्ना स्थानी 'a vessel in which rice is placed,' पीताम्बरधरि 'Hari wearing yellow garments.' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men.'

The Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case. As वृष्टे देवे गतः 'gone when it had rained.'

The Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded; as एषामिहृन्मनस्य ॥

Vart :—The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c. should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term. As प्रपतितं पर्णसस्य = प्रपर्णः 'a tree of which the leaves are all fallen.'

Vart :—The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms. As अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अयुजः 'childless.' So also वधार्थः wifeless.

Compounds like अस्तिशीर should be stated as Bahuvrīhi. As अस्तिशीर ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmanī having milk.' These words are indeclinables. The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb.

Note :—Why have we used the word "anyu" in the sūtra? So that the difference of the scopes of the Tatpurusha and the Bahuvrīhi may be indicated. A Tatpurusha denotes the very thing or object expressed by the words of the compound, (स्वपदार्थे हि स्वपदार्थे तत्पुरुषः); while a Bahuvrīhi always denotes another object, not denoted by the words of the compound.

८३१ । शिष्याः पुत्रहन्तापितपुत्रकादन्तुः समानाधिकरणे शिष्यामपूरीप्रियादिषु । ६ । ३ । ३४ ॥

भाषितपुत्रहन्तः कडोऽभाषो यस्त्वामिह हन्तीति शिष्यामपूरीप्रियादयो अन्तुः । पदार्थस्य लुक् । तुल्ये प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ते बहुवचसि हन्तास्य कडोऽभाषो यत्र तथानुसृत्य स्त्रीशरणमभ्यस्य पुत्रावकस्तेन रूपे स्वात्मनाधिकरणे लोभिते उत्तरपदे । ननु हन्ता प्रियाई च यन्म । योऽप्योर्वात्त इत्येव ।

चित्रा गावो यस्येति भौतिकविग्रहे चित्रा अम् गो अम् इत्यभौतिकविग्रहे । चित्रगुः । रूपव-
कार्थः । चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्येति विग्रहे अनेकोन्नेर्बहूनामपि बहुव्रीहिः ।

अत्र केचित् । चित्राजरतीगुः । जरतीचित्रागुर्वा । एवं दीर्घान्तन्वीकङ्कः । तन्वीदीर्घाजङ्गः ।
विपदे बहुव्रीही प्रथमं न पुंवत् । उत्तरपदस्य मध्यमेन व्यवधानात् । द्वितीयमपि न पुंवत् । पूर्वपदत्वाभावात् ।
उत्तरपदवाच्यो हि समासस्य चरमावयवे कङ्कः । पूर्वपदवाच्यस्तु प्रथमावयवे कङ्कइति वदन्ति ।

वस्तुतस्तु नेह पूर्वपदमाक्षिप्यते । आनङ् कृत इत्यत्र यथा । तेनोपान्वयस्य पुंवदेव ।
चित्राजरद्विरत्यादि । अत एव चित्राजरत्नौ गावो यस्येति द्वन्द्वगर्भेऽपि चित्राजरद्विरिति भाव्यम् ।
कर्मधारयपूर्वपदे तु द्वयोरपि पुंवत् । जरथित्रगुः । कर्मधारयोत्तरपदे तु चित्राजरद्वीकः ।

स्त्रियाः किम् । ग्रामाणि कुलं दृष्टिरस्य ग्रामाणिदृष्टिः ।

भाषितपुंस्कात्किम् । गङ्गाभार्यः ।

अनुरु किम् । वामोरुभार्यः ।

समानाधिकरणे किम् । कल्याण्याः माता कल्याणीमाता ।

स्त्रियां किम् । कल्याणीं प्रधानं यस्य स कल्याणीप्रधानः । पूरण्यां तु ॥

831. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is
(a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and
does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ् and is followed by
another feminine word in the relation of apposition with
it;) but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral,
nor स्त्रिय &c. (see under 835 for the list of Priyādi
words)

Note:—The words of this sūtra require some analysis for better
comprehension. स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the masculine,"
i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word.
भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमाद्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word
which has an equivalent masculine, (the correspondence must be in the form
(भाकृति) and the connotation (जादान) of the two words; that is when
both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same
objects, but of different genders.) A word which has not the affix
ऊङ् is called अनुरु ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a
corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of
course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कादनुद् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The
word भाषितपुंस्कादनुद् is a Bahuvrīhi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously,
while the whole compound is in the genitive case, the affix being elided anomalously.
If such a भाषितपुंस्कादनुद् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine
form. Provided that, the second member is a समानाधिकरणे i. e. a word in
apposition with the first, and (स्त्रिशब्द) of the feminine gender; with the exception
of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of स्त्रिय &c.)

Thus चित्रयुः "He who has brindled cows." Here यो is shortened by 1. 2. 48. S. 656. The ordinary analysis of this word is चित्रागाधो वस्य; while its grammatical analysis is चित्रा + जस (PI) + यो + जस् (PI). Here चित्रा becomes masculine चित्र; and यो is shortened to यु॥ Similarly रूपवद्भायः॥

Similarly there may be compounding of more than two words as चित्रा जरती गौरवस्य॥ Here according to some we have either चित्रा-जरतीयुः or जरतीचित्रायुः॥ So also दीर्घातन्वीचक्षुः or तन्वीदीर्घाचक्षुः॥ "The first member retains its gender in a Bahuvrīhi of three words, because the first word is separated from the last by an intermediate word. The second word also does not become masculine, because it is not the *first* word in the compound. The word उत्तरपद 'last word' is the technical name of the last member of a compound; while पूर्वपद "first word," is similarly confined to the first member of a compound. Therefore in a compound of three words or more, the second term though an uttarapada in relation to the first, is not called uttarapada; similarly this second term though a pūrva-pada with relation to the third, is not called pūrva-pada" Thus say some grammarians.

But as a matter of fact, there is not in the sūtra any such word as pūrva-pada; and the word should not be inserted in it. For if पूर्वपद qualified this sūtra, it would similarly qualify VI. 3. 25 S. 921, and therefore though we could form होतापांतायौ by आनङ्; we could not form होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गाताः, but नेष्टृ + उद्गाताः॥ But in the Mahābhāṣya we find नेष्टोद्गाताः॥ Therefore, the penultimate word will become masculine; and the proper form is चित्राजस्रुः &c. Therefore in चित्राजरत्यौ गायौ वस्य "he who has one brindled and one old cow" though it is a portion of a dwandva compound, we have चित्राजरतुः only. This is in the Mahābhāṣya. But when the first member is a Karmadhāraya compound, then both terms become masculine, as जरच्चित्रयुः "He who has an old brindled cow." The compounding here is by II. 1. 49 S. 726. But when the last term is a Karmadhāraya compound, we have चित्रजरत्नीकः॥ First we combine जरती and गौ in a karmadhāraya compound, जरती चार्त्ती गौध = जरत्नी which is formed by adding the feminine affix ङीष् to the word जरत्न formed by the samāsānta affix टच् (V. 4. 92 S. 729). Then we form the Bahuvrīhi चित्रा and जरत्नी वस्य = चित्राजरत्नीकः the affix कच् is added by V. 4. 153 S. 533.

So also दर्शनीयभायः (= दर्शनीयानां यो वस्य) Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ङच्, but in the affix ङा; it is followed by another feminine word भाय which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the चित्रादि class; hence this

word एवंनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word एवंनीयः ॥ So also श्रद्धाचूडः, दीर्घाक्षः ॥

Why do we say स्त्रियाः for a feminine word? Observe घातयि प्राज्ञानकुलेष्टिरस्य = घातयिष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine भावितपुंस्कः)? Observe गङ्गाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of गङ्गा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form सनायामाङ्गुली"? Observe द्वैणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्वेण has not the same significance as द्वेणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊह? Observe वानोक्तभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याणामाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi." Why do we say स्त्रियाम् followed by a feminine word? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानः यस्य स = कल्याणीप्रधानः ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? The next sūtra applies to ordinals.

८३२ । अपूर्णीप्रमाणयोः । ५ । ४ । ११६ ॥

पूर्णाधर्मस्यमातां यन् स्त्रीविद्गं तदन्तात्प्रमाप्यन्तात् बहुप्राक्षेप् स्थान् । कल्याणी पञ्चमी यातां रात्रीणां ताः कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः । स्त्री प्रमाणी यस्य स स्त्रीप्रमाणः । पुंस्त्वावप्रतिषेधोऽप्यत्ययप्रधानपूरणमात्रेव । रात्रिः पूरणी रात्र्या चैरुक्तोदाहरणे सुख्या । अन्यत्र तु ॥

832. The affix *ap* comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound, ending in a feminine ordinal Numeral or in the word *pramāṇi*.

The word *पूरणी* means words in the feminine gender ending in an ordinal affix (V. 2. 48 S. 1849 &c). *प्रमाणी* means 'a witness, 'a principal'. Thus कल्याणी पञ्चमी यातां रात्रीणां = कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रयः "the nights, the fifth of which is auspicious." कल्याणीदशमा रात्रयः ॥ So also स्त्रीप्रमाणी एषां = स्त्रीप्रमाणाः कुड्मिनः meaning भार्याप्रधानाः "having a woman for authority".

The affix *पृ* and the prohibition of masculine substitution apply when the Ordinal Numeral is the principal (*pradhāna*) member in a compound. When the Ordinal enters fully into another object, and is not merely wrapped up as it were in another object in a secondary way, there the Ordinal is the principal. The prohibition of *puṇvad-bhāva*—the change of feminine into masculine ordained by V. 3. 34 S. 831—, applies also to the Ordinal when it is *pradhāna*. Therefore, the affix is not added here. वरदाष्टममीदः पता = वरदाष्टी षष्ठमा वसिन् वधु ॥

But when it is not so ; then instead of अच् we have कच् as by the next sūtra.

८३३ । नवृत्तश्च । ५ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नवृत्तपवादन्तोत्तपवाध बहुव्रीहिः कप्स्यात् । पुंश्रवावः ॥

833. The affix कच् is added to a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which is a (feminine word ending in long ई or ऊ defined as a) nadi word, or which ends in a short अ ॥

Note.—The word नदी is defined in I. 4. 2. S. 286. Thus बहुकुमारीको देशः (बह्व्यः कुमार्योऽस्मिन्देशे), बहुब्रह्मबन्धकः ॥ बहुकर्तृकः ॥ The त in अत् is for the sake of euphony.

There is punvad-bhāva (masculine substitution) in such compounds.

Thus कल्याणी + पंचमी + कच् ॥ Now at this stage, the next sūtra requires that the long ई be shortened.

८३४ । केऽणः । ७ । ४ । १५४ ॥

के केऽणे ह्रस्वः स्यात् । इति माप्ते ॥

834. Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened.

Note.—As शका, (VII. 3. 47 S. 466) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ, ई and ऊ only ? Observe गौका, बौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Unādi diversity. with the affix क added to रा and धा (Un. III. 40)

By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कच् ; it therefore implies that कच् is governed by this rule, though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kātyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the kṛit क of the Unādi, as राका, धाका ; but Unādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि), and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra.

Therefore कल्याणी + पंचमी + कच् = कल्याणी + पंचमि + कच् ॥ But the shortening is prevented by the next sūtra.

८३५ । न कपि । ७ । ४ । १५५ ॥

कपि परे ह्रस्वी न स्यात् । कल्याणपंचमीकः पक्षः । अथ विरोदितावयवैदस्य पक्षस्यान्यपक्ष-
र्थतया रात्रिप्रधानम् । बहुकर्तृकः । अविद्यादिषु किम् । कल्याणीमिव ।
प्रिया । मनोज्ञा । कल्याणी । सुभगा । दुर्भगा । भक्तिः । सन्निधा । स्वका । कान्ता । सान्ता । सखा ।
अपक्वा । दुदिता । वामा । अचला । सनाथा ॥

यस्मिन्नेति वक्ष्यमाणो ह्रस्वः परस्वास्तुं वक्ष्यं वा भवेत् । पङ्क्तिरा । पङ्क्तिना । पङ्क्तरी । पङ्क्तासीया । दर्शनीयकल्पा । दर्शनीयदेशीया । दर्शनीयरूपा । दर्शनीयपाशा । बहुधा । प्रशस्ता वृक्षी वृक्षातिः । अजाभ्यो हिता अजध्या ॥

शस्ति बहुलपार्थस्य पुंवद्भावी वक्तव्यः ॥ वङ्गीभ्यो वेदि बहुशः । अल्पाभ्यो वेदि अल्पशः ॥ स्वसलोयुग्मवचनस्य * ॥ शुक्लया भावः शुक्लत्वम् । शुक्लता । शुण्वन्नस्य किम् । कर्ज्या भावः कर्जीत्वम् । शरद् कृतार्थतत्त्वाद्वा तु सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥

भत्याडे तद्विधे " ॥ इस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकम् । अडे किम् । रोहिणेयः । स्त्रीभ्यो डगिति ङीष् च भूयते । अप्रेशगिति ङकि तु पुंवदेव । अग्राथी देवताऽस्य स्थायीपाकस्याग्निः । सपत्नीशब्दस्त्रिया । शत्रुपयस्यास्तपन्नशब्दाच्छार्ङ्गशब्दात् ऊर्न्मैकः । समानः पत्नैर्वैश्या इति विग्रहे विवाहनिबन्धनं पत्निसङ्घमाश्रित्य मित्र्यस्त्रीलिङ्गे द्वितीयः । स्वानिपयोजपतिशब्देन भाषितपुंस्कस्तृतीयः । आद्ययोः शिवाद्यण् । सपत्न्या अपत्यं सापन्नः । तृतीयात् लिङ्गविशिष्टपांभापद्या पत्युश्चरपदलक्षणो ऽय एव । न स्वण् । शिवाद्यै रूढयोरेव ग्रहणात् । सापत्यः ।

उक्छलैः ॥ भवत्याश्छाया भावत्काः भवदीयाः ।

एतद्वर्णिकमेकमहिने चेति सर्वं च न कर्तव्यम् । सर्वनामो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भावे इति भाष्यकारोऽप्य गतार्थत्वात् । सर्वकाम्यति । सर्विकामार्था यस्य स सर्वकामार्थः । सर्वप्रिय इत्यादि । पुत्रैर्वैवहेम् । भक्षैर्वाह्नेति लिङ्गात् । तेनाकापि एकशेषवृत्तौ च न । सर्विका । सर्वाः ॥

कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डाभिर्दु " ॥ कुक्कुट्या अण्डं कुक्कुटाण्डम् । घृयाः णं घृगपदम् । घृगशीरम् । काकाद्याः ॥

836. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c. (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17. S. 2085).

We must enumerate these affixes, lest we should include too many or too few. The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: च and तस्, तरप्, and तमप्, चरद्, जालीवर, कल्पप्, (देश्य), देशीयर्, रूपप्, वासप्, (यन), यात्, (ल and हर्ल), तिद्, ध्वम् (जातिन) ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender.

Thus (1) च=बहुव, (2) ङल्=बहुवः both with the force of locative वङ्गीषु ॥ (3—4) तरद् and तमप्, as दर्शनीयतरा and दर्शनीयतमा ॥ These affixes are called च and so the rule VI. 3. 43 S. 985 causes shortening and this shortening being subsequent prevents the masculine substitution even. Thus not वङ्कत and वङ्कतम्, (as given in some texts); but पङ्क्तिरा and पङ्क्तिना ॥ (5) चरद् (V. 3. 53. S. 1999) as पङ्क्तरी ॥ (6) जालीयर् (V. 3. 69 S. 2024) as पङ्क्तासीया ॥ (7) कल्पप्, as दर्शनीयकल्पा ॥ (8) देशीयर् as दर्शनीयदेशीया ॥ (9) रूपप् (V. 3. 66 S. 2021) as दर्शनीयरूपा ॥ (10) वासप् (V. 3. 47. S. 1993) as दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ (11) यात् (V. 3. 23 S. 1971) as बहुधा ॥ (12) तिद् (V. 4. 41 S. 3505) as वृक्षातिः (=प्रशस्ता वृक्षी) ॥ (13) ध्वम् (V. 1. 8. S. 1669) as, अजाभ्या (=अजाभ्योहिताः) ॥

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प and their synonyms are changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस् :—as बहुभ्यो वेदि = बहुव्यो वेदि ; अल्पभ्यो वेदि = अल्पव्यो वेदि ॥ See V. 4. 42. S. 2109.

Vart:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine, before the affixes स्व and कम् ॥ शुक्लया भावः = शुक्लत्वम्, so also शुक्लता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कर्त्या भावः = कर्तृत्वम् ॥ In the example "निरीक्ष्य मेने शरवः कृतार्थता," the word कृतार्थ is Neuter in the generic significance. For though शरवः is feminine, the word is not कृतार्थता ॥

Vart:—The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except द्, when the word gets the designation of न् ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां सपुत्रः = हस्तिकम् by द्क् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256). Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148 S. 311.) the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being asiddha (VI. 4. 22. S. 2183) and also by I. 1. 57 S. 50 sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144 S. 679 ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हस्तिनिकम् instead of हस्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of द्'? Observe रोहिनेयः the masculine being रोहित ॥ To रोहित is added डीप् and ह् changed to न् by IV. 1. 39 S. 496 and we have रोहिणी ॥ Had there been puṇvad bhāva, रोहिनेयः would have been the form. The द् taken here is the द् of the sūtra IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 and not the द्क् of IV. 2. 33 S. 1236. Thus आग्नेयः (= अग्राणी देवता अथवा स्थानीयाकारयः) ॥

The word सपत्नी has three meanings. (1) Formed by adding डीप् under शार्ङ्गसाहि class to सपद meaning 'an enemy.' सपत्नी 'a female enemy.' (2) a co-wife, सगानः पतिर्यस्याः। It shows marital relation, and is always feminine, having no corresponding masculine. (3) where पति means 'lord' (not husband): and that सपत्नी has a corresponding masculine. It means a female servant of the same master. The first two take the कण् of तिप्तस्ति. As सपत्न्या जपत्ये = सापत. 'the son of a female-enemy or of a co-wife.' In the case of the third, the affix will be ष्य, and not जश् because तिप्तस्ति कण् applies to rudhī words only, and not to the youngika word. Its form will be सापत्यः ॥

Vart:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes क्क् and कम् ॥ As नयत्या रक्षाया = नायकायः, नयतीयाः ॥ This Vārtika and the sūtra एकतादिनेष (VI. 3. 62 S. 1000) need not have been made. Because the result obtained by these could be got by the general rule (iṭhi) of the Bhāṣyakāra (Patanjali): "there is masculinization of sarva-namans whenever they take part in any grammatical function." As (1) सर्वदयः (2) सर्वकाम्यसि, (3) सर्वकामार्थ दायक = सर्वकामार्थ in spite of VI. 3. 37 S. 838. (4) सर्वविदाः &c. In the first the

affix is नयद् which is not included in Tasilādi class of this sūtra, and yet it causes masculation. The third would not have become masculine by VI. 3. 34 because VI. 3. 37 S. 838 would have prevented it.

So also सर्वप्रियः in spite of the exception of VI. 3. 34 S. 881 with regard to प्रिय &c. That exception finds its scope in examples like रूपवतीप्रियः &c.

If a sarvanāman always becomes masculine in every grammatical function, it ought to be so when it stands as a second member of a compound, as in सदितरा and सदस्या ॥ Here इतरा and सस्या ought to become masculine. But it is not so, because the rule applies to the first (pārva) member of the compound. When a pronominal is a *first* member of a compound then it becomes masculine and not when it is the last term. This we infer from the implication of VII. 3. 47 S. 466. That sūtra contains two pronominals एषा and ह्य and if they were to become masculine even in Taddihta function (i. e. when क is added), there would have been no scope for the इ of that sūtra. Hence there is this inference that a sarvanāma does not necessarily become masculine before अवक्च् or in ekasesha; as सर्विका with akach; and सर्वाः plural being eka-śesha

Vart :—The words कुक्कुली &c. become masculine before कण्ठ &c. as, कुक्कुल्या कण्ठ = कुक्कुलकण्ठम् ॥ मृग्याः पदे = मृगपदम्, मृग्याः क्षीरे = मृगक्षीरम्, कान्ध्याः धावः = कान्धधावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

प३७ । क्यङ्मानिनोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतयोः परतः पुंसतः । एनीयाचरति एतायते । श्वेनीयाचरति श्वेतायते । स्वभिन्नां कांपिदर्शनीयां मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी । दर्शनीयां स्त्रियं मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी चैत्रः ॥

837. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed in to masculine before the Denominative क्यङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, श्वेनी—श्वेतायते ॥ मानिनः—दर्शनीयमानिनी अयमस्यः "He esteems her as handsome". दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः) "She esteems her (some one else other than herself) as handsome." The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words :—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यद्वत्तां = दर्शनीयमानिनी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यद्वत्तां = दर्शनीयमानिनी अयमस्याः ॥

Note :—The affix क्यङ् is added under III. 1. 11 S. 2665. Thus in एनीयाचरति, श्वेनीयाचरति, the feminine words एनी and श्वेनी become एत and श्वेत ॥ The lengthening takes place by VII. 1. 25 S. 2208. and we have एता and श्वेता ॥

The word नास्मिन् is separately used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule applies even to non appositional words, and non-feminine (masculine) words ; which was not the case under the last sūtra.

८३८ । न कोपधायाः । ६ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः न पुंवत् । पाचिकाभार्यः । रसिकाभार्यः । मद्विकायते । मद्विकामानिनी ॥
कोपधमद्विषे तद्धित वुमङ्गम * नेह । पाका भार्या यस्य स पाकभार्यः ॥

838. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, रसिकाभार्यः, मद्विकायते, मद्विकामानिनी ॥ This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36: and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vartt:—The rule applies to the क् of the affix वु and the Taddhita क् and not to every क् ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः (पाकाभार्या यस्य) ॥ The word पाका means “ young ” and is formed by the Unādi affix क् (Un V. 53). This is neither a Taddhita क् nor a क् of वु affix.

८३९ । संज्ञापुरण्योश्च । ६ । ३ । ३८ ॥

जनयोर्न पुंवत् । दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी । शनक्रियानिनिचः स्त्रियां पुंसि च संज्ञाभूततोऽयमिति भाषितपुंस्करमस्ति । पञ्चमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा ॥

839. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी ॥ The word दत्ता is a Bhāshita punsa word, for both men and women can become objects, of the verb दा ' to give ', so दत्ता has a corresponding masculine noun दत्त; though both may be proper Names. So also पञ्चमीभार्यः and पञ्चमीपाशा ॥ Here the affix पाशद् is added by पाथेपाशर् (V. 3. 47 S. 1993).

८४० । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे । ६ । ३ । ३९ ॥

वृद्धिपक्षेन विहिता या वृद्धिस्वदेतुर्गस्तद्धिताऽरक्तविकारार्थस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सौम्रीभार्यः । माधुरीयते । माधुरीमानिनी । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य क्त्वि । मध्यमभार्यः । तद्धितस्य क्त्वि । वृद्धिपक्षेन विहितः । तद्विकारः ॥ रक्तं तु ॥ तादासी पन्था इत्यस्य तादासीपन्थः । विक्री तु हेनौ वृद्धिना यस्येति हेमवृद्धिकः । वृद्धिपक्षेन वृद्धि मनि कश्चैकनोपधानाभावादिति पुंवत् । वेदाकारणभार्यः । सौम्यभार्यः ॥

840. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the

Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, by its own force by the employment of the term Vṛiddhi, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'.

Thus सौमित्राभ्याः, मायुरीयते, and मायुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vṛiddhi'? Observe मध्यमार्थः ॥ मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix न IV. 3. 8. S. 1378 which does not cause Vṛiddhi. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलावर्धः (काण्डं लुनाति=काण्डलायी with अण् (कर्मण्) and ङीष् ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made there of'? Observe. कपादेण रक्षा = कापायी, कापायी कन्या यस्य = कापायकन्याः, हेमस्य विकारोद्देशी, हेमीशुद्धिका = हेमशुद्धिकाः (IV. 3. 140 S. 1520). What do we mean "by the phrase by the employment of the term शास्त्र"? The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or झ् or क् &c which causes Vṛiddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तद्वर्धार्थः (तावन्ती भाव्यो यस्य) ॥ Here the affix वनुष् V. 2. 39 S. 1840 added to वद् does not cause Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi, but by VI. 3. 91. S. 430 which says "आ is substituted for the final of a pronoun before वद्" ॥ Though आ is a Vṛiddhi letter, it is ordained here not by employing the term Vṛiddhi, but simply as आ ॥

But in सैव्यकरणार्थः "He whose wife is a grammarian", and सौवश्वमार्थः "whose wife is the daughter of a good horseman," there is masculine substitution, because there is absence of the result of Vṛiddhi by using the word Vṛiddhi. The word निमित्त in the sūtra denotes "causing or producing the result or fruit." Now when तद्वधीते तद्वद् अण् (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) is added to व्याकरण, and तस्यापत्यं अण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088) is added to स्वश्व, there would be Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, but that is debarred by VII. 3. 5 S. 1098 which says:—"Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative झ्, ण् or क् the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semivowels." Thus though the Taddhita अण् would cause Vṛiddhi, the fruit is not actually produced, hence the rule does not apply in सैव्यकरणार्थो भाव्यो यस्य, and सौवश्वी भाव्यो यस्य ॥

८४१ । स्वाङ्गाद्येतः । ६ । ३ । ४० ॥

स्वाङ्गाद्य ईकारान्तेना स्त्री न पुंनृत् । सुकेसीभार्यः । स्वाङ्गाधिक्यम् । षट्भार्यः । ईतः कियः । अकेसीभार्यः ॥ अमानिनीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सुकेसीभार्यी ॥

841. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine.

Thus सुकेशीभार्यः । Why do we say 'the name of a part of body' ? Observe पदुभार्यः (पदु not denoting any bodily member). Why do we say 'a feminine in ई' ? Observe अकेशभार्यः (अकेश भार्या, not ending in long ई) ॥

Vārtika :—There is an exception when the word मानिन follows. Thus सुकेशमानिनी ॥

८४२ । जातेश्च । ६ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातेः परो यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तं न पुंवत् । शूद्राभार्यः । ब्राह्मणी भार्यः ॥ सौत्रस्थैवार्यं विशेषः । तेन हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र + भस्वादे—इति तु भवत्येव ॥

842. A feminine noun expressing jāti (and ending in a feminine affix) does not become masculine.

Thus शूद्राभार्यः, ब्राह्मणीभार्यः ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् for the prohibition applies to the feminines formed by affixes, and not to Taddhitas. Here the *vārtika* भस्वादे given under VI. 3. 35 S. 836. will apply of course.

८४३ । संख्यायाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये । २ । २ । २५ ॥

संख्येयार्थेया संख्ययाऽव्ययादयः समस्यन्ते स बहुव्रीहिः । दशानां समीप ये सन्ति ते उपदशाः नव एकादशेत्यर्थः । बहुव्रीहिौ संख्येयेति वक्ष्यमाणा उच्य ॥

843. Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adūra 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called saṅkhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another saṅkhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or saṅkhyā. The compound is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus उपदशाः (V. 4. 73 S. 551) those who are near ten i. e. nine or eleven. Similarly उपविंशः 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI. 4. 142 S. 844). By V. 4. 73 S. 551, the affix दश comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral.

८४४ । ति विशतेर्दिति । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

विशतेर्भवेति विशतस्य लोपः स्यादिति । जातताविंशः । विशतेरासन्ना इत्यर्थः । आदूरविंशः । अधिकसंख्येयविंशः । द्वा वा त्रयो वा द्विधाः । द्विपञ्चाशः यत्र द्विंशः । विशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

844. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicatory उ, the ति is elided.

Thus वासत्रविंशः 'nineteen' or twentyone'; अत्रविंशः 'twenty-nine or thirty one'; अधिकचत्वारिंशः 'forty-one.'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded; as, द्विंशः 'two or' three.' द्विंशः 'twenty.'

८४५ । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले । २ । २ । २६ ॥

विंशो नामान्यन्तराले वाच्ये प्राग्वत् । इतिशब्दाः पूर्वस्याश्च विंशोऽन्तरालं दक्षिणपूर्वा । नामग्रहण-
योगिकानां न । एन्धाश्च कौबेर्योश्चान्तरालं दिक् ॥

845 Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakṣiṇa-pūrvā, 'south-east,' (the direction midway between south and east.) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north-east.'

The word नाम is introduced in the sūtra in order to indicate that no compounding takes place, when the words denoting direction are derivative words, whose primary signification is not indicative of direction; as ऐन्धाश्चकौबेर्यश्च दिशोर्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north.' Here the words ऐन्ही 'east' and कौबेरि 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding.

८४६ । तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे । २ । २ । २७ ॥

सन्तम्यन्तो ग्रहणविषये सरूपे षडे तृतीयात्तो च ग्रहणविषये इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थे समत्येते
कर्मण्यतिहारे यौत्वे स षट्प्रीतिः । इतिशब्दाश्च विषयविशेषो लभ्यते ॥

846. Two homonymous words both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case, are compounded, the sense being 'this happens, therein or with that.' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi.

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case.' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case.' The word सरूपे or 'similar form' applies to both. The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting.' All these senses are implied by इति ॥ The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of *seizing*; and the word is exhibited

in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of *striking*; the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्धः ॥ Now applies the following sūtra:—

८४६ क । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ॥

दीर्घ इत्यनुवर्तते । इच्चि कर्मव्यतिहारि बहुव्रीहि पूर्वपदान्तस्य दीर्घः । इच् समासान्तो वक्ष्यते । तिष्ठदसुप्रभृतिष्विष्यत्प्रत्ययस्य षाडादव्ययीभावश्चमन्त्रयस्त्वं च । केशेषु केशेषु मूलीस्वेवं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं केशाकेशि । वृन्दैर्वृन्दैश्च प्रभृत्येवं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं वण्डादण्डि । मुष्टीमुष्टि ॥

846 A. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

(This sūtra is taught in S. 3539 also).

The word *dirgha* is understood in this sūtra from the preceding Aṣṭādhāyī sūtra VI. 3. 111. The final of the prior member in a Bahuvrīhī compound is lengthened, before the samāsānta affix इच् when reciprocity of action is meant. The samāsānta इच् will be taught later on (V. 4. 12; S. 866). The इच् affix is read in the Tīṣṭhādga class (II. 1.17. S. 671 and so these compounds are Avyayibhāvas and Indeclinables.

As केशेषुकेशेषु च मूलीत्या इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं = केशाकेशि 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair'; वृन्दैश्च वृन्दैश्च प्रभृत्य इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तं = वण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave: ' so also मुष्टी मुष्टि ॥

८४७ । ओर्मुणः । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

उचर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणः स्वाचर्द्धिते । णवादेशः । बाहूबाहवि । ओरोरिति दक्तव्ये मुनोक्ति संज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनिन्न इति ज्ञापयितुम् । तेन स्वाद्यमुपमित्यादि सिद्धम् । सरुवे इति किम् । वृत्ते गुसलेन ॥

847. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem. there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाहूबाहवि "hand to hand." Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरोर्मु 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुण in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, aditya and we have forms like म्याद्येमुः from स्वद्यम् without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

Why do we say in the preceding sūtra S. 846 सरुवे 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following: इतिच गुसलेन दक्षर इति युद्धं वृत्तम् ॥

८४८ । तेन सहैति तुल्ययोगे । २३ । २८ ॥

तुल्ययोगे र्सनाने सहैवेतत्तीयागतेने प्राग्वन् ॥

848. The word *saha* 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi; provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner.

Thus सह+पुत्रेण ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which सह is changed to स ॥

८४९ । वोपसर्जनस्य । ६ । ३ । ५२ ॥

बहुव्रीहयवचस्य सहस्य संः स्याद्वा । पुत्रेण सह सपुत्रः सहपुत्री वा आगतः । तुल्ययोगवचनं प्रायिकम् । सकर्तृकः । सलोककः ॥

849. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—वोपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound; because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood; Thus पुत्रेण सह = सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, आगतः ॥

Note :—Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहपुत्राय, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्वाप्रियः or सहपुत्रप्रियः ॥

How do we get the forms like सकर्तृकः, सलोककः, सपत्न्यकः &c. in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचनं प्रायिकं) ॥

Note :—Thus सह पुत्रेणागतः = सपुत्रः (VI. 3. 82, सह changed to स) 'he has come accompanied by his son'. सच्छात्रः 'accompanied by the pupil.' सकर्तृकः 'accompanied by the servant.'

Why do we say 'tulya-yoga'? Witness सहैव दशभिः पुत्रैर्मरि यद्वति गर्दभी 'the she-ass carries the whole burden, though 'here exist her ten sons.'

८५० । प्रकृत्याशिधिः । ६ । ३ । ५३ ॥

सहस्रसहः प्रकृत्या श्यानामिदि । स्वस्ति राजे सहपुत्राय सहमात्याय ॥ अगोदरसहोदयेति प्राच्यम् * ॥ सगर्दः । सवत्साय । सहस्राय ॥

850. The word सह retains its original form, when the sentence denotes benediction.

Thus स्वस्ति एते सहपुत्राय, सदागताय ॥

Vartika :—But optionally so when it is गो, वस्तु or हस्ते:—as, स्वस्ति भवेत्तु सहगवे or सगवे, सहवस्ताय or सहवस्तुय, सहहस्त्य, or सहसाय ॥

८५१। बहुव्रीहौ संख्येयं डजघहुगणात् । ५ । ४ । ७३ ॥

संख्येये यो बहुव्रीहस्तस्माद्धुं स्यात् । उपपत्त्याः । अजहृगणोक्तिकम् । उपबह्वंशः । संप्रगणैः । अत्र स्वर विशेषः ॥ संख्यावास्तत्पुरुषस्य वाच्यः ॥ निर्गतानि चित्राणि वर्षाणि चैवस्य । निर्गतचित्रातोऽहृगुलिभ्यो निचित्रः सङ्गः ॥

851. The affix ḍach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral, except when the last term of such compound is bahu and gaṇa.

This Bahuvrīhi is formed by rule II. 2. 25. S. 843. Thus उपपत्त्याः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting a numeral' ? Observe चित्रसुः, सचलसुः ॥

Why do we say 'not after bahu and gaṇa' ? Observe, उपबह्वंशः, उपगणाः ॥ The difference here is in the accent, for had डच् been added, it would have made the final of उपगण acute by चित् accent (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710) but it not being so, the first member retains its accent, namely acute on the first.

Vart :—The Tatpurusha compounds of numerals like निचित्रा &c., take also the affix डच् ॥ Thus निर्गतानि चित्राणि वर्षाणि चैवस्य 'Chaitra is more than thirty years old' निर्गतस्त्रिंशतांगुलिभ्यः = निचित्रः सङ्गः 'the sword is more than thirty fingers long.'

८५२। बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात्पञ्च । ५ । ४ । ११३ ॥

पञ्चवेन चर्तौ । स्वाङ्गाभिषक्त्यध्यक्ष्यन्ताङ्गव्रीहे षष्प स्यात् । वीर्यं सक्थ्यनी यस्य स वीर्यसक्थः । अतजाक्षी । स्वाङ्गात्पञ्च ॥ वीर्यसक्थि सक्थम् । स्युत्पञ्चा वसुधाटः । अक्ष्णोऽवर्षेणोदितम् ॥

852. The affix shach comes after the words sakthī, and akshī, final in a Bahuvrīhi compound and denoting a portion of one's body.

Thus वीर्यं सक्थ्यनी यस्य = वीर्यसक्थः, so also अतजाक्षी Why do we say 'when denoting a part of the body' ? Observe वीर्यसक्थि सक्थम् । स्युत्पञ्चा वसुधाटः ॥ The affix षष्प is added by V 4. 76 S. 944.

Note:—The word सकथ्यक्ष्णोः is genitive dual, while it ought to be ablative. Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi compound”? Observe परमसक्तिः, परमाक्तिः ॥ Why do we say “after sakthi and aksai? Observe क्षीयन्नादुः, सुखादुः ॥

The new affix षच् is employed instead of दच् for the sake of the accent. Thus षक्त्वक्षी स्त्री, क्षीयसक्ती स्त्री ॥ By sūtra IV. I. 41, S. 498 the feminine of words ending in an affix having an indicatory च् is formed by क्षीच् and not क्षीच् ॥ Had the affix here been दच्, then the feminine would have been formed by क्षीच् (IV. I. 15 S. 470), which is anudatta (III. 1 4). Now by rule VI. 2.198 S. 3932 the second term ‘sakthi’ has *optionally* udatta accent, on the final in a Bahuvrīhi. When therefore, it is not oxytone, then by adding क्षीच् the final of क्षीयसक्ती would have been anudatta, so that the feminine in one case would be oxytone, in the other not, which would be anomalous. But when क्षीच् is added, it is *always* udatta, which is desired: and removes the anomaly. The anuvṛtti of Bahuvrīhi extends up to the end of the chapter.

८५३ । अङ्गुलेर्दाक्षि । ५ । ४ । ११४ ॥

अङ्गुल्यन्ता बहुव्रीहिः षच् स्यादाक्ष्यर्थे । पञ्चाङ्गुल्यो यस्य स पञ्चाङ्गुल्यं वाह । अङ्गुलिस्तद्वशात्तदर्थं धान्यादिविक्षेपकादङ्गुल्यन्ते । बहुव्रीहिः क्तिच् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणस्य द्वाङ्गुला यष्टिः । द्वा द्वित्रितये सत्पुरुषे सत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेरित्यच् । दाक्षणि क्तिच् । पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्दक्षः ॥

853. The affix shach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word *anguli*, when the compound means “a piece of wood.”

Thus पञ्चाङ्गुलं वाह ॥ This is the name of a wooden fork, of the figure of five fingers by which barley &c are scattered.

Why do we say “in a Bahuvrīhi”? Observe द्वाङ्गुलायष्टिः = द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणस्य ॥ It is a Tatpurusha compound formed by V. 4. 86 S. 786 by adding षच् as samāsānta affix, the *anguli* meaning here *size* and not *figure*. Why do we say “when meaning a wood”? Observe पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्दक्षः ॥

८५४ । द्वित्रिष्वं व मूर्ध्नः । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां दुर्ध्वं वः स्याद्बहुव्रीहिः । द्विद्वयः । त्रिद्वयः ॥ नेतुर्नक्षत्रे गच्छन्त्यः “एतौ नेता यतः सहः पृथगेवा राशयः । पुच्छेनेवाः ॥

854. The affix sha comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in *mūrdhan*, and preceded by *dvi* and *tri*.

Thus द्विद्वयः । त्रिद्वयः ॥ The feminine is formed by क्षीच् and the accent is regulated by VI. 2. 197.

Note :—Why do we say “ preceded by *divi* and *tri* ? ” Observe *द्विर्धर्म्या* ॥

Vart :—The affix *अप्* comes after *नेट्* when preceded by a word denoting asterism. As *शृगमेवा राक्षसः = शृगो मेवा राक्षो राक्षीणां* “ the night whose leader is the asterism *mrīga* ” ; so also *पुष्टमेष्टः* ॥

Note—Why do we say “ an asterism ” ?—Observe *द्वेदवत्तनेट्काः* ॥

८५५ । अन्तर्यद्विर्ध्या च लोमः । ५ । ४ । ११७ ॥

भा०यां लोमोऽस्याद्विर्धौ । अन्तर्लोमः । बहिर्लोमः ॥

855. The affix *ap* comes after a *Bahuvrīhi* ending in *loman* and preceded by *antar* and *bahis*.

Thus *अन्तर्गहानि लोमानस्य = अन्तर्लोमः प्रावरः* ‘ a cloak having the hairy surface inside ’. Similarly *बहिर्लोमः पटः* ॥

८५६ । अञ् नासिकायाः संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलान् । ५ । ४ । ११८ ॥

नासिकान्ताद्विद्विरेष् स्यात् नासिकतच्छब्दश्च नसं प्रामोवि नहु स्थूलपूर्वान् ॥

856. The affix *ach* is added to the word *nāsikā* final in a *Bahuvrīhi*, when it expresses a Name, where by *nas* is substituted for *nāsikā*, but not so when the word *sthūla* precedes the word *nāsikā*.

Thus *हु + नासिका = हु + नासिका + अच् = हु + नस् + अच्* ॥ Now applies the following *sūtra* by which *n* is changed to *ṇ* ॥

८५७ । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः । ८ । ४ । ३ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थानिनिच्चारणस्य नस्य याः स्यात्संज्ञायां नहु गकारव्यवधाने । द्विवि नासिकास्य हुगसः । अरगसः । अगः किम् । अच्चारणयने अगयनम् । अगृगयनादिभ्य इति निपातनात् अत्वाभावमा धित्य अग इति पद्याखयात् माव्ये । अस्थूलान्किम् स्थूलगसिकः । अरगसः अगं वा नस् * ॥ अरगः । अरणाः ॥ पञ्च अचपीव्यते ॥ अरगसः अरगसः ॥

857. So also, *व* is replaced by *ण्*, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that, the first member does not end with the letter *न* ॥

Thus *इरव नासिकास्य = हुगसः । अरगसः* ॥

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, अर्धनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न्'? Observe ;
ऋगयनम् ॥

In the Mahābhāṣya, Patanjali has shown that the word नः is superfluous in the sūtra, for the non-change of न to ञ in ऋगयनं can be established by the nipātana of IV. 3. 73. S. 1452, where Pāṇini himself has used the word ऋगयन showing that न is not changed to ञ ॥

Why do we say in 856 'not after स्यूतः'? Observe स्यूतनासिको दशहः ॥

Vast :—After the words स्यूतः and स्यूतः ; for नासिका is substituted नन् but no affix is added : as, स्यूतयाः, स्यूतयाः ॥

Vartika :—In the alternative affix अच् is added, as स्यूतयसः, स्यूतयसः ॥

Iṣṭi :—The forms शिनिनाः, अर्धनाः and स्यूतनाः are valid in the Revelation (the Vedas).

८५८ । उपसर्गाच्च । ५ । ४ । ११९ ॥

प्रायेषो नासिकास्यवत्तदन्ताह्वीहेर्य नासिकाया नसादेशश्च । अस्तंताये वचनम् । उपसर्गाच्च नासिका यस्य स वचनः । उपसर्गादनोत्तर इति ध्वं तद्वत्त्वा भाव्यकारु भावः ॥

858. The affix ach comes after the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when an upasarga precedes it, and सन् is substituted for नासिका ॥

This rule applies where the word is not a sañjñā, as it was in the last. Thus वृत्ता नासिकाऽस्य = वृत्तसः ॥

The next sūtra is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्तरः "after an Upasarga, the न of नन् when not preceded by or followed by an षो, is changed into ञ" ॥ There being several objections to this rule, the following is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya.

Note :—For ओत्तरः may have two meanings :—(1) ओत्तरात् परः, that which comes after ओः ; (2) ओत्तरः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओः ॥ In both cases, the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ञ change would be required in वृत्तो वृत्तसः ; in the second case, there should be no ञ change in वृत्त[पनिर्वृत्ता ॥

In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रणः as well as प्रनः, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment.

८५६ । उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् । ८ । ५ । २५ ॥

उपसर्गस्यात्रिभित्तरपरस्य नसो नस्य णः स्याद्बहुलम् । प्रणसः ॥ देवो वनेत्यः * ॥ विगतं नासिकाऽस्य विमः ॥ ख्यश्च * ॥ विख्यः । कथं तर्हि विनसा हन्तान्धयेति भट्टिः । विगतया नासिकयोः प्लक्षित्वेति स्यादयमर्थः ॥

859 The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change.

Thus प्रणसः

Part :—The न is substituted for नासिका when वि precedes it, As, विगतनासिकाऽस्य = विमः ॥ *Vart* :—So also विख्यः in the same sense.

How do you explain the form विनसा in the following line of Bhaṭṭi :—
"विनसा हन्तान्धयः" It should be explained as विगतया नासिकयोः प्लक्षितम् ॥ Here विनसा is not in the Nominative case, (but is Instrumental singular of विनस् where नस् is substituted for नासिका by VI. 1. 63. S. 228.)

Thus प्रणसः प्रणो धञ् ॥ The change does not sometimes take place, as, प्र नो ह्युच्यते ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also, as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text. Thus प्रणसं दुर्लभं ॥ The word उत्सृजति does not govern this sūtra.

In प्रणसं दुर्लभम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose.' See V. 4. 119. S. 858

८६० । सुमातसुश्वसुदिवशरिक्श्वतुरधैषिपदाजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः । ५ ।
१ । १२० ॥

एते बहुव्रीहाश्चपत्यमान्ता विपात्यन्ते । शोभनं मातरस्य सुमानः । शोभनं श्वोऽस्य सुश्वः । शोभनं विवाऽस्य सुदिवः । शरिरस्य श्वरिक्श्वः । चतुरधैषयोऽस्य चतुरश्वः । प्रोष्ठया ह्यपदाः पृष्ठाः । अजपदाः । प्रोष्ठो गौः तस्यैव पादावप्य प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥

860. The following Bahuvrīhis are irregularly formed by adding ach :—su-prāta, su-śva, sudiva, śārikuk-sha, chaturaśra, eṇi-pada, aja-pada, and prosthā-pada.

In some of the above compounds the *hi* (syllable) is elided. शोभनं प्रातरस्य = सुभातः, शोभनं श्वोऽसिंहं = सुश्वः, शोभनं विषोऽसिंहं = सुविषः ॥ शोभनं कुक्षिरस्य = शोभिकुक्षः, शोभनं उभयोऽसिंहं = चतुरस्रः, एषा ह्य पादावस्य = एणीपदः, So अक्षपदः गोक्षी means 'cow' तस्यैव पादावस्य = गोक्षीर्षः, "whose feet are like cows."

८६१ । नञ्दुःसुभ्यो हलिर्लक्ष्योरन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १२१ ॥

अच् स्वात् । अहलः । अहलिः । अक्षपदः । अक्षपिः । एवं दुःसुभ्याम् । अक्षयोरिति पाठान्तरम् । अक्षपः । अक्षतिः ॥

861. The affix *ach* comes optionally after the words *hali* and *sakthi*, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a Negative particle or by the words *das* and *su*.

Thus अविद्यानां हलिरस्य = अहलः or अहलिः, दुर्हलः or दुर्हलिः, सुहलः or सुहलिः ॥ So also अक्षपः, अक्षपिः, दुःक्षपः or दुःक्षपिः, सुक्षपः or सुक्षपिः ॥

Some read the text as हलिस्तयोः ॥ According to this reading we have अक्षतिः or अक्षत्तः, दुःक्षतिः or दुःक्षत्तः (विद्या शक्तिरस्य), सुक्षतिः or सुक्षत्तः ॥

८६२ । नित्यमसिच् प्रजामेधयोः । ५ । ४ । १२२ ॥

नञ्दुःसुभ्य इति । अप्रजाः । दुष्प्रजाः । सुप्रजाः । अमेधाः । दुर्मेधाः । सुमेधाः ॥

862. The affix *asich* (अस्) comes invariably after *prajā* and *medhā*, final in a Bahuvrīhi, when the above particles *nञ्*, *सु* and *दुस्* precede them.

Thus अविद्यानां प्रजास्य = अप्रजाः, so also दुष्प्रजाः, सुप्रजाः, अमेधाः, दुर्मेधाः, सुमेधाः ॥

Note :—The word "invariably" (नित्य) shows that the anuvritti of the word "optionally" of the last sūtra does not run here. The word *nitya* also indicates that the affix *asich* comes after *prajā* and *medhā* even when preceded by other words. As the word *अल्पमेधसः* in the following.

अल्पमेधस्यैव स राजन्मन्त्रस्त्याल्लेपसः ।

अनुवर्तकृता बुद्धिर्मेधा तत्तद्वर्धयिणी ॥

Note :—The *अ* of *असिच्* is for the sake of pronunciation and to make the stem before it *अ* ॥ Therefore in *सुप्रजस्यै* the *या* is elided by *वर्धयि* *अ* (Vi. 4. 148. S. 311). According to Kāś.kā the base is *अप्रजस्*, &c.

८६३ । धर्मादनिच्केवलान् । ५ । ४ । १२४ ॥

केवलार्थपूर्वपदांशस्य यो धर्मस्यस्तन्ताद्वह्व्रीहोऽपि स्यात् । कल्याणधर्मो । केवलानिच् । परमः स्यो धर्मो यस्येति त्रिविधं बह्व्रीहो ना भूत् । स्वशब्दो हीह न केवलं पूर्वपदं किंतु मध्यमत्वाभावेऽपि-
कम् । संक्षिप्तसाध्यधर्मोऽस्य तु कर्मधारयपूर्वपदो बह्व्रीहिः । एवं तु परमस्वधर्मत्वात् साध्यवत् । निवृत्तिधर्मो अनुच्छित्तिधर्मस्तद्विधत् । पूर्वपदं तु बह्व्रीहिणाक्षिप्यते ॥

863. The affix *anich* (अन्) comes after the word *dharmā*, when it is the last member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, and (is itself the only word without any other word joined with it or) when the first member is a single word.

Thus कल्याणो धर्मोऽस्य = कल्याणधर्मो न०. sin. कल्याणधर्मः ॥ Why do we say केवलान् "when it alone is the last member"? Observe परमः स्यो धर्मोऽस्य = परमस्वधर्मः ॥ Here the word *स्य* is not alone a *pūrvapada* but a middle term; also it is not an independent word; it is not a *pūrvapada* and *pūrvapada* only, but something else also. The word *केवलान्* according to some qualifies the word *पूर्वपद* and according to others the *uttarapada* also. That is the first member must be *one* word though a *compound* word, and they explain such forms as *संक्षिप्तसाध्यधर्मः*; *निवृत्तिधर्मः*; *अनुच्छित्तिधर्मः* (c. g. *अविनाशी वा नरस्यमात्मानुच्छित्तिधर्मः*) as valid. According to *Kaumudī* the *pūrvapada* is like *संक्षिप्तसाध्य* are *Karmadhāraya*. In this view *परमस्वधर्मो* is also valid and correct, like the words *निवृत्तिधर्मः*, *अनुच्छित्तिधर्मः* ॥ According to *Prasādakāra* *केवलान्* qualifies both the words *धर्मो* and *पूर्वपदान्* ॥

Note:—The necessity of *अन्* in *अनिच्* is not very apparent. The affix *निच्* would have served the purpose equally well: for *धर्म + निच् = धर्मन्* ॥ But others say, that the word is not *धर्म* ending with a vowel, but *धर्म* ending with a consonant. It is formed by adding the affix *क्रिच्* to the Denominative of the root derived from the noun *धर्म* by *सत्-करणेति* &c. S. 2573 $\sqrt{\text{कथ}}$ ॥ Therefore *परमो धर्मो यस्य सः परमधर्मः* ॥ The word *धर्म* though defective in one limb, is the same as *धर्म* for grammatical purposes, on the maxim *एकदेशविकृतस्यावयवत्वान्* ॥ When in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, the last member is *धर्म* and the first member is a single word, then the affix *अनिच्* is added. The word *केवलान्* qualifies the first member. But the ancient Grammarians have made the last term also qualified by *केवलान्* ॥ The author of *Prasāda* also has explained *Kevalāt* as an adjective qualifying both the word *dharmā* and the *pūrvapada* or the first member. But both these are very problematic: for there is no proof that the word *kevalāt* should be so repeated as to qualify both the first term and the word *dharmā*. Moreover there is no necessity that the word *dharmā* should be qualified by this term *Kevalāt*. For it cannot

be said that the word *kevalāt* should qualify *Dharma*, in order to prevent the last term from being a compound word *ending* in *dharma*. For in such a case, the word *dharma* does not stand as a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound. Therefore the word *kevalāt* qualifies the *parvapaḍa* only. The *parvapaḍa* must be a *single* word : and not two or more words. Therefore in परमःस्यो धर्मो यस्य the Bahuvrīhi will not be governed by this rule. Because the word *स्य* is not here the only *pārva-paḍa*, but being in the middle is relative.

८६४ । जम्भा हृदरितृणसोमेभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १२५ ॥

जम्भोति कृतसमासान्ते निपात्यते । जम्भो भक्ष्ये वृत्ते च । शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य सुजम्भा ।
हरितजम्भा । तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य तृणमिव वृन्ता यस्येति वा तृणजम्भा । सोमजम्भा । स्वादिभ्यः किर । पतितं-
जम्भः ॥

864. The word “*jambhan*” stands at the end of a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by *su*, *harita*, *trīṇa*, and *soma*.

The *जम्भन्* is a word that has already taken the *samāsānta* affix *अन्* irregularly, and means ‘food’ or ‘tooth.’ Thus *सुजम्भन्*, as (शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य), *सुजम्भा* हेदृच्: so also *हरितजम्भा*, *तृणजम्भा*, (तृणं भक्ष्यं यस्य) *सोमजम्भा* ॥ When it means ‘tooth,’ the compound should be analysed as, *तृणमिव* or *सोममिव जम्भोऽस्य* ॥ Why do we say when preceded by *su* &c.? Observe *पतितजम्भः* ॥

८६५ । दक्षिणेर्मां लुब्धयोगे । ५ । ४ । १२६ ॥

दक्षिणे ईमे व्रणं यस्य दक्षिणेर्मां मृगः । व्याधिव कृतव्रण इत्यर्थः ॥

865. The form “*dakshinerman*” is an irregularly formed Bahuvrīhi, when used in conjunction with a hunter.

The word *लुब्ध* means व्याधि or a fowler, a hunter. Thus *दक्षिणनीर्ममस्य* = *दक्षिणेर्मां मृगः* ‘a stag wounded by the hunter on the right flank.’

Note:—But in the following verse:—*दक्षी हेमाद्वज्रमाली गुणनिधिरिपुणनिर्वृतेर दक्षि-
णेर्मां*, it denotes merely hunting. The word *ईमेम्* means ‘a wound.’ Why do we say ‘in reference to a hunter’? Observe *दक्षिणेर्मन् दक्षकम्* ॥

८६६ । इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे । ५ । ४ । १२७ ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे यौ बहुव्रीहस्तस्यादिच् स्यात्समासान्ते । केशकेशि । वृत्तनावृत्ति ॥

866. The affix *इच्* comes after a Bahuvrīhi when the compound denotes the reciprocity of an action.

The compound denoting reciprocity of action is formed by II. 2. 27. S. 684 Thus *केशकेशि* = *केशेऽऽकेशेऽऽ* गृहीत्वा इच् वृत्ते मृत्तं ॥ So also *वृत्तनावृत्ति* ॥

The affix इच् forms also avyayibhāva compounds, as it occurs in the list of तिष्ठद्गु words II. i. 17. S. 671.

८६७। द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १२८ ॥

तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थेऽथ । एषां सिद्धवर्धमिच् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । द्वौ वृणौ वस्तिमहरणे तद् द्विविधं प्रहरणम् । द्विदण्डलि । उभाहस्ति । उभयाहस्ति ॥

867. The words dvidanḍi &c., are valid forms in ich.

The word द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यः is in the dative case, and not the Ablative case. The dative here has the force of "for the purpose of that" (II. i. 37 S. 698). This word is therefore equal to द्विदण्डवर्धमिच् प्रत्ययो भवति "the affix इच् comes for the sake of the words dvidanḍi &c," i. e. it comes in such a way, as to form the words dvidanḍi &c. These words are used in fixed senses. Thus द्विविधं प्रहरति, द्विदण्डलि प्रहरति, but not here, द्विदण्डा घाल ॥

Note:—Though the context is that of Bahuvrīhi, yet some of these words are Tatparusha: as निकृद्य कर्णोभाषति = निकृद्यकर्णं भाषति ॥ मोहात्तदौ हस्तिनं बाहयति = मोहात्तदौ हस्तिनं बाहयति ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72.

1 द्विविधः, 2 द्विदण्डलि, 3 उभाहस्ति, 4 उभयाहस्ति, 5 उभाहन्ति, 6 उभयाहन्ति, 7 उभाहस्ति, 8 उभयाहस्ति, 9 उभाहर्ण, 10 उभयाहर्ण, 11 उभाहर्ण, 12 उभयाहर्ण, 13 उभाहर्ण, 14 उभयाहर्ण, 15 एकहर्ण, 16 एकहर्ण, 17 एकहर्ण, (याच्यहर्ण), 18 सपदि, 19 निकृद्यकर्ण, 20 संहतपुच्छि, 21 अन्तर्हस्ति ॥

८६८। प्रसंज्ञयां जानुनोष्ठः । ५ । ४ । १२९ ॥

आयां पर्योर्नानुप्रासयोर्ह्रस्वः स्वाहृष्टमीशे । एतन्ते जानुनी यस्य प्रजुः । सजुः ॥

868 After the words pra and sam, there is the substitution of jānu for jānu, when forming the Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus प्रजुः जानुनी यस्य = प्रजुः, So also सजुः ॥

८६९। ऊर्ध्वार्द्धभाषा । ५ । ४ । १३० ॥

ऊर्ध्वः । ऊर्ध्वभाषा ॥

869. The substitution of jānu for jānu is optional, when the word ūrdhva precedes it.

Thus ऊर्ध्वं जानुनी यस्य = ऊर्ध्वजानुः or ऊर्ध्वजुः ॥

८७०। अनुप्रास । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

यद्गुणेतस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निष्ठादेशः स्यात् । शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

870. The 'anañ' is the substitute of the final of 'dhanus' in a Bahuvrīhi.

As शार्ङ्ग धनुस् = शार्ङ्गधन्वः nom. s. शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

८७१ । वा संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३३ ॥

शतधन्वा । शतधनुः ॥

871. The substitution of शतङ् does not optionally take place when the Bahuvrīhi is a Name.

This declares an option, where the last sūtra had made the substitution compulsory. As शतधनुः or शतधन्वा, दृढधनुः or दृढधन्वा ॥

८७२ । जायाया निङ् । ५ । ४ । १३४ ॥

जायान्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निष्ठादेशः स्यात् ॥

872. For the final of जाया is substituted निङ् in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus युवतिर्जायाऽयम् = युवति + जाया = युवति + जाङ् + नि ॥ Now applies the following sūtra, by which अ is elided before नि ॥

८७३ । लोपो व्योर्वलि । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

वकारस्यकारव्योर्लोपः स्याद्वलि । युवद्भावः । युवतिर्जाया यस्य युवज्जातिः ॥

873. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the अ् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

Thus युवतिर्जाया यस्य = युवज्जातिः (जाया + निङ् = जाङ् + निङ् = जा + नि, the अ् being elided by the present rule.) So also युवद्भावः ॥ There is punvad-bhāva also by which युवति (feminine) is changed to युव (masculine).

Note:—The final अ् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c., beginning with a वल् consonant i. e. any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिङ् + वल् (III. 2. 107) = दिङ् + इङ् + वल् = दिङिङ्वल् nom. singular दिङिङ्वान्, दिङिङ्वी, दिङिङ्वावः ॥ Thus उय् + त् = ऊत, 'spun,' ऊय् + त् = कूते 'made a noise.' So also the affix लृक् comes after सोधा in forming patronyms (IV. 1. 129 S. 1135). Of the affix लृक्, इ is replaced by ए (VII. 1. 2 S. 476). Thus सोधा + एल् + र् = सोधेरः (the इ् of the affix being even elided before र्) ॥ So also in वधेरल् the इ् of लिङ् (III. 1. 102 S. 2255) is elided before र् (III. 1. 105 S. 2256). So also व is elided in the following:—from जीव—जीवराजः (by Upādi affix जीवे स्वातुक्) from लिङ्—अस्तेनायम् formed by the Upādi

affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Upādi affixes (III. 3. 1 S. 3169), there is not क् substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except र्?" Observe ऊर्यते, कूर्यते when र् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and र् should take place prior to the elision of the aprīkta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय + किंप् = कण्डूय् and व् (VI. 4. 48 S. 2308) = कण्डू + व् = कण्डूः ॥ So लोह्य × क्विप् = लोहः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र्, which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृक्षति by samprasāraṇa, and व्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaraṅga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by ह्लादिभ्योः are Bahiraṅga.

८७४ । गन्धस्येदुस्पृत्तिसुसुरभिः । ५ । ४ । १३५ ॥

एभ्यो गन्धस्य इकारिज्जवदेव । स्थान् । उद्गन्धिः । पुतिगन्धिः । सुगन्धिः । सुरभिगन्धिः ॥ गन्धस्येवे त्वेकान्तपदण्यम् ॥ एकान्त एकदेव इव अदिभ्यो लक्षणादुत्तरार्धः । सुगन्धि पुर्व सक्तिं च । सुगन्धिर्वापुः । नेह :—सोमना गन्धाः द्रव्याण्यस्य सुगन्ध आशयिकः ॥

874. For the final of गन्ध is substituted इ, when preceded by उद्, पुति, सु and सुरभि in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus the न् of गन्ध is replaced by इ, as उद्गन्धिः, पुतिगन्धिः, सुगन्धिः, सुरभिगन्धिः ॥

Note :—Why after these only? Observe लीलगन्धा वातः ॥

Vārt :—The word गन्ध is a material noun as गन्धान् विवर्ति, and an adjective, as चन्दनगन्धः 'having the scent of sandal.' The rule of substitution applies when it is used as an attribute. सुगन्धिं पुदं सक्तिं च, सुगन्धिर्वापुः ॥ But, not here, सोमना गन्धाद्रिवालि चेत्य=सुगन्ध आशयिकः 'a shopkeeper having many sweet perfumes for sale.'

Note :—The न् of इन् is for the sake of pronunciation only. Some hold that इन् is an affix, and not a substitute (ālopa). In this view the final of गन्ध will be elided by द्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). The word *ekānta* in the vārtika means "a portion," in short the rule applies when gamita is an attributive and not when it is a substantive. Some explain *ekānta* by "natural;" i. e. when an object naturally possesses scent, and not when artificially accented. Therefore not here : आशयि यान् गन्धवद् एगन्धः ॥

८७५ । भट्पादवायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३६ ॥

सूत्राय गन्धो भोक्तो गन्धिरसश्च सुगन्धि भोजनम् । पुनर्गन्धिः । गन्धो गन्धक आयेति भेटो गन्धगर्भोऽस्ति विभ्यः ॥

875. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrihi compound, when गन्ध means 'a little.'

Thus सूयोऽल्पोऽस्मिन् = सूयगन्धि भोजनम् "food with a little broth." So घृतगन्धि "food with a little—a mere scent-of ghee." Here गन्ध is a synonym of अल्प ॥

According to Viśwakosha, Gandha means 'sulphur,' 'delight' (i. e. scent), 'a little particle,' 'connection or relationship,' and 'pride' or 'arrogance.'

८७६ । उपमानाच्च । ५ । ४ । १३७ ॥

पद्मत्वेव गन्धोऽस्य पद्मगन्धिः ॥

876. The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrihi, when preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared.

As पद्मत्वेव गन्धोऽस्य = पद्मगन्धिः, उत्पलगन्धिः; कटीपगन्धिः ॥

८७७ । पादस्य लोपोऽहस्त्यादिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १३८ ॥

हस्त्यादिभर्जितादुपमानांतरस्य पादस्य लोपः स्याद्बहुव्रीहे । स्यानिहारेण्यं सनासान्तः । व्याघ्रस्यैव पादस्य व्याघ्रपात् । अहस्त्यादिभ्यः क्विप् । हस्तिपादः । कुसुमपादः ॥

877. The final अ of पाद is elided when it is at the end of a Bahuvrihi compound, preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared, but not so when such word is हस्ति &c.

The word उपमानात् is understood here. The लोप substitution is a samāsānta affix in a way. Thus व्याघ्रस्यैव पादस्य = व्याघ्रपात्. Why do we say not so when such a word is हस्ति? Observe हस्तिपादः कुसुमपादः ॥

1 हस्तिम्, 2 कुसुमम्, 3 अश्वः, 4 कशिकः, 5 कुक्षतः, 6 कटोल, 7 कटोलकः, 8 गण्डोल, 9 गण्डोलकः, 10 कण्डोल, 11 कण्डोलकः, 12 खजः, 13 कपोतः, 14 खानः, 15 गण्डः, 16 महिषः, (महिष), 17 खसी, 18 गणिकः, 19 कुसुमः ॥

Note:—This elision is a samāsānta. For if it were not a samāsānta, then by the rule अदेः परस्य (I. 1. 54 S. 44) the elision would have been of the first letter of the word पादः, namely, of प. Moreover there would have been added the śaishika कप् ॥

८७८ । कुम्भपदीषु च । ५ । ४ । १३९ ॥

कुम्भपादौ पादस्य लोपो ङीप् च निपात्यते स्त्रियाम् ॥ पादः पत् ॥ कुम्भपदी । स्त्रियां किप् ।
कुम्भपादः ॥

878. The words kumbhapadī &c., have been formed by the similar elision of the अ of पाद्, in the Feminine.

The forms कुम्भपदी &c. are formed by eliding the final अ of पाद् and then substituting प् for पत् before the feminine affix ई by VI. 4. 130. S. 414. Why do we say 'that this substitution takes place only before the feminine affix ङीप्, and no where else.'? Observe कुम्भपादः ॥

Note:—These words in the list, the first members of which denote an object of comparison or a numeral, would have elided अ by V. 4. 138 or V. 4. 140. In their case, this sūtra teaches the invariable affixing of ङीप् to such words; so that the optional rule IV. 1. 8 S. 457 does not apply to them.

1 कुम्भपदी, 2 एकपदी, 3 जालपदी, 4 हालपदी, * 5 शुनिपदी, 6 गुणपदी, * 7 कृतपदी, 8 सूच-
पदी, 9 गोधापदी*, 10 कलपीपदी, 11 विपदी, * 12 हृणपदी*, 13 क्षिपदी, 14 निपदी*, 15 पदपदी*,
16 हासीपदी 17 शित्तिपदी*, 18 विष्णुपदी*, 19 सुपदी, 20 निष्पदी, 21 माद्रेपदी, 22 कुनिपदी,
(कुणपदी), 23 कृष्णपदी, 24 शुनिपदी*, 25 द्राणपदी, (द्राणीपदी), 26 दुपदी, 27 सूक्ष्मपदी, 28
घटपदी, 29 वधपदी; 30 स्पृक्षपदी, (स्पृक्षपदी), 31 वपदी*, 32 सूचीपदी, 33 नागापदी, 34
गोपदी, 35 भृत्पदी, 36 सूचपदी, 37 वञ्चपदी, 38 अर्धपदी, 39 स्तनपदी, 40 कलहंत्तपदी, 41
विपपदी ॥

८७६ । संख्यासुपूर्वस्य । ५ । ४ । १४० ॥

पादस्य लोपः स्थास्यनास्यन्तां बहुव्रीहि । द्विपत् । सुपत् ॥

879. The final अ of पाद् is elided by samāsānta lopa, also when a Numeral or the word सु precedes it, in a Bahuvrīhi.

Thus दो वाशवस्य = द्विपत्, विपत्, so also सोमो वाशवस्य = सुपत् ॥

८८० । वयसि दन्तस्य दत् । ५ । ४ । १४१ ॥

संख्यासुपूर्वस्य दन्ताय दत् इत्यदिशः स्थास्यवति । द्विदत् । अतुर्दत् । पर दन्ता अस्य वीदत् ।
गुदत् । सुपदी । वयसि किप् । द्विदन्तः कति । गुदन्तः नटः ॥

880. For दन्त is substituted दत् as a samāsānta in a Bahuvrīhi, when a Numeral or सु precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life i. e. an age.

Thus दो वयस्य = द्विदत् "a child of the age in which two teeth have appeared." So also विदत्, अतुर्दत् वीदत् &c. See vārtika under VI. 3. 76 S. 881 for

बोधन् ॥ शोभनादन्तामस्य समस्ता जाताः—सुवन् कुनारः "a bby of the age in which all his teeth have appeared beautifully." So also सुवती. Why do we say denoting 'age'? Observe द्विदन्तः करी । सुदन्तो नरः ॥

Note:—The **दन्** of दन् is indicatory, making rule VII. 1. 70 S. 361 applicable, by which a nasal is added before त् in declining these words in *sarvanāmasthāna* cases; and rule IV. 1. 6 S. 455 also applies to them. All rules relating to **उगित्** apply to these.

८८१ । स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १४३ ॥

दन्तस्य दत् त्वात्समांस्तान्ते बहुव्रीहौ अव्योदन्ती । कालदन्ती । संज्ञायां किय । समदन्ती ॥

881. For *danta* is substituted "dat" as a *samā-sānta* in a *Bahuvrīhi*, when it is in the feminine gender, denoting a name.

Thus अव्योदन्ती, कालदन्ती ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Name"? Observe समदन्ती, स्त्रियवदन्ती ॥

८८२ । विभावा इयाचारोकाश्याम् । ५ । ४ । १४४ ॥

दन्तस्य दत् वा बहुव्रीहौ । इयावदन् । । इयावदन्तः । अरोकदन् । अरोकदन्तः ॥

882. Optionally "dat" is substituted for "danta," in a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, when it is preceded by the words *śyāva* and *aroka*.

Thus इयावदन्तः or इयावदन्, अरोकदन्तः or अरोकदन् ॥ अरोक means 'dark,' "without holes or spaces."

Note:—The word संज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra governs this also, so that when the compound is not a Name, the substitution does not take place; as इयावदन्तः, अरोकदन्तः ॥

८८३ । अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहेश्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एभ्यो दन्तस्य दत् वा । कुङ्कुमलावदन् । कुङ्कुमलावदन्तः ॥

883. The substitution of "dat" for "danta" is optional in a *Bahuvrīhi*, when it is preceded by a word ending in *अग्र* or by *शुद्ध*, *शुभ्र*, *वृष* and *वराह* ॥

The word "optionally" is understood here also. Thus कुङ्कुमलावदन्, or कुङ्कुमलावदन्तः, so also शुद्धदन्तः or शुद्धदन्; शुभ्रदन्ती or शुभ्रदन्; वृषदन्त or वृषदन्, वराहदन्त or वराहदन् ॥

Note:—The **ए** of the sūtra indicates that the substitution optionally takes place in other cases not enumerated: as अहिर्वन्तः or अहिर्वन्, मृषिकर्वन्तः or मृषिकर्वन्, गर्भर्वन्तः or गर्भर्वन्, शिखर्वन्तः or शिखर्वन् ॥

८८४ । ककुदस्यावस्थायां लोपः । ५ । ४ । १४६ ॥

अजातककुन् । पूर्णककुन् ॥

884. The final letter of kakuda is dropped in a Bahuvrīhi, when it denotes age or condition of animals.

The word अवस्था means the changes which things undergo by lapse of time, such as age &c. Thus अजातं ककुदस्य = अजातककुन् = बालः "the young of an animal." पूर्णककुन् = मध्यमवया "middle-aged animal": उन्नतककुन् = वृद्धवया "old"; द्यूलेककुन् बलवान् 'strong,' द्युल्लेककुन् = नातिस्थूलो नातिकृशः ॥

Note:—Why do we say when denoting a condition? Observe श्वेतककुन् ॥

८८५ । त्रिककुत्पर्वते । ५ । ४ । १४७ ॥

त्रीणि ककुदान्यस्य त्रिककुन् । संक्षेपा पर्वतविशेषस्य । त्रिककुशेऽन्यः ॥

885. The Bahuvrīhi word Trikakud, formed by the elision of the final अ of kakuda, is the name of a mountain.

त्रीणिककुदान्यस्य = त्रिककुन् "a three-peaked hill, the peaks having the shape of a hump." All three-peaked hills are not so called, it is the name of a particular hill. When not denoting a hill we have त्रिककुशः ॥

८८६ । उद्विष्टां काकुदस्य । ५ । ४ । १४८ ॥

लोपः स्यात् । उल्काकुन् । विकाकुन् । काकुद नालु ॥

886. After ut and vi, the final of kākuda is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus उद्विष्टकाकुदस्य = उल्काकुन्, so also विकाकुन् ॥ The word काकुद means 'palate.'

८८७ । पूर्णाक्षिसाया । ५ । ४ । १४९ ॥

पूर्णकाकुन् । पूर्णकाकुदः ॥

887. After pūrṇa, the final of kākuda is optionally elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus पूर्णकाकुदस्य = पूर्णकाकुन् or पूर्णकाकुदः ॥

८८८ । सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः । ५ । ४ । १५० ॥

सुहृद्भ्यो हृदयस्य हृदावो निपात्यते । सुहृन्निबन्ध । दुर्हृदमिषः । अन्यत्र सुहृदयः । दुर्हृदयः ॥

888. The words *subhrit* and *durhrit* are irregularly formed Bahuvrīhi compounds, denoting "a friend" and "a foe" respectively.

The word *सुहृन्* is derived from *सु* + *हृदय*, the *य* of *हृदय* being elided in the Bahuvrīhi. It means one whose heart is favourably disposed towards another. So also *दुर्हृन्* is derived from *दुर्* + *हृदय*, he whose heart is evil.

Why do we say "when meaning a friend and a foe respectively"? Observe *सुहृदयः* कारुणिकः 'the kind-hearted, merciful,' *दुर्हृदयश्चोरः* "the evil hearted thief."

८८९ । उरः प्रभृतिभ्यः कप् । ५ । ४ । १५१ ॥

बृहदोरस्कः । प्रियसर्पिष्कः । इह पुमान्, अन्तुमान्, पयः, नौः, लक्ष्मीरिति एकवचनान्तादि पठ्यन्ते । द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तेभ्यस्तु शेषादिभाषा इति विकल्पेन कप् । द्विपुमान् । द्विपुंस्कः ॥ अर्थाश्रयः* ॥ अनर्थकम् । नञः किम् । अपार्थम् । अपार्थकम् ॥

889. The affix *कप्* comes after *uras* &c., final in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus *बृहदोरस्कः* = *बृहदुरोऽस्य* (VIII. 3. 38 S. 152). So also *प्रियसर्पिष्कः* (VIII. 3. 39 S. 153) *अवदुक्तोपानक्तः* ॥

The words *पुमान्*, *अन्तुमान्*, *पयः*, *नौः* and *लक्ष्मीः* are exhibited in the list of *Urasādi* words as nominative singular, and not in their crude-forms as is the case with other words. The reason of this is, that the singular number of these words take the affix *कप्*, and not their dual and plural numbers. With regard to the dual and plural of these, the affix *कप्* is optionally added by force of *sūtra* V. 4. 154 S. 891. Thus *द्विपुमान्* or *द्विपुंस्कः*, *बहुपुमान्* or *बहुपुंस्कः* ॥

1 वरुः, 2 सौर्षिः, 3 उपमान्, 4 पुमान्, 5 अन्तुमान्, 6 पयस्, 7 नौः, 8 लक्ष्मीः, 9 राधि 10 मधु, 11 शावि, 12 अर्थाश्रयः ॥ (The affix *कप्* is added to *अर्थ* when preceded by the Negative particle *नञ्*, as *अनर्थकम्*) : Why do we say when preceded by the Negative particle *नञ्* ? Observe *अपार्थम्* or *अपार्थकम्* ॥

८९० । इतः स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । १५२ ॥

बहुवचनिका नगरी ॥ इतिमत्सुन्महत्वात्पर्यवसायानर्थकेन च अदन्तमिधि मयोऽदन्ति ॥ बहुवचनिका । स्त्रियां किम् ॥ बहुवचनी बहुवचनिका मानः ॥

890. The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi the last member of which ends in इन्, when a feminine word is denoted.

Thus बहुव्रीहिनोऽस्यां नगर्याम् = बहुव्रीहिका नगरी ॥ So also बहुव्रीहिका समा ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting a feminine'? Observe बहुव्रीही or बहुव्रीहिकी पानः ॥ The latter form is derived by adding कप् optionally under V. 4. 134 S. 891.

Paribhāṣā:—Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar, denote by I. 1. 72 ; S. 26 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस् and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning. ('Meaning,' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning,' viz. the meaning which grammarians assign to the affixes अन् &c.)

Therefore the rule applies to वामिन् also. As बहुव्रीहिका समा ॥

८६१ । शेषादिभाषा । ५ । ४ । १५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासान्ताच्छेषाधिकारस्थाद्बहुव्रीहेः कप् वा स्यात् । महायज्ञस्कः । महीयज्ञः । अनुक्त-
स्यादि किम् । व्याघ्रवान् । झुगन्विः । मियपयः । शेषाधिकारस्थान्किम् । उपयज्ञः । उत्तरपुत्रः । सनुषः ।
सन्वादिना शेषशब्दोऽर्थद्वयपरः ॥

891. After all other Bahuvrīhi compounds formed under II. 2. 23 S. 829, and not covered by the foregoing samāsānta rules, may optionally be added the affix कप् ॥

Thus महायज्ञस्क. or महायज्ञः

Why do we say "after the rest"? Observe व्याघ्रवान् ; झुगन्विः ; मियपयः, Here these words are formed by special samāsānta rules given before c. 8. 874, 877 and 940.

The word शेष denotes all those Bahuvrīhis about which no special rule has been given above. How do you explain the forms बहुव्रीह्यान्, बहुव्रीह्यस्तु, in which the affix कप् is added, though these words are governed by the general rule V. 4. 74, S. 940 and ought to have taken the samāsānta affix अ? The affix अ is added to बहुव्रीह्यान् when the compound has a special meaning; such as अनुषः means 'a boy', बहुव्रीह्यः 'charaṇa.'

Why have we used the words "sishādhikāraṭhāt" in explaining the sūtra? These words mean "after a Bahuvrīhi falling under the scope of the rules of Sishā Bahuvrīhi" II. 2. 23 S. 829." Observe उपयज्ञः ॥ This ।

a Bahuvrīhi not formed under the śesha rule II. 2. 23 S. 829, but by a special rule II. 2. 25 S. 843 : and hence it does not take कप् ॥ So also उत्तरपूर्वा a Bahuvrīhi formed by II. 2. 26 S. 845, and सनुवः formed by II. 2. 28 S. 848. In fact the word दोषः of II. 2. 23 S. 829 governs only II. 2. 24 S. 830 and not the remaining sūtras like 843, 846, 848 &c.

The word दोषात् of this sūtra is thus equivocal. It means *first* "after all those Bahuvrīhis for which no samāsānta has been taught:" *secondly* "after those Bahuvrīhis which are formed under "śesha Bahuvrīhi " rule." The word दोषात् thus conveys a double meaning. There are two views on this point: one school holds that for every *thought*, a separate word must be used. Their motto is अर्थभेदेन शब्दभेदः ॥ According to this view we should use the word दोषात् twice in this sūtra (āvritti.) But according to the other view, one word may express two ideas. Their motto is स्वल्पार्थभेदे शब्दत्यागभेदः ॥ This gives rise to तन्व or stretching the meaning of a word. The Tantra view may be taken here, or the आवृत्ति view.

८६२ । आपोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ४ । १५ ॥

कन्यावन्तर इत्यो वा स्यात् । बहुनालाकः । बहुनालकः । कनभोव बहुनालः ॥

892. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुनालाकः or बहुनालकः 'one who has many garlands' ॥ When कप् is not added, then बहुनालः ॥

८६३ । न संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १५५ ॥

दोषादिति धातुः कप् न स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । विश्वे देवा अस्य विश्वेदेवः ॥

893. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi when a Name is meant.

This debars कप् ordained by V. 4. 154 S. 801 last. Thus विश्वेदेवा अस्य विश्वेदेवः ॥

८६४ । ईयसश्च । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

ईयसस्तोत्तरपात कप् । बहुयः श्रेयांसोऽस्य बहुभ्रयात् । मोक्षियोरिति ह्रस्व पाते ॥ ईयवी बहुव्रीहेर्निति वाच्यम् * ॥ बहुयः श्रेयस्योऽस्य बहुश्रेयसी । बहुव्रीहेः कित् । अतिश्रेयसिः ॥

894. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which ends in the affix ईयस् ॥

This debars all the previous rules i. e. both the compulsory and the

optional कप् ॥ Thus बहुवः श्रेयांसोऽस्य = बहुश्रेयान्. (V. 3. 57 S. 2005) Here rule V. 4. 154 S. 891 is debarred. बहुव्यः श्रेयस्योऽस्य = बहुश्रेयसी, here rule V. 4. 135 S. 833 is prohibited. By rule I. 2. 48 S. 656 the long final ई ought to have been shortened, but this is not done by considering it as a masculine by the following Vārtika.

Vart:—In Bahuvrīhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Why do we say 'of a Bahuvrīhi'? Observe अविश्रेयसि ॥

८६५ । वन्दिते भ्रातुः । ५ । ४ । १५७ ॥

वृत्तिरेऽर्थे यो भ्रातृशब्दस्तदन्तान् कप् स्यात् । प्रशस्तो भ्राता यस्य प्रशस्तभ्राता । न पूजनादिति निषेपस्तु बहुव्रीही सैवमर्थणोरित्यतः प्रशियेति पश्यते । वन्दिते किम् । मूर्खभ्रातृकः ॥

895. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi ending in the word bhrātrī, when it means 'praised.'

The word वन्दितः means 'praised,' 'respected' &c. Thus शोभनाभाता यस्य = पुत्राभा 'one having a good brother.' As a general rule, samāsānta affixes are not added, when respect is meant. See V. 4. 69 S. 954. But the prohibition of that sūtra has its scope only upto V. 4. 113 S. 852, and not on sūtras after that. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Why do we say when it means "praised"? Observe मूर्खभ्रातृकः, दुष्टभ्रातृकः ॥

८६६ । नाडीतन्त्रीयोः स्वाङ्गे । ५ । ४ । १५८ ॥

स्वाङ्गे यो नाडीतन्त्रीयोः तदन्तात्कप् न स्यात् । बहुनाडिः कायः । बहुतन्त्रीर्ग्रीवा । तन्त्रीर्धमनी शरीरमयान्द्रश्वाभावाद्ग्रीवा न । स्वाङ्गे किम् । बहुनाडीकः स्वप्नः । बहुतन्त्रीका पीप्सा ॥

896. The affix कप् does not come after the words nāḍī, and tantrī final in a Bahuvrīhi, when they mean organs of body.

८९७ । निष्प्रवाणिश्च । ५ । ४ । १६० ॥

कचभावेऽव निपात्यते । प्रपूर्वाद्धितेर्बुद्धिः । प्रवाणी तन्तुवायसालका । निर्मिता प्रवाण्यस्य निष्प्रवाणिः पदः । सनाप्रवानः नव इत्यर्थः ॥

897. The word निष्प्रवाणि is irregularly formed, without adding the affix कप्, though the last word is a Nadi word.

The word प्रवाणी means either प्रीयतेऽस्यां or प्रवयन्ति तया ॥ Here ल्युट् is added to the root वि 'to weave'; and denotes the instrument of weaving i. e. 'a shuttle.' निर्मिता प्रवाणी अस्य = निष्प्रवाणिः पदः, निष्प्रवाणिः कश्चलः = अपनीतसालकः "a new unbleached cloth or blanket," from which the shuttle has not yet been extracted, fresh from the loom. The न is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 29. S. 2835.

८९८ । सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ । २ । २ । ३६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं विशेषणे च बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं प्रयोक्तव्यम् । कण्ठकालः । अत एव शापकाद्याधिकरणपक्षे बहुव्रीहिः । त्रिचयः ॥

सर्वनामसंख्ययोक्तृसंख्यानम् * ॥ सर्वश्रेष्ठः ॥ द्विचयः ॥

नियोजनयोः सप्तमे संख्या पूर्वम् । शब्दपरविप्रतिषेधात् ॥ द्वयः ॥

संख्याया मल्पीयस्याः * ॥ द्विचयः

द्वन्द्वेऽपि । शब्दचयः ॥

वा विद्यस्य * ॥ शुद्धविद्यः । मिथश्चयः ॥

गङ्गादेः परा सप्तमी * ॥ गङ्गाकण्डः । कुम्भिल । बहेमङ्गः ॥

898. A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasargana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement. The present aphorism declares that rule; as कण्ठकालः 'who is black in the throat.' From the jñāpaka of this sūtra, we infer the existence of the Vyadhikaraka Bahuvrīhi—a Bahuvrīhi compound, the first member of which is not in apposition to the second or stands in a different case relation to the second, in the dissolution of the compound, as चक्रपाणिः, चन्द्रमौलिः &c. So also वरसिलोत्तम, शिवशुभ, शम्भुशुभ.

Var. :—The sarvanamas and the numerals stand first; as सर्वश्रेष्ठः द्विचयः.

Vart:—In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a saṅkhyā word, the latter should stand first; as, द्वाव्यः.

Vart:—Among numerals, the less in value is placed first; as द्विषाः 'two and three.'

Vart:—Also in a Dvandva compound (the numeral which is less in value is placed first); thus द्वादश 'two and ten, that is twelve.'

Vart:—The word विषय may optionally stand first; as सुखविषयः or विषयसुखः.

Vart:—After the words गड्ड &c., the word in the 7th case-affix comes as subsequent; as गड्डुकण्ठः 'a hemp-necked'; गड्डुशिराः &c.

* How is then the word गड्डुशिरः 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika.

८९९ । निष्ठा । २ । २ । ३६ ॥

निष्ठान्तं बहुव्रीहिं पूर्वं स्यात् । कृतकृत्यः ॥ आत्तिकालसुखादिभ्यः परा निष्ठा वाच्यः * ॥
सत्त्वजग्धी । मासजाता । सुखजाता । प्रायिकं चैवम् । कृतकटः । पीतोदकः ॥

899. What ends with a Nishthā (I. 1. 26 S. 3012) shall stand first in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कृतकृत्यः ॥

So also सुक्तयोगः 'one who is devoted to devotion'; कृतकटः 'one who has made the mat'; भिक्षितभिक्षिः 'one who has begged alms.'

Vart:—A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent; as, सत्त्वजग्धी, मासजातः and सुखजातः &c.

This rule is not of universal application, as we have words like कृतकटः and पीतोदकः also.

९०० । आहिताग्न्यादिषु । २ । २ । ३७ ॥

आहिताग्निः । अग्न्याहितः । आहुतीगणोऽयम् ॥ अग्न्यादिभ्यः परे निष्ठावाच्यः * ॥ अस्त्युपनः ।
अग्निः । अग्निः । अग्निः ॥

900. In the compounds āhitāgni and the like, the Nishthā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहितः or आहिताग्निः 'one who has consecrated fire.'

अथ द्वन्द्व समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XX.

THE DVANDVA COMPOUNDS.

६०१ । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । २ । २ । २६ ॥

अनेकं सुबन्तं चार्थे वर्तमानं वा समस्यते स द्वन्द्वः । समुच्चयान्वाचयेत्तरेतरयोगसमाहारभावार्थः । परस्परनिरपेक्षस्यानेकस्य एकस्मिन्नन्वयः समुच्चयः । अन्यतरस्यानुपाङ्गकत्वेऽन्वाचयः । मिलितानामन्वय इतरेतरयोगः । समूहः समाहारः । तत्रेश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्विति सजुष्ये, भिक्षामष्ट गां चानयेत्यन्वाचयं च, स समासोऽस्माभ्याम् । धवलादियौ । संज्ञापरिभाषम् । अनेकां कर्तृवृत्तेश्वरवैभवादिनाम् । इयोर्द्वयोर्द्वन्द्वं कृत्वा पुनर्द्वन्द्वे तु द्वेतापोवनिदोद्गमनारः ॥

901. When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and,' the set is optionally made into a compound; and the compound so formed is called Dvandva.

The meaning that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चयः 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचयः 'collateralness of reference,' (3) इतरेतर-योगः 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहारः 'aggregate.' In the first two cases *vis.*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II. 1. 1 S. 647) Composition is enjoined, therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and aggregation. Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामष्ट गां चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow.' But we can compound the following द्रक्ष्यं न्यग्रोधम् = दृक्ष्यमपोषै 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees.' So पद्म-सदिर-वटारामः, वाक्पुष्पम्, वाग्पुष्पम्, संज्ञापरिभाषम् ॥

1. When two or more independent words not related with each other, are grammatically in the same case, their conjunction, will be samuchchaya. As ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व "reverence God and Guru." Here there can be no compounding, as there is no sāmānyā. In this example, two *things* (dravya) have been collected under one verb (kriyā). Similarly in राज्ञो गज-श्च-अश्वः "the elephant and the horse of the king." Here there is samuchchaya of two things under one thing. पटः शुद्धीरक्तः "The picture is white and red." Here two *attributes* are brought under *one* substantive. रक्तः पटः शुद्धः च

"Red picture and ornament." Here two substances are collected under one attribute.

2. When one action, is used as collateral to a principal action, it gives rise to the union called *anwāchaya* : as, *मिक्षामदः मां चानय* "Go for alms and bring the cow." Here he might not bring the cow, if he does not see it, though his begging will not be stopped. But if he does not go out a begging, he cannot bring the cow. So going out a begging is the principal action.

Therefore, in *मिक्षामदः मां चानय*, there is no compounding, because the words are not directly related to one another. The want of *sāmarthya* here is want of *ekārthibhāva*.

In *पद्मलक्षिते* "the Mimosa and the Grisea," *संज्ञापरिभाषम्* "an appellative and a maxim of interpretation," there is compounding, as *itaretara* and *samāhāra*, respectively.

The Dvandva compound of the four words *होतृ*, *पोतृ*, *नेष्टृ* and *वद्वाह* may be either *होतृपोतृनेष्टृवद्वाहः* or *होतापोतानेष्टोवद्वाहः* ॥ The first denotes many *hotṛis*, *potṛis* &c. The second is an example where *hotṛi* and *potṛi* are first compounded as a Dvandva, and then *नेष्टृ* and *वद्वाह* as another Dvandva. Then these two compound words are again compounded as a larger Dvandva.

In the first example, there is not *आनङ्* substitution for the final of *होतृ* and *पोतृ* (VI. 3. 25 S. 921) because there is no *uttarapada* after them. See S. 921 and 831.

६०२ । राजदन्तादिषु परम् । २ । २ । ३१ ॥

एषु पूर्वप्रयोगाहं परं स्यात् । दन्तानां राज्ञो राजदन्तः । धर्मादिव्यनियमः ॥ धर्मधर्मो । धर्मार्थो । धर्मपत्नी । जम्पती । आद्यापत्नी । आद्याशब्दस्य जम्भायां दम्भाश्च वा निपात्यते । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

902. The *upasarjana* is to be put last in the words *Rājadanta* &c.

Thus *राजदन्तः* (दन्तानां राजा) 'a chief of teeth' (i. e., an eyetooth). It is not merely the *upasarjana* that is placed last in these examples; but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second.

1. राजदन्तः. 2. धर्मव्ययम्. 3. निपात्यमितम्. 4. नमस्तुमितम्. 5. तिक्रान्तम्. 6. वृद्धलुचितम्. 7. अक्षरविपर्ययम्. 8. धर्मिणोऽयम्. 9. (धर्मिणोऽयम्). 10. वद्वाहम्. 11. उद्वाहनपुस्तकम्. 12. सप्तदशकम्. 13. दशदशम्. 14. धर्मद्वयम्

यानि. 15. (भारग्वायनवन्धनी). 16. चित्ररथवाल्मीकीय. 17. जयन्त्यद्वयकम्. 18. पाद्वार्यम्. 19. सातकोपजाती. 20. विष्णुस्तेमार्जुनौ. 21. अक्षिभुवनम्. 22. हारणम्. 23. चार्थार्थी. 24. धर्मार्थी. 25. कामार्थी. 26. अर्थवर्धनी. 27. अर्थधनी. 28. अर्थकामा. 29. वैकारितम्. 30. राजराजम्. 31. गोजराजम्. 32. गोपालि. धानपूलासम्. 33. (गोपालधानीपूलासम्). 34. पूलासकारणम्. 35. पूलासकृ. ण्डम्. 36. स्थूलासम्. 37. (स्थूलपूलासम्). 38. जशोरबीजम्. 39. (जिह्वास्थि). 40. सिञ्जशास्यम्. 41. (सिञ्जश्चत्यम्). 42. चित्रास्वाती. 43. (चित्रस्वाति). 44. भार्यापती. 45. दम्पती. 46. अम्पती. 47. आयापती. 48. पुत्रपती. 49. पुत्रपशु. 50. कोशदम्पती or दम्पुकोशी. 51. सिरोविष्णु. 52. शिरोबीजम्. 53. शिरोजातु. 54. सर्वविधुनी. 55. महत्सर्विणी. 56. वाद्यम्भो. 57. वान्तादी. 58. सुगवन्ती. 59. वृद्धिगुणौ.

Vārtika:—"In regard to the words धर्म and the like, there is no fixed rule. Thus अर्थधनी or धर्मार्थी 'wealth and virtue' or 'virtue and wealth.' So also दम्पती, अम्पती or आयापती. The word जाय is changed to जय or दम् irregularly. These belong to *Ākṛitigaṇa*.

Note:—दम्पती is really a compound of दम् "home" and पति "master or mistress" दम् is the same word as the Latin domus "home," as in "domestic." दम्पती means "the two masters of the house—i. e. the husband and wife."

६०३ । हन्ते वि । २ । २ । ३२ ॥

हन्ते विसंज्ञं पूर्वं स्यात् । हरिश्च हरश्च हरिहरो ॥ धनैकपान्नायैकच नियमोऽनियमः । सचे * ॥ हरिहरोहरा । हरिहरहरः ॥

903. In a Dvandva compound, let a word called वि (1. 4. 7 S. 243) stand first.

As हरिहरो 'Hari and Hara.'

Vārtika:—Where there are more than one such वि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest do not follow any fixed rule. As हरिहरोहरा or हरिहरहरः :

Note:—Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विसंज्ञकः which is a Tat-purusha.

६०४ । अजायदन्तम् । २ । २ । ३३ ॥

हवं हन्ते पूर्वं स्यात् । इषाकृष्णौ । *

यदुष्यनियमः * । अश्वरथेन्द्राः । इन्द्रान्वरथाः ॥ *

* यन्तादभाष्यवत् विधिविधेयः ॥ इन्द्राग्नी ॥

904. In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first.

Thus, ईशकृष्णौ 'Iśa and Kṛṣṇa.'

Vart :—When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule. As अश्वमेधन्तः or इन्द्राश्वमेधः ॥

Vart :—In the Dvandva compounds, the वि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजाग्रदन्त does not prohibit it. Thus इन्द्राग्नी. Here अग्नि though वि, does not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I. 4. 2 S. 175.)

Note :—Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I. 1. 70 S. 50.)? This rule does not apply when it is long वा as, अदवा + वृषः = अदवावृषौ or वृषावदे.

६०५ । अल्पाक्षरम् । २ । २ । ३४ ॥

शिवकेशयो ॥

अतुल्यार्थं सनाक्षराणां तत्पूर्वेषु ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः । कृत्तिकाश्लेषौ । समाक्षराणां किम् । वीणवसन्तौ ॥

अक्षरं पूर्वम् * ॥ कुशकाशम् ॥

वाग्वाह्यं च ॥ तत्पूर्वेषु ॥

वर्णानां तत्पूर्वेषु * ॥ ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्वज्जनाः ॥

आतुल्यार्थः * ॥ सुभित्तिर्ज्ञेयौ ॥

905. In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first.

Thus शिव + केशय = शिवकेशयो ॥

Note :—When there are many words, there is no fixed rule. As शेषद्वन्द्वविधाः or वीणशेषद्वन्द्वमयः .

Vart :—Names of seasons and stars when they consist of equal number of syllables, should be arranged in the compound, according to their natural order of succession. As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ताः ; कृत्तिकाश्लेषौ.

Why do we say 'when they consist of equal syllables?' Observe वीणवसन्तौ, Here the shorter has been placed first.

Vart :—A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first.

As, कुशकाशे ; 'a bundle of Kuśa and Kāśa grasses.' कुश and काश are two kinds of grass.

Vārt :—The more honorable of the two is placed first ; as तापस परवतो "Tāpasa and Parvata." वासुदेवाजुनौ "Vāsudeva and Arjuna" (IV. 3. 98 S. 1478).

Vārt :—The castes are placed according to their order : as ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्वद्गुह्यः 'Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya-Vaiśya and Śūdra.' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here.

Vārt :—The name of the elder brother is placed first ; as युधिष्ठिराजने 'Yudhishtira and Arjuna.'

६०६ । द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् । २ । ४ । २ ॥

एषां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । पाणिपादम् । मार्शङ्गिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाभारोहम् ॥

समाहारस्यैकत्वादैकत्वे सिद्धे नियमार्थे प्रकरणम् ; प्राण्यङ्गाङ्गीनां समाहार एव दया स्यात् ॥

306. A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, members of a band of players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army.

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोघ्रीवं 'the head and neck' मार्शङ्गिकपाणविकम् 'the players on the mṛdaṅga and paṇava (kinds of drums)' रथिकादरोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse.' बीणावादकपरिवाकम्, रथिकपाद-सम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only ; and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II. 2. 29 S. 901) A Samāhāra would have been naturally singular, because it denotes unity, the present rule is, therefore, a niyama or a restrictive rule. That is, the samāhāra compound of limbs is only singular, and other kind of compound of members of living body &c., need not be singular.

Note :—In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c., the singular is optional ; (II. 4. 12. S. 916). The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva. The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva. The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II. 4. 14 S. 918). are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva ; while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c., (II. 4. 12 S. 916) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva.

६०७ । अनुवादे चरणानाम् । २ । ४ । ३ ॥

चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्सिद्धस्योपन्यासे ॥

स्येयोर्द्वन्द्वीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ उदगात्कठकालपम् । प्रत्यष्टात्कठकौथुमम् ॥

907. A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools, when the sense is that of repetition, is singular.

Note:—The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and here means students or pupils who belong to a particular school and study that particular branch. The word अनुवाद् means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration; that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called *anuvāda*. Another meaning of this word is "the recitation of the charaṇas as already learnt as distinguished from learning them the first time."

Vart:—This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and हण् only; as उदगात् कठकालपम् (इत्यत्र कठेषु कालेषु च प्रतिष्ठितेषु चारुभ्यां यत्र गन्तव्यं निवि संक्षेपविद्या तत् संक्षेपे विस्तृत्यासीनं प्रतिषिध्यते) ॥ प्रत्यष्टात् कठकौथुमम् 'katha and kauthuma established again.'

Note:—Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदगात् कठकालपः or प्रत्यष्टात् कठकौथुमाः, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्था and हण् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs; as:—अनन्विषुः कठकालपाः and उदयन्ति कठकालपाः ॥

Prof. Bohtlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another.'

६०८ । अध्वयुक्तुरनपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ४ ॥

यशुर्वेदे विहितो यः ऋतुस्तर्षाचिनागनपुंसकनिष्ठायां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । अर्काश्वमेधम् । अध्वयुक्तुः किम् । इत्युपज्ञौ सामवेदे विहितौ । अनपुंसकं किम् । राजष्टवपाजवेदे ॥ अर्धर्षासी ॥

908. A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided that, they are never used in the neuter gender.

As अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Asvamedha sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices ? Observe इषुवहो ! the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' These sacrifices are ordained in the Sāma-Veda.

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices.' गर्भर्षादी (I). 4. 31 S. 816).

Note :—Why have we गर्भवौर्गमासौ ? Because the word ऋतुः is a technical term applying only to Soma-sacrifices and not any sacrifice in general. Therefore, though Darśa and Paupamāsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply.

६०६ । अध्ययनतोषिविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् । २ । ४ । ५ ॥

अध्ययनेन प्रत्यासना भाष्ये येषां तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । पदकक्रमकम् ॥

909. A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular.

As, पदकक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement.

Note :—Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son.' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवेद्याकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian.'

६१० । जातिप्रमाणानाम् । २ । ४ । ६ ॥

प्राणिपदजातिवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । धानावल्कलि । प्राणिनां तु विशुद्धाः । द्रव्यजातीयानामेव । नदः । रूपरसौ । गन्गाकुशवर्णे । जातिप्रमाण एवाद्येकवद्भावः । द्रव्यविशेषविशेषाद्यो तु बहुवचनकानि ॥

910. A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular.

Thus धानावल्कलि 'fried rice and barley cake.'

Note :—Why do we say 'words denoting genus'? Observe नन्दकवाङ्मज्जयो 'Nandaka and Pāncanajanya.' These are Saujñ words or Proper Names.

When denoting living beings then विशुद्धाः (and not विशुद्धम्) 'Vaisyas and Sudras.' Here there is plural number by I. 2. 58. S. 817, though the words are jāti denoting.

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजातिः) and not the jāti names of qualities and actions. (गुणक्रियाजातिः), Thus रूपरसौ 'colour, and savour,' गमनाकुञ्जने 'going and contraction.'

Even with jāti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class; when, however, the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed; as, बद्रासकानि 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits.' Here there is elision of the Taddhita affix by IV. 3. 163 S. 1541. The feminine is also elided by I. 2. 49. S. 1408. See also II. 4. 12 S. 916.

Note :—The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians. Jāti has already been explained. Substances are nine: earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. Qualities are twenty-four: colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty. There are five actions: throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going.

६११ । विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः । २ । ४ । ७ ॥

सामर्थ्यनदीदेशवाचिनो भिन्नलिङ्गानां समाहारे इत्येकवक्त्यात् । उद्धया इरावती च उद्धया-
वति । गङ्गा च यामुन्य गङ्गायामुन्य । कुरुक्षेत्रं च कुरुक्षेत्रम् । भिन्नलिङ्गानां किम् । गङ्गायामुने
मन्त्रकैक्याः । ग्रामाः किम् । जाम्बवं नगरम् । शालूकिनी ग्रामः । जाम्बवशालूकिनी ॥

911. A samāhara Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and of countries, but not of towns, is singular.

Thus उद्धयावति "The Uddhya and Irāvati," The Uddhya is a river (nada).

So also. गङ्गायामुने 'the Ganges and the Sona.' कुरुक्षेत्रं + कुरुक्षेत्रं = कुरुक्षेत्रम्
'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra.'

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गङ्गायामुने 'the Ganges and the Yāmuṇa.' Both being feminine gender; so also मन्त्रकैक्याः ॥ But the rule does not apply to गङ्गाकुरुक्षेत्रे for one is a river and the other a country.

The word विशिष्ट of the sūtra is derived from the root विधि meaning "to separate, differentiate," with वि ॥ It means separate.

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुटमयुरौ 'the hen and the peahen'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवत्काकिन्यौ 'Jāmbaba (a city) and Sālukini (a village)' which are the names of a village and a town.

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river.' So also 'mountains' are not included; as कैलासगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana.

Vart :—The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापालिपुत्रे 'the cities of Mathura and Pātaliputra.'

Vart :—When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies; as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata.'

६१२। क्षुद्रजन्तवः। २। ४। ८॥

एषां समाहारे इन्द्र एकवत्स्यात् । शूकालिलम् । आनकुलात्क्षुद्रजन्तवः ॥

912. A Samāhara Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular.

Thus शूकालिलम्, 'the louse and the nit.'

Note :—The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size. Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates); others say, those which are small in size.

All below the mongoose are kshudrajanta.

६१३। येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः। २। ४। ९॥

एषां शत्रुम् । आहनेकुलम् ॥ गोप्याश्रम् ॥ काकोलूकमित्रादी परस्वादिभाषा वृत्तवृत्तेति शत्रुं चकारेण शब्धये ॥

913. A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only; among whom there is permanent enmity (i. e. natural antipathy or quarrel), is singular.

The word विरोधः means enmity; and शाश्वतिकः means permanent.

Thus, आहनेकुलं 'the snake and the mongoose.' गोप्याश्रम् 'the cow and the tiger.' काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

Note:—Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गोपालिशालकायनाः कलहयन्ते 'Gaupali and Sālankāyana are quarrelling.' देवानुरैर्यममन्दुनिधिर्ममध्ये ॥ The enmity between the Devas and Asuras is not permanent, for they co-operated in churning the ocean.

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only.' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular; no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus the rule II. 4. 12 S. 916 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I. 4. 2. S. 173) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war; as गोव्यामम् 'the tiger and the cow' काकोळकम् 'the crow and the owl.'

६१४ । शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् । २ । ४ । १० ॥

चन्द्रविष्णुतानां शूद्राणां प्रायवत् । तन्नायस्कारम् । पात्राद्विष्णुतानां तु चण्डालमृतयाः ॥

914. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Śūdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular.

Thus, तन्नायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith.'

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतयाः 'the Chandāla and the Mritapa.'

Note:—The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish). This shows that there was interdining between the Śūdras and the twice-born in the days of Pāṇini.

A Śūdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel, is called an Anirvāsita Śūdra.

६१५ । गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि च । २ । ४ । ११ ॥

यथोपातिनानि साधूनि स्तुः । गवाश्वम् । शशीहासमित्यादि ॥

915. The word gavāśva, and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number.

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse.' So also शशीहासम् ॥ Here the elision of the first member required by I. 2. 67 S. 933 does not take place. These compounds are valid only so far as enumerated by Pāṇini specifically in the subjoined list.

1. शवाश्वम् ॥ 2. शवाश्विकम् ॥ 3. श्वैडकम् ॥ 4. अजाश्विकम् ॥ 5. अजैडकम् ॥
 6. कुञ्जश्वामनम् ॥ 7. कुञ्जश्वैरतकम् ॥ 8. पुत्रपौत्रम् ॥ 9. श्वचण्डालम् ॥ 10. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥
 11. दासीमाणवकम् ॥ 12. दासीविच्छेदकम् ॥ 13. उच्छेदकम् ॥ 14. उच्छेदशम् ॥
 15. मूलशकृत् ॥ 16. मूलपुरीषम् ॥ 17. शकृन्मैत्रः ॥ 18. भांसशोणितम् ॥ 19. दर्भशम् ॥
 20. दर्भपूतीकम् ॥ 21. अर्जुनशरीषम् ॥ 22. नृणालम् ॥ 23. दासीशकम् ॥
 24. कुलीकुटम् ॥ 25. भगवतीभाणवकम् ॥

Part:— In this list, the forms as given, are singular ; but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As शोषम् or शोषो ॥ In this form of शो and श्व the next rule applies and option is allowed.

९१६ । विभाषा वृत्तमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् । २ । ४ । १२ ॥

वृत्तादीनां सप्तानां द्वन्द्वः । अश्ववडवेत्यादि द्वन्द्वार्थे च प्राग्वहः । वृत्तादी विभोषाणामेव ग्रहणम् ।
 प्लक्षन्धमोषम् । प्लक्षन्धमोषाः । रुरुपतम् । रुरुपताः । कुशकाशम् । कुशकाशाः । ज्रीहिपम् । ज्रीहि-
 यम् । दधिघृतम् । दधिघृते । गोमहिपम् । गोमहिषाः । शुकषकम् । शुकषकाः । अश्ववडवम् ।
 अश्ववडवैः । पूर्वापरम् । पूर्वापरे । अपरोत्तरम् । अपरोत्तरे ॥

प्लक्षेन(वनस्पतिमृगशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यवृणानां बहुमकृतिरेव द्वन्द्व एकवचिनि वाच्यम् * ॥
 बदराणि पामलकानि च बदरामजकम् । जातिरपामणिनामित्येकाग्रताः । नेह बदरामजके ।
 रथिकाभ्यारोहैः । प्लक्षन्धमोषो इत्यादि । विभाषावृत्तेति सृष्टि केऽप्राणिनस्तेषां ग्रहणं । जातिरपामणिनामिति
 नित्ये प्राप्ते विवक्षार्थम् । पशुमरणे हस्त्यश्ववैषु सेनाङ्गत्वाच्चित्ये प्राप्ते । मृगाणां मृगैरेव
 शकुनिनां तैरेवोभयव द्वन्द्वः । गान्धेस्तु सहस्रेतरयोग एवेति निवचनार्थं मृगशकुनिमहणम् । एवं
 पूर्वापरमपरोत्तराण्यपि । अश्ववडवमहणे तु पक्षे मनुजसत्त्वार्थम् । अन्यथा परस्वात्पुत्रवदश्ववड-
 पाविति स्यात् ॥

916. A Dvandva compound of words being the names of 1. trees, 2. wild animals, 3. grass 4. corn, 5. condiment, 6. domestic beasts and 7. birds, and the compounds, 1. āśva-vaṇava, 2. purvā-para and 3. adharottara, are optionally singular.

Thus, प्लक्षन्धमोषम् or प्लक्षन्धमोषाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees';
 रुरुपतम् or रुरुपताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes'; कुशकाशम् or
 कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kuśa grass'; ज्रीहिपम् or ज्रीहियम् 'the rice
 and the barley' दधिघृतम् or दधि 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिपम् or वाः 'the
 cow and the buffalo'; शुकषकम् or काः 'the parrot and the crane birds';
 अश्ववडवम् or वाः 'the horse and the mare'; पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the
 last'; अपरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower.'

Part:— The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass, is

singular, (when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of,) that is when a large number of them is taken collectively. When they are each in Plural number, the compound is singular, otherwise not; as बरगणि चामलकानि = बरगणलकम्. Here there is singular number by II. 4. 6 S, 910. But not so in the following बरगणलके तिष्ठतः 'a badari and an āmalaki fruit are here'; रथिकाश्चारीहो 'a charioteer and a horseman'; लक्ष्मन्मोषौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree'; रुरुप्रशतो 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer'; हंसचक्राको 'a Hansa and a Chakravāka bird'; शूलानिलौ 'a louse and a nit'; ब्रीहियवौ 'a brīhi and yava grain'; कुसकाशौ 'the kuśa and kāśa grass. In this sūtra, those words which denote non-animate beings such as trees, and corn &c., would have taken compulsory singular by II. 4. 6. S. 910; the present sūtra ordains optional singular in their case. In the case of domestic animals like elephants and horses, the singular would have been compulsory under II. 4. 2. S. 906, because they form component parts of an army corps. This sūtra ordains option. Why are the words रथ, शकुनि mentioned separately in the sūtra; when they would have taken general Dvandva by the general rule II. 2, 29 S. 901? It is so taken in order to indicate that रथ words are compounded with रथ words only, and शकुनि with शकुनि for the purposes of this rule. With others they will form Itaretara dvandva, and not samāhāra.

Thus this is a niyama or restrictive rule. Beasts and birds cannot be mutually compounded into a samāhāra Dvandva. Beasts with beasts, and birds with birds will form a samāhāra; but beasts with birds will form Itaretara Dvandva only.

So also is the case with पूर्वापरम् and अथोत्तरम् ॥

The compound अश्ववद्वय is read in the sūtra in order to indicate, that in the alternative it is neuter. For अश्व and वद्वय being both पुल्लिङ्ग would have come under the scope of this rule, without specific mention. Their separate mention makes a particular rule regarding them. Therefore when we use अश्ववद्वय in the singular, the rule II. 4. 27 S. 813 is debarred, the compound does not take the gender of the first, but is governed by II. 4. 17. S. 821 and is Neuter. In fact, the subsequent sūtra II. 4. 27 S. 813 is set aside by the prior sūtra II. 4. 17 S. 821 because the singular अश्ववद्वय is a pratipada vidhāna samāsa.

६१७ । विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि । २ । ४ । १३ ॥

विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवचन एवात् । शीतोष्णम् । दीनोष्णम् । वैकल्पिकः समाहारद्वन्द्ववार्थे द्वन्द्व इति सूत्रेण प्राप्तः स विप्रतिषिद्धानां यदि भवति तर्हि अत्रान्वयादिनामेव निवृत्त्यर्थनिवृत्तिः । तेन द्वन्द्ववाचिनानिर्वृत्तयोग एव । शीतोष्णे उदके सः । विप्रतिषिद्धं किम् । गन्धकान्धनयोः । इह पालिकाः समाहारद्वन्द्वो भवत्येव ॥

917. A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of material substances, is optionally singular.

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat'; सुखदुःखं or सुखदुःखे 'pleasure and pain'; जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death.

The word विप्रतिषिद्धं means words of contrary significations. The word *adhikarana* means material things a dravya. च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra. By sūtra II, 2. 29 S. 901, the samāhāra Dvandva is optional; for that sūtra is governed by the great option of II, 1. 11 S. 665. When there is such an optional compounding of antinomes, it can be of those antinomes only which do not denote a substance. Thus the present sūtra creates a niyama or restriction, of substance denoting antinomes, where we have Itaretara Dvandva only and not samāhāra.

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, नन्वुक्ताङ्ग-जन्तौ which are not of contrary significations. Here there certainly will take place in the other alternative the optional samāhāra Dvandva also.

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे वक्त्रे 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances, and therefore their compound is Itaretara Dvandva and optionally samāhāra also.

६१८ । न दधिपयस्त्रादीनि । २ । ४ । १३ ॥

एतानि भक्ष्यस्त्युः । दधिपयसी । इण्यवर्हिषी । निपातगादीर्घः । ऋक्सति । वाङ्मनसे ॥

918. The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayas' &c., are not singular.

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk'; इण्यवर्हिषी 'the fuel and the ghee.' The short ण of इण्य is lengthened irregularly. So also ऋक्सति 'the Rig and the Sama-Veda'; वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind."

Note.—With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number, which the previous sūtras would have caused.

The following is a list of such compounds:—

1. दधिपयसी ॥ 2. गविसंयुतं or कतुसर्विषी ॥ 3. मद्रवगावसी ॥ 4. निपैवे-
पयसी ॥ 5. इण्यवर्हिषी ॥ 6. वसिमादवर्हिषी ॥ 7. मयवर्हिषी ॥ 8. सुहृद्वर्हिषी ॥
9. इण्यवर्हिषी ॥ निपातगादीर्घः ॥ 10. शीतपयसी ॥ 11. अदधपयसी ॥ 12. निपातपयसी ॥

13. अध्ययनतपसी ॥ 14. उत्सलमुसले ॥ 15. आद्यावसान ॥ 16. अद्भानधे ॥ 17. अक्षसामे ॥ 18. बाह्यमने ॥

६१६ । अधिकरयैतावत्वे च । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

द्रव्यसंख्यावगमे एकपदेवेति नियमो न स्यात् । दश इन्तोष्टाः ॥

919, A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etāvatva) of material things (adhikaraya) is not singular.

There is no general rule (niyama) that such a compound should be singular.

As, दश इन्तोष्टाः 'ten sets of teeth and lips'; Compare II. 4. 2.

६२० । विभाषासमीपे । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकरयैतावत्त्वस्य समीप्येन परिच्छेदे समाहार एवेत्येवंरूपो नियमो वा स्यात् । उपदश इन्तोष्टम् । उपदशाः इन्तोष्टाः ॥

920. A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of material objects is optionally singular.

There may be a general rule (niyama) that such a compound shall be a samāhara only.

Thus उपदशइन्तोष्टम् or उपदश इन्तोष्टाः 'nearly ten i. e. nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips.'

६२१ । आनङ् ऋतोद्धन्वे । ६ । ३ । २५ ।

विधायोपि संबन्धवाचिनापु इन्तानां वृद्धे आनङ् स्यादुत्तरपदे परे । होतापोतारो । होतृपोतृने-
होतापोतारः । मातापितरौ । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामित्यतो मण्डकप्लुत्या पुत्रे इत्यनुवृत्तेः पितापुत्री ॥

921. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेटोशरौ, but होतृपोतृनेटोशरारः ॥ Here the आनङ् replaces the ऋ of नेट् only which is followed by the uttarapada उशरान्, and not the ऋ of होतृ and पोतृ which are not followed by an uttarapada. प्रशास्त्राप्रतिदर्शने मातापितरौ, The anuvritti of पुत्रे is understood here, from VI. 3 21 S. 980 so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to णा before पुत्र also, though

it does not end in ऋ ॥ As पितापुत्री, मातापुत्री ॥ यातानान्तरौ ॥ The anuvṛitti of पुत्री is read in this sūtra by the method of frog leap.

The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of 1. 51, by which a र comes after every simple vowel substitute of ऋ ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ' ? Observe वितृषितामहौ ॥

६२२ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

इहोत्तरपदे घरे आनङ् । निचावरणौ ॥

यादुष्टाद्यप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधः * ॥ अग्निवायु । वायवरी । पुनर्द्वन्द्वग्रहणं प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यस्य परिमहार्थम् । तेन ब्रह्मप्रजापती इत्यादौ नानङ् । एतद्धि नैकहविर्भागित्वेन श्रुतं वापि लोके प्रसिद्धं साहचर्यम् ॥

922. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devatās.

Thus निचावरणौ ॥

Vdt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायु or वायवरी ॥

The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvṛitti from the last, shows that the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापती निषवैश्रवर्णौ ॥ <These Devatās are not joint in participating in a common oblation, nor are they known among people to always go to-gether. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known'.

६२३ । ईदमेः सोमवत्सुयोः । ६ । ३ । २७ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे इत्येव ॥

923. For the final of इहनि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वत्सु follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नि + सोम = अग्नी + सोम ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which ' is changed to य ॥

६२४ । अग्नेः स्तुतस्तोमसोमाः । ८ । ३ । २२ ॥

अग्नेः परेषामेषां उपस यः स्तुतः माते । अग्निहन् । अग्निहामः । अग्नीधर्मः । अग्नीवरणौ ॥

924. *य* is substituted for the *स* of *स्तु*, *स्तोम* and *सोम* when preceded by *अग्नि* in a compound.

Thus *अग्निष्टुन्*, *अग्निष्तोमः*, *अग्नीषोमौ* । *अग्निवह्नौ* ॥

Ishti:—The *इ* of *अग्नि* is lengthened before *स्तो* and it is after such lengthened *इ*, that the *स* of *सोम* is changed to *य*, otherwise not. As *अग्निस्तोमौ मायवह्नौ* ॥ So also *अग्निस्तोमौ तिष्ठतः* (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here."

When there is no compounding we have *अग्ने सोमः* ॥

The word *अग्निष्टुन्* is formed by *क्तिप्*, the *sacrifice* in which *Agni* is praised (*स्तुयवे*) is so called. *अग्निष्टोमः* is also the name of a sacrifice: the first division (*संस्था*) of the *Soma-yāga*. *अग्नीषोमः* is a *देवता-ह्वयः*: so where there is no *Devatā-Dvandva*, the *य* change will not take place. Thus where *Agni* and *Soma* are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to *Āśvalāyana* there is lengthening and *य* change in the last case also, as *अग्नीषोमौ यजेन्वामि* ॥

६२५ । इद्वृद्धौ । ६ । ३ । २८ ॥

*वृद्धिमयुत्तरपदे अग्नेरिहविशः स्वादेवातावृद्धे । अग्नीमह्नौ देवते वत्स्य आग्निमाह्वे कर्म । अग्नीवह्नौ देवते अस्य आग्निवाह्वयम् । देवताह्वये भिद्युमयववृद्धिः । गलीकिके वाक्ये आग्नीहोतृं च वतिधवा इत् । वृद्धौ क्तिप् । आग्नेन्द्रः । मेन्द्रस्य पत्न्येभ्युत्तरपदवृद्धिरीतिधेयः । विष्णो न * ॥ आग्निविष्णवम् ॥*

925. The short *इ* is the substitute of the final of *अग्नि*, in such a *Dvandva*, in which both members take the *Vṛiddhi*.

The substitution of *इ* for *इ* may appear superfluous; but it is really for the sake of debarring the long *इ* of the last sūtra.

Thus *आग्निवह्नौ*, which would have required long *इ* by the last rule: *आग्निमाह्वम्*, which would have required *आनङ्* by VI. 3. 26. Thus *आग्निवाह्वोमीनमृद्धोमाह्वयम्*, *आग्निमाह्वम् कर्म* जीयेत् ॥ *अग्नीमह्नौ देवते* इत्य (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226), takes the *Taddhita* affix, *अन्* and by VII. 3. 21, S. 1239 both members of the compound take *Vṛiddhi*. When both members do not take *Vṛiddhi*, the rule does not apply: as *आग्नेन्द्रः* (*अग्निन्द्रः*), because *इन्द्र* does not take *Vṛiddhi*, by VII. 3. 22 S. 1240.

Part:—Prohibition must be stated when the word *विष्णु* follows: as *आग्निविष्णवं परं विधिम्* ॥ The *इ* being prohibited, there comes *आनङ्* of

९२६ । दिवो द्यावा । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

देवतारुन्धे उत्तरपदे । द्यावाभूमी । द्यावाचने ॥

926. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names of the Devatās, when it is followed by a second member.

Thus द्यावातामा, (Rig Veda X. 36. 1) द्यावाभूमी ॥ (Rig Veda VII. 62. 4).

९२७ । दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् । ६ । ३ । ३० ॥

दिव इत्येव चाद् द्यावा । अदिवो अकारोच्चारणं सकारस्य सत्त्वं ना मूलितत्पर्यम् । द्योम पृथिवी च दिवस्पृथिव्यौ । द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधिः ॥ द्यावा चिदसौ पृथिवी । दिवस्पृथिव्योरपत्तिरित्यत्र पदकारादिसर्गं पठन्ति ॥

927. For दिव् is also, substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatās

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस् ending in ष, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or visarga or upadhmāniya when followed by पृथिवी Following is an anomalous use, there being no Dvandva compounding here. द्यावा चिदसौ पृथिवी नमते ॥ (Rig Veda II. 12. 13.) For in the chhandas the usage determines the rule. In दिवस्पृथिव्योरपत्तिः the authors of Pada Pāṭha read the दिवस् as दिवः with a visarga.

९२८ । उपासोपसः । ६ । ३ । ३१ ॥

उपस्योपास्योपासादेशो देवतारुन्धे । उपासाद्यर्थे ॥

928. For उपस् is substituted उपासा in a devatā-dvandva.

Thus :—उपासाद्यर्थे, उपासानन्ता ॥ (Rig Veda X. 36. 1) These are samāhāra compounds of उपा and द्युर्धे &c.

९२९ । मातरपितराबुदीच्याम् । ६ । ३ । ३२ ॥

मातरपितरौ । उदीयां क्रिय । मातापितरौ ॥

929. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by मत् substitution of the ऋ of मातृ ॥ Why do we say “ according to Northern authors ”? The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

९३० । द्वेन्द्राच्चिदुपहान्तात्समाहारे । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥

चवर्गान्तादुपहान्तात् द्वेन्द्रादिच् स्वात्समाहारे । वाक् च त्वक् च वात्तवयम् । त्वक्सजम् । शमीद्वयम् । वात्तिवयम् । छत्रोपानयम् । समाहारे किय । प्रावृद्धरदौ ॥

930. The affix *ṭach* comes after a Dvandva compound ending in a palatal, or a *ट्* or a *प्* or a *ह्*; when the compound is a Samāhāra Dvandva (collective noun taken as a unity).

The anuvṛtti of Tatpuruṣa, which commenced at V. 4. 86, ceases. The rule applies to समाहारद्वन्द्वम् "an aggregate Dvandva" which is always in Neuter singular; and not to द्वेन्द्वद्वन्द्वम् "or mutual conjunction". Thus वाक् च त्वक् च = वाक्त्वयम्, so also त्वक्सजम्, शमीद्वयम्, वात्तिवयम्, छत्रोपानयम्, Why do we say "in a Samāhāra Dvandva"? Observe प्रावृद्धरदौ ॥

Note:—Why do we say "after a Dvandva"? The affix will not come after a Tatpuruṣa, as, पंच वाचः समाहृताः = पंचवाक् ॥ Why do we say "when ending in a consonant of च class, or ट्, प्, ह्"? Observe वाक्समिन् ॥

Here ends the chapter on the Dvandva Compounds.

अथैकशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXI.

ON EKAŚEŚHAS.

सकृपाणां ॥ रामौ । रामाः ॥ विरूपाणामपि समानार्थानाम् * ॥ वक्रदण्डश्च कुटिलदण्डश्च
वक्रदण्डौ । कुटिलदण्डौ ॥

Now we shall take up the subject of *eka-śeśha*, i. e. where of the several words one only is retained, the others are elided. The *eka-śeśha* is the reverse of *Dvandva* compound in which *all* the words are retained.

We have already seen the application of *eka-śeśha* rule in the declension of nouns, where राम+राम=रामौ "Two Ramas" and not रामरामौ; similarly राम+राम+राम=रामाः ॥ See I. 2. 64, S. 188. Here all the words are of the same form or सरूप ॥

The rule is not confined to *sarūpa* words only. Sometimes though the *form* may be different, there takes place *eka-śeśha*: as by the following *Vārtika*.

Vārtika:—There is *eka-śeśha* of words of dissimilar forms even, when they have the same *meaning* or *sense*. As वक्रदण्डः+कुटिलदण्डः=वक्रदण्डौ or कुटिलदण्डौ ॥ This *Vārtika* would become unnecessary, if we explain the word रूप in सरूप by रूप्यते बोध्यते "meaning, sense."

६३१ । वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः । १ । २ । ६५ ॥

यूना सशोक्तौ गोत्रं शिष्यते गोत्रपुत्रस्यसमावृत्तं येत्ययोः कृत्यं वि रूप्यं स्यात् । गार्ग्यश्च
गार्ग्यादिष्वपि गार्ग्यः । वृद्धः किम् । गर्ग्यगार्ग्यादयो । यूना किम् । गर्ग्यगार्ग्यौ । तल्लक्षणः किम् ।
भाग्यदितिभाग्यदितिर्गौ । कृत्यं किम् । गार्ग्यवाग्यदयौ ॥

931. The *vṛiddha* (or a patronymic Gotra word) becomes *ekaśeśha*, and is retained, when compounded with a patronymic word called *yuvan*, (provided that, the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (*affixes*) only).

The word *śeśha* of the *sūtra* I. 2. 64 S. 188. is understood here. The word "yūnā" in the text is in the instrumental case. The *yuvan* word is dropped when read along with a *Vṛiddha* word. The word

Vṛiddha means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and the original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an. apatyā affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्ये पौत्रमश्नुति गोत्रम् ॥ जीयति तु वरये दुषा) ॥ Roughly speaking, a gotra word is formed from the original noun which, is the name of the head of the family, when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if'. The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्याद्यणः = गार्ग्यौ ॥ Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix द्यन् IV, 1. 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix कच् denoting a secondary derivative. In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वात्स्यः + वात्स्याद्यनः = वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekāśeṣha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

This rule of ekāśeṣha does not apply, if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्याद्यणः = गर्गगार्ग्याद्यणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ ॥ Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, i. e. form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not

applicable. Thus Rule IV. 1. 148 S. 1172 says " a Vṛddha word may optionally take the affix इक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvāra." Thus भागवित्तिः + भागवित्तिकः = भागवित्तिभगवित्तिको ॥

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix इक् is not merely a yuvan affix, but conveys the other sense also. The pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायनः ॥

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛddha word) + वासवायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवास्तवायनो ॥

६३२ । स्त्री पुंवच्च । १ । २ । ६६ ॥

युना सहोक्ती वृत्ता स्त्री दिव्यते सदर्थेयं पुंवत् ॥ गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणा च गर्गाः । अस्त्रियमित्युवर्तमाने यमजोभेति लुक् । दाक्षी च दाक्षायणश्च दाक्षी ॥

932. And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word, but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained ; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting gotra, and in the feminine gender, is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped ; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायनो = गर्गाः ॥ Here the affix यम् is elided by II. 4. 64 S. 1108 which applies to non-feminine words only, because the anuvṛitti of अस्त्रियम् is understood in that sūtra from II. 4. 63 S. 1193. <The second word is shown in the dual case, in order to bring out the marked difference of form in the plural with masculation>

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायनः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि) ॥

६३३ । पुमान् स्त्रिया । १ । २ । ६७ ॥

द्विदा सहोक्ती पुमान् दिव्यते समान एव दिव्यते ॥ हंती च हंतश्च हंतो ॥

933. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśeṣha, and the latter is dropped.

As हंसी + हंसः = हंसौ ॥

९३४ । भ्रातृपुत्री स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् । १ । २ । ६८ ॥

भ्राता च स्वसा च भ्रातरी । पुत्रश्च दुहिता च पुत्री ॥

934. 'The words *bhrātri*, 'brother,' and *putra*, 'son,' when spoken of along with *svasri*, 'sister' and *dūhitri* 'daughter' respectively, are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in I. 2. 65 S. 931. Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an *ekāśeṣa* under special circumstances. Thus *भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरी* (brother and sister or brothers), similarly *पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्री*, (son and daughter or sons).

९३५ । नपुंसकमनपुंसके नैकवच्चास्याम्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ६९ ॥

अङ्गिरेण सर्वोक्तौ क्लीबं शिष्यते तच्च वा एकवत्त्वात्तल्लक्षण-एव विशेषयेत् । शुक्लः पदः । शुक्ला चादी । शुक्लं च वस्त्रम् । तस्मिन् शुक्लम् । तानांभानि शुक्लानि ॥

935. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix ; is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

The words *तल्लक्षणभेदेन विशेषः* of I. 2. 65 S. 931 governs this sūtra also ; thus *शुक्लः पदः, शुक्ला चादी, शुक्लं च वस्त्रम्* ॥ "The white (masculine) cloth, the white (feminine) wrapper, and the white (neuter) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as *शुक्लं (neuter)* ; or in the Plural *शुक्लानि* ॥

Note.—A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them ; provided that, the words differ in gender signs only ; but radically they be the same. Thus *आलस्ये, भ्रष्टे, निद्रा संव्ययानं विवर्धते* 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective '*savyamānam*' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words '*ālasya*' which is in the masculine ; '*maithunam*' which is in the neuter, and '*nidra*' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter *ekāśeṣa* may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not

apply. Thus शुक्रं + शुक्रं + शुक्रं = शुक्रानि the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhāva.

६३६ । पिता माता । १ । २ । ७० ॥

माता सहोक्तौ पिता वा सिष्यते । माता च पिता च पितरौ—मातापितरौ वा ॥

936. The word pitri, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with māttri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौ वा ॥

६३७ । श्वशुरः श्वश्रुः । १ । २ । ७१ ॥

श्वश्रुः सहोक्तौ श्वशुरौ वा सिष्यते तत्तत्रैव एव विशेष्यते । श्वश्रुश्च श्वशुरश्च श्वशुरौ । श्वश्रुश्वशुरौ ॥

937. The word śvaśura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrū, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वश्रुः may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रुश्च श्वशुरौ ॥

६३८ । त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् । १ । २ । ७२ ॥

सर्वैः सहोक्तौ स्वर्गानि नित्यं सिष्यन्ते । स च देवदत्तश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादीनां मिथः सहोक्तौ यत्परं तच्छिष्यते * ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

पूर्वविधौऽपि दृश्यते इति भाष्यम् ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

स्वर्गादितः शेषे पुत्रपुत्रकतौ लिङ्गवचनानि * ॥ सा च देवदत्तश्च तौ । तश्च देवदत्तश्च यश्च तौ । पुत्रपुत्रकयोस्तु परस्परपुत्रकं सिष्यते । तश्च देवदत्तश्च तौ ॥

वाङ्मनसपुरुषविशेषणानामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ कुक्कुटमयूर्यादिषु । मयूरीकुक्कुट्यादिषु । तश्च सा च अर्धविष्ण्वौ ते ॥

938. The pronouns 'tyad' &c., when spoken of along with any other noun, {pronoun other than 'tyad &c.'} are always retained as ekaśeṣha, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim'. When these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate universality; i. e.

whatever may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

Vart :—When सहादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ; दः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after सद् (see I. 1. 27 S. 213), so यद् will be retained and not सद्; similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद् ॥

Vartika :—In the ekaśreṣha of tyādadi words, the masculine is retained to the exclusion of feminine; and neuter to the exclusion of masculine. As सा च देवदत्तश्च = तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यद्देवदत्ता च = तानि ॥ Of the masculine and neuter, the neuter is retained, being taught subsequent to masculine सच् च देवदत्तश्च = ते ॥

Vartika :—It should be rather stated that when these Pronouns do not refer to Dvandva or Tatpuruṣha compounds. In the case of these, the sūtra II. 4. 26 S. 812 applies. The relative pronouns follow the gender of their antecedent noun. Thus कुम्कुममयूर्यक्षिणे (इमे feminine dual), but मयूरीकुम्कुमयक्षिणौ (इमौ masculine dual). Similarly विष्णुस्वर्धम् (neut) + विष्णुस्वर्धम् (neut) + अर्धविष्ण्वती (feminine) = अर्धविष्ण्वत्यः (feminine Plural). The relative Pronoun will be तः ॥

६३९ । ग्राम्यपशुसङ्घेष्वन्तस्तेषु स्त्री । १ । २ । ७३ ॥

एषु सङ्घविषयायां स्त्री शिष्यते । पुमान् स्त्रियेयस्यापवादः । गाव इनाः । याम्येति किम् । राय इमे । पशुमहर्षं किम् । ब्राह्मणा इमे । सङ्घेषु किम् । एतौ गावौ । भनङ्घेषु किम् । यत्सा इमे । अनेकशफेष्विति याच्यम् * ॥ अथा इमे ॥

इह सर्वत्र एकशेषे कृतेऽनेकसङ्घान्ताभावाद् हन्तो न । तेन शिरसी शिरासीत्यादौ सनांसत्ये-
त्यन्तोदात्तः प्राण्यङ्गस्वधिकवजादश्च न । पन्थानी पन्थान इत्यादौ समासान्ता न ॥

939. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see I. 2. 67 S. 933). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders; the feminine noun is preferred; provided that, the words should

not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not 'the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls);' अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya animals) and not to *wild* animals ; and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men. As ह्रस्व इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पुषता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas' (male and female) क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by I. 2. 67. S. 933.

Vart:—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young."? वृत्ता इमे 'these calves'; बकरा इन् 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of I. 2. 67. S. 933.

In all these examples under previous rules, when once the *eka-śeṣha* takes place, there is no longer *Dvandva* compounding, as these are not *many* nouns. The rules of compounding, therefore, do not apply to *eka-śeṣha* words. Thus द्विरसौ (dual), द्विरसि (Plural) have not acute on the final, which would have been the case had they been treated as compound, for then rule VI. 1. 123 S. 3734 would have applied. Nor is there *eka-vadbhāva* of these words, though they denote members of living beings. (II. 4. 2. S. 906) Similarly in कन्यावौ कन्यानः &c. there is not the affixing of *saṁāsānta* (V. 4. 74. S. 940).

॥ इत्येकशेषः ॥

. HERE ENDS EKASESHA.

अथ सर्वसमासशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXII.

ON COMPOUNDS IN GENERAL.

कृतसद्विवसमसैकशेषसमासान्तभावरूपाः पञ्च वृत्तयः । परार्थभिधानं वृत्तिः । वृत्त्यार्थावरो-
धकं वाक्यं विग्रहः । स द्विविधः । लौकिकोऽलौकिकश्च । परिनिष्ठितत्वात्साधुलौकिकः । प्रयोगानर्हो-
ऽसाधुर लौकिकः । यथा । राज्ञः पुरुषः । यश्च भन् पुरुष इति । अविग्रहो निव्यसमासः ॥

अस्वपक्षविग्रहो वा समासस्तुर्विध इति तु मायोवाचः । अन्वयीभावतत्पुरुषवदुद्गीर्हिहन्ता
धिकारवाद्भिर्भूतानामपि सङ्गुपेति समासविधानाद् ॥

पूर्वपक्षार्थप्रधानो ऽन्वयीभावः । उत्तरपक्षार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः । अन्यपक्षार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः ।
उभयपक्षार्थप्रधानो हन्तुः इत्यापि प्राचां प्रवादः प्रायोऽभिप्रायः । तूपगति उन्मत्तगणमित्याद्यन्वयीभावे,
कतिमाकाशौ सत्पुरुषे, द्विषा इत्यादिबहुव्रीहौ हन्तावमित्यादिहन्ते चाभावाद् । सत्पुरुषविशेषः
कर्मधारयः, सङ्गविशेषः द्विष्टः ॥ अनेक पदत्वं हन्त बहुव्रीहोरपि । सत्पुरुष क्रिपिद्वैत्युक्तम् ।
किञ्च ॥

सुपा सुपा विहा भासा धातुनाऽप्य विहां तिहां । ह्यन्तेवेति विशेषः समासः
पक्षिणो दुषेः ॥ १ ॥

सुपां सुपा, राजपुरुषः । तिहा, पर्यभूययत् । नासा, कुम्भकारः । धातुना, कदम्ब-
मज्जयत् । तिहां तिहा, पिबतस्त्रास्ता । स्नाततमास्ता । तिहां सुपा, कृतविचक्षणैति यस्यां क्रियायां स
कृतविचक्षया । एहीडावयोऽन्वयपक्षार्थे इति मशुरज्येयकारो पाठान्तरासः ॥

The Grammatical Function or modification (*vṛtti*) is of five sorts, namely, 1. *Kṛit*—the process by which a primary noun is derived from a verbal root. 2. *Taddhita*—the operation by which a secondary noun is formed from a Primitive Noun. 3. *Samāsa*—the process by which two or more nouns are composed to form one noun. 4. *Eka-śeṣa*—the process by which one is retained to the exclusion of other nouns, and the noun so retained denotes all the nouns so excluded. 5. Lastly *Sanādyanta dhātus*—the process by which a verb is formed from a noun, and a derivative verb from a Primitive verb; such as the Desiderative the Causative, the Intensive, and the Denominative verbs.

⟨The word *vṛtti* means the power of expressing a sense different from what was inherent originally in the word. When a word undergoes a *vṛtti* or modification, it gains an additional sense. This additional sense always refers to some thing other than the original connotation of the word. Therefore the conjugation of a root by adding ति &c. affixes is not a *Vṛtti*; because here the root does not undergo any change of sense. To express the sense of another word by a different word is a *vṛtti*.

A sentence that explains or shows the sense of a vritti is called *vigraha* or the analysis of a word. The analysis of a word shows what *Vritti* or modification the original element has undergone.

The *vigraha* or analysis is of two sorts—logical and grammatical. That which is shown by a sentence, as employed in ordinary language, wherein the words employed are joined together by the rules of sandhi, and are *completely formed* words, is logical analysis. That which is shown by technical terms of grammar, which convey no meaning to outsiders, is a grammatical analysis.

Thus राजपुरुषः when analysed logically will be राजः पुरुषः ; but when analysed grammatically, it will be राजन् + मन् + पुरुष + तु ॥

That which is not capable of laukika analysis is a *nitya samāsa* : or a *nitya-samāsa* is that which is not capable of analysis into its component words.

It is generally said, but not very accurately, that the compounds are of four sorts—namely 1. *Avyayibhāva*, 2. *Tatpurusha*, 3. *Bahuvrīhi* and 4. *Dvandva*. But there are compounds not covered by these four, namely compounds formed under the general rule सहस्रस्य ॥ (S. 649).

"An *Avyayibhāva* is a compound in which the sense of the first member is the principal or predominant."

"A *Tatpurusha* compound has the sense of the subsequent member predominant."

"A *Bahuvrīhi* is a compound in which the sense of a third term, not to be found in the compound, is predominant."

"A *Dvandva* is a compound in which the sense of both the members of a compound is predominant."

The above definitions are of ancient grammarians ; they are not however strictly accurate. For these definitions do not hold good in the case of *Avyayibhāva* compounds like अक्षयजिह्व, *Tatpurusha* compounds like अक्षिण्ण, *Bahuvrīhi* like द्विजः ; and *Dvandva* like द्विजम् ॥

Karmadhāraya is a subdivision of *Tatpurusha*. *Dvigu* is a particular case of *Karmadhāraya*.

The *Dvandvas* and *Bahuvrīhis* only can consist of many words. The *Tatpurusha* seldom consists of more than two words as in मन्त्राङ्गः ॥ For thus it is said,

VERSE.

1. The case-inflected words may be compounded with another case-inflected word 2. Or with a tense inflected word, 3. Or with a crude noun. 4. Or with a root. 5. The tense-inflected word may be compounded with another tense inflected word 6. Or with a case-inflected word. Thus compounds are of six kinds.

1. सुपां सुपा. Declined noun with another declined noun, as राजपुरुषः ॥

2. सुपां तिङ्, A noun with a conjugated verb, as, परि-अभूदयत् ॥

3. सुपां नात्ता A noun with a nascent noun or upapada samāsa, as कुम्भकारः ॥ Here the compounding takes place prior to the adding of सुप् ॥

4. सुपां बाहुना, A noun with a root as कटूः । अजलम् ॥ This compound कटूः is so exhibited in Vārtika under sūtra III. 2. 178 S. 3158, and the word अजलम् is formed by the sūtra III. 2. 167 S. 3147.

5. तिङ्तिङ् । A conjugated verb with another verb, — as विवत्त खादत्त, खादत्तनोदत्त ॥ See Mayūravayansaka class of compounds II. 1, 72 S. 754.

6. तिङ् सुपा. A conjugated verb with a noun, as कुम्भारिचक्षणा ॥ In the Mayūra vyansakādī class, we find the rule वृहीडावयोरन्यवपार्षे ॥ The compound is formed under taht rule.

अथ सर्व समासान्न प्रकरणम्॥

CHAPTER XXIII.

SAMĀSĀNTA AFFIXES IN GENERAL.

६४० । ऋक्पुरुष्यः पथामानक्षे । ५ । ४ । ७४ ॥

स अमक्षे इति छेदः । ऋगाद्यान्तस्य समासस्य अमत्वयोऽन्तावयवः स्यात् । अक्षे या पूस्तदन्तस्य
५ न । अर्थः ॥ अन्वबहुपाथ्येत्येव ॥ नेह अमृक्ताम् । बहुक् सूक्तम् । विष्णोः पूः विष्णुपुरम् ।
ह्रीरक्ष्वं कोवात् । विमलार्थं सरः ॥

940. The affix अ comes after *rik*, *pur*, *ap*, *dhūr* and *pathin*, when finals in a compound, but not so when *dhūr* is in conjunction with *aksha*.

The *anuvṛtti* of the word *bahuvrīhi* does not enter here. it applies to all compounds in general. The word *अमृक्* qualifies *धूर*, as it cannot qualify the words *ऋक्* &c.

Thus (1) *rik* :—अर्धः, 'half a hymn', अमृक्, बहुक् :

Note:—Why do we say "when not in conjunction with अक्ष" Observe,
अक्षस्य धूः = अक्षधूः, हृदधूरजः ॥

The words *अमृक्* and *बहुक्* apply to students of *Rik*: thus *अमृक्* means "a boy who has not read the *Rig Veda*." *बहुक्* "One who has read the *Rig Veda*." The affix अ is not applied when it refers to the Vedas, as *अमृक् साम*, "the *Sāma Veda* which is not divided into hymns," *बहुक् सूक्तम्* ॥ "a hymn consisting of many *Rig* verses."

(2) *pur* :—विष्णोः पू = विष्णुपुरम्, 'the town of *Vishnu*.' So also *महादपुरम्* *मन्त्रीपुरम्* ॥ The Neuter gender is due to usage, although the word *धूर* is feminine.

(3) *ap* :—As *विमलार्थं सरः* 'a lake with pure water,' For other compounds of अ see the following *sūtras*.

६४१ । अन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत् । ६ । ३ । ६७ ॥

अप इति कृतसमासान्तस्यानुकरणम् । षष्ठ्यर्थे प्रथमा । एभ्योऽपस्य ईत्स्यात् । द्विगता आपो यस्मिन्निति द्वीपम् । अन्तरीपम् । प्रतीपम् । समीपम् । समापं देवयजनमिति तु समा आपो यस्मिन्निति बोध्यम् । कृतसमासान्तमहणात् । स्वप् । स्वपी ॥

अवर्णान्ताश्च * ॥ प्रेपम् । परेपम् । प्रापम् । परापम् ॥

941. After द्वि, अन्तर and after Prepositions, a long ई is the substitute of अप ॥

The word अप् is exhibited with the samāsanta अ, i. e. अप् + अ = अप् ॥ The nominative अप् has the force of the genitive here. That is अपः = अपस्य ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74. S. 940. By I. 1. 54. S. 44. ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् *vis* अ only. Thus द्वीपम् 'an island,' अन्तरीपम् 'in the midst of waters' प्रतीपम् 'in the direction of the waters' i. e. 'adverse,' समीपम् ॥ 'near.'

Note :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम देवयजनम् ॥ 'a land in which are made offering of oblations to the gods.'

The word समाप may be analysed as समाः + आपः, i. e. समा आपो यस्मिन् ॥ Here समा is a noun and not an upasarga, and so the rule does not apply. It is not the preposition सम ॥ The word देवयजनं means the ground where Devas are worshipped "Holy land;" "sacrificial ground."

As the word अप् is exhibited in the sūtra with the samāsanta अ; the ई substitution will not take place where the samāsanta अ is not added. Thus V. 4. 69 S. 954 prohibits samāsanta when 'honor' is indicated. Therefore ह्यु + अप् = स्वप्; Fern. स्वपी ॥

Vārtika :—Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रेपम् or प्रापम् 'a puddle,' परापम् or परेपम् 'an outlet of water'. The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्; here, however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means अ &c.

With regard to the word अप् the following rule also applies.

६४२ । ऊदनोर्देशे । ६ । ३ । ६८ ॥

अमोः परस्यापस्य ऊत्तरार्देशे । समूपो देशः ।

राजपुत्र । असे तु अक्षयः । दक्षयः । कलिपयः । मयपयो देशः ॥

942. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अमृपो देशः । 'a marshy place.'

Note :—But अम्वीयम् when locality is not meant. The long ऋ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अमृ ऊपः = अमृपः ॥ The form अमृपः could have been evolved with a short ऋ also, as अमृ + उप = अमृपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

The word धृ also takes अ by V. 4. 74. S. 940. As :—राजधृत् 'the king's load (of Government)'; but when relating to यक्ष then अक्षधृत् 'the yoke attached to the fore-part of the pole of a car'; दृधृत् 'a car with strong poles.'

The word पथि also takes, अ by V. 4. 74. S. 940. As :—सखिपथः 'the road of a friend' रम्यपथो देशः 'a place the road of which is pleasant.'

६४३ । अच् प्रत्यन्ववपूर्वात्सामलोत्तः । ५ । ४ । ७५ ॥

एतत्पूर्वात्सामलोमान्तात्समासाच्च स्यात् । प्रतिसामम् । अनुसामम् । अवसामम् । प्रतिलोमम् । अनुलोमम् । अवलोमम् ॥

कृष्णोदकपाण्डुसंख्यापूर्वाया भूमेरविव्यते * ॥ कृष्णभूमः । उदरभूमः । पाण्डुभूमः । द्विभूमः । मासाहः ।

संख्याया नदीगोशयत्त्रिभ्यां च * ॥ पञ्चनदम् । सप्तगोशवरम् ॥

प्राजिति योगविभागादन्वयसावि । पञ्चनाभः ॥

943. The affix अच् comes after the words sâman and loman, when prati, anu and ava precede them.

As प्रतिसामम्, 'harshly' अनुसामम्, 'in a friendly way,' अवसामम् 'away from gentleness,' प्रतिलोमम्, 'inversely' अनुलोमम् 'directly.'

Ishti :—The affix अच् comes after the word भूमि preceded by the words कृष्ण, उदर, पाण्डु, and also 'a numeral. Thus कृष्णभूमः 'a place having the ground black,' उदरभूमः 'the ground sloping Northwards,' पाण्डुभूमः 'having white ground' द्विभूमः 'a palace of two floors.'

Vartika :—And also after the words गोशयती and नदी when preceded by a numeral. As. पञ्चनदम्, 'the land of five rivers, i. e. the Panjab,' सप्तगोशवरम्, the name of a country, (see II. I. 20).

६४४ । अक्षयोऽदर्शनात् । ५ । ४ । ७६ ॥

अचक्षुःपर्यायादक्षयोऽयं स्यात्समासान्तः । गवामक्षीव गवाक्षः ॥

944. 'The affix ach comes after the word akshi, when not meaning 'the eye,' but 'hole.'

The word अक्ष is understood here. Thus गवाक्षः 'a hole for the rays of light, i. e. a small window.' The word क्षे here means 'ray of light.' गवः किरणः ॥ Or a gavāksha is so called because it is like the eye of cows.

Note:—The word दर्शन in the sâtra does not mean 'to see,' here, but 'is a synonym of 'eye.'

६४५ । अचतुरविचतुरसुचतुरस्त्रीपुंसधेन्वनहुहर्कसामवाङ्मनसाक्षिभुवदार-
गवोर्वष्टावपद्म्रीचनक्तदिचरात्रिदिवाहर्दिवसरजसनिःश्रेयसपुरुषायुषध्यायुषत्र्यायुषर्म्य-
क्षुषजातोक्षमहोक्षवृक्षोक्षोपशुनगोष्ठश्वाः । ५ । ४ । ७७ ॥

एते पञ्चविंशतिरजन्ता निपात्यन्ते । आद्यास्त्रयो बहुव्रीहयः । अविस्रजानानि चत्वार्येव अच-
तुरः । विचतुरः । सुचतुरः ॥

अनुपाभ्यां चतुष्टोऽजिप्यन्ते* ॥ विचतुराः । चतुर्गो समीपे ये सन्ति ते वपचतुराः ।

नत एकावश इन्द्राः । स्त्रीपुंसौ । धेन्वनहुक्षी । कृत्सामे । वाह्वनसे । अक्षिणी च भुवो च अक्षि-
भुवम् ।

साराख गावश्च वारगवम् ।

ऊरु च अष्टीवन्तौ च ऊर्ध्वष्टीवम् । निपातनाद्विशेषः ।

पद्मष्टीवम् । निपातनात्पादशब्दस्य पञ्चावः ।

नक्तं च दिवा च नक्तन्दिवम् ।

रात्रौ च दिवा च रात्रिन्दिवम् । रात्रेर्नान्तत्वे निपात्यन्ते ।

अहर्नि च दिवा च अहर्दिवम् । धीप्तायां इन्द्रा निपात्यन्ते अहर्न्यहनीत्यर्थः ।

सरजसमिति साकल्येऽव्ययीभाषः । बहुव्रीहिं तु सरजः पञ्चजम् ।

निमित्तं श्रेयो निःश्रेयसम् । तरुण एव । मेह निःश्रेयान् पुरुषः ।

पुरुषस्यायुः पुरुषायुषम् ।

सतो द्विष्टुः । द्विष्टायुषम् । त्र्यायुषम् ।

सतो इन्द्रः । स्रग्वजुषम् ।

सतस्रस्रः कर्मपारथाः । जातोक्षः । महोक्षः । वृक्षोक्षः ।

शुनः समीपे उपशुनम् । दितोषाभाषः सम्प्रसारणं च निपात्यन्ते ।

वाष्टे श्वा गोष्ठश्वाः ॥

945. The following twenty-five words are irregularly formed by adding the affix *ach*:—*achatura*, *vichatura*, *suchatura*; *stri-puṇsau*, *dhenv-anaḍuhau*, *rik-sāme*, *vān-manase*, *akshibhruvam*, *dāra-gavam*, *ūrvashṭhivam*, *pada-śhṭhivam*, *naktamdivam*, *rātrim-divam*, *ahar-divam*, *sara-ḷasam*, *nih-śreyasam*, *purushā-yusham*, *dvyā-yusham*, *tryā-yusham*, *rig-yajusham*, *jāto-kshaḥ*, *maho-kshaḥ*, *vridddho-kshaḥ*, *upaśunam*, and *goshṭhaśvaḥ*.

The first three of these words are *Bahuvrihi*: (1) *अचतुरः* = *अहस्यान्यविशमानानि वा अत्वारि यस्य* 'that whose four are absent or non-existent.' (2) *विचतुरः* = *विपत्नानि अत्वारि यस्य* "whose four are gone." So also (3) *सुचतुरः* = *सौभाग्यानि अत्वारि यस्य* 'whose four are good.' Had these been *Tatpurusha*, the forms would have been *अचत्वारः*, *विचत्वारः* &c.

Ishti:—The affix *अच्* comes after *चतुर* when preceded by *वि* and *उप*. Thus *विचतुरः* and *उपचतुरः* "near the four."

The next eleven words are *Dvandva* compounds. They are clear. Thus (4) *स्त्री च पुमांच* = *स्त्रीपुंसौ* 'the man and woman'; (but not *हेतुः स्त्रियाः पुमान् स्त्रियं मतिः पुमान् दूतः*) = *स्त्रीपुमान्* "a brave towards women only");

(5) *धेनुश्च भनड्वांस* = *धेनवद्वौ* "cow and bull."

(6) *रिक् च साम च* = *रिक्सामे* "the *Rik* and the *Saman*."

(7) *वाक् च मनश्च* = *वाक्मनसे* "the speech and mind."

(8) *अक्षिणी च भ्रूयश्च* = *अक्षिभ्रुवम्* "the eyes and the brows." The compound is singular as being parts of members of human body, (II. 4. 2 S. 905).

(9) *शराश्च मायश्च* = *शरामश्च* "the wives and cows." Here the final syllable (called *रि*) is elided.

(10) *ऊरुश्च अक्षिणी* + *अच्* = *ऊरुक्षिणम्* "Thighs and knees" ||

(11) So also *पादौ* + *अक्षिणी* = *पद् + अक्षि + अच्* = *पदक्षिणम्* "Feet and knees," ||

(12) *रात्रि च दिवा च* = *रात्रिदिवा* 'by night and day.' These are two indeclinables having the force of locative, and this compounding is also irregular.

(13) *रात्रि च दिवा च* = *रात्रिदिवा* "By night and day" ||

(14. The words *महर्* and *दिवा* both mean 'day': the compound *महर्दिवा* is not, however, a superfluous compound of two synonyms. It is used here in a distributive sense = *महर्दिवा* "day by day."

(15) The word सरजसम् is an Avyayibhāva, meaning 'with the pollen' i. e. 'all,' as सरजसम्यवहितम् ॥ The affix does not come when it is a Bahuvrihi: as सह + रजसा = सरजः पङ्कजम् ॥

(16) The word निः श्रेयसे = निश्चितं श्रेयः 'sure (never failing) happiness' and is a Tatpurusha; but not so in निः श्रेयान् पुरुषः ॥

(17) Then is the word पुरुषायुषम् a Genitive Tatpurusha = पुरुषस्यायुः ॥ 'limit of a man's life.' Not so when it is a Dvandva, as पुरुषश्च सायुश्च = पुरुषायुषी ॥

The words (18) द्वायुषम् and (19) त्रयायुषम् are Samāhāra Dvig compounds. Therefore not here, द्वयोरायुः = द्वायुः, त्रयायुः ॥

(20) The word कर्म्यक्षुषम् is a Dvandva. Therefore, not here कर्म्यक्षुष्येतिशुष्यस्य = कर्म्यक्षुषः-क्षुष्यः (य कर्म्यक्षुषं नन्दते) ॥

The three words ending in वृक्षम् are Karmadhāraya. (21) जातोक्षः "a young bull;" (22) महोक्षः "a big bull;" (23) वृद्धोक्षः "an old bull." Not so when these are Bahuvrihi: as जातोक्षा ब्राह्मणः "Brahmanas possessing young bulls."

(24) The word वषट्पुनम् is an Avyayibhāva = पुनः सनीपम् ॥ Here the non-elision of the final syllable, and the change of व of वृ into ष (Samprasāraṇa) are irregular.

The word गोद्वन्द्वः is a Locative Tatpurusha, as गोद्वन्द्वः = गोद्वन्द्वः ॥ "a dog in a cowpen, a slanderer."

६४६ । ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्धसः । ५ । ४ । ७८ ॥

वर्ध् स्यात् । ब्रह्मवर्धसम् । हस्तिवर्धसम् ॥

पश्यतश्चभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पश्यवर्धसम् । राजवर्धसम् ॥

946. The affix ach comes after the word varehas, when preceded in a compound by the words Brahma or hasti.

Thus ब्रह्मवर्धसम् 'Sanctity resulting from the contemplation of Brahma,' हस्तिवर्धसम् 'strength of an elephant.' Varchas means 'light,' 'strength.'

Vārti:—So also when Varchas is preceded by the words palya and rājan: as, पश्यवर्धसम्, राजवर्धसम् ॥ The word पत्न means 'meat;' पश्य 'meat-eater;' पश्यवर्धसम् "the strength of the meat-eater."

६४७ । अचसमन्धेभ्यस्तमसः । ५ । ४ । ७९ ॥

अवतमसम् । संतमसम् । अन्धवतीत्यन्धं पचाद्यच् । अन्धं तमः अन्धतमसम् ॥

947. The affix ach comes after the word *tamas*, when preceded by the words *ava*, *sam* and *andha*, in a compound.

Thus अवतमसम् 'slight darkness' सन्तमसम् 'great darkness' अन्धतमसम् 'complete darkness so as to obstruct the sight.'

The word अन्ध is derived from the *churādi* root अन्ध with the affix अच् of पचादि class (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) ॥

९४८ । श्वसोवसीयःश्रेयसः । ५ । ४ । ८० ॥

पशुशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । ततः ईयसुनि वसीयः । श्वसश्च सत्तरपदार्थप्रशंसाभाषीविषयतामाह । श्वस्यंशकादिवास्तमासः । श्वोवसीयसम् । श्वःश्वसं ते भूयान् ॥

948. The affix ach comes after the words *vasi yas* and *śreyas*, when they follow the word *śvas* in a compound.

Thus श्वोवसीयसम्, श्वःश्वसम् ॥ The word वसीयः is derived from वसु meaning "praiseworthy," "rich," by adding the affix ईयसुनि (V. 3-57 S. 2005). The word श्वः is usually employed in blessing or praising the object expressed by the second term. These compounds belong to the class of *Mayūravyaśakādi* (II. 1. 72 S. 754) Thus श्वः श्वसन् ते भूयान् = शोभन् श्वसन्ते भूयान् ॥ The word श्वोवसीयसम् is a synonym of श्वः श्वसम् ॥

९४९ । अन्वचतमाद्रहसः । ५ । ४ । ८१ ॥

अन्वचतमाद्रहसम् । अन्वचतम् । तन्वचतम् ॥

949. The affix ach comes after the word *rahas*, when it follows *anu*, *ava*, and *tapta* in a compound.

Thus अन्वचतम् 'secluded' अन्वचतम् 'a little secluded' तन्वचतम् 'a hot place of seclusion' i. e. which is very strongly secluded, which is too hot for another to enter.

९५० । प्रतेयस्सः सप्तमीस्थान् । ५ । ४ । ८२ ॥

प्रति प्रति सप्तमस्य । दिवसवर्षेऽप्यस्योभासः ॥

950. The affix ach comes after the word *uras*, when it follows the word *prati* in a compound, and it has the sense of the locative.

Thus मथुरसह—वसि वचते 'against the heart.' This is an Avyayibhāva compound, the indeclinable having the force of a vibhakti (II. I. 6 S. 652.)

Note :—Why do we say "when having the sense of the locative?" Observe मथुरः = प्रतिगतदुरः ॥

९५१ । अनुगवमायामे । ५ । ४ । ८३ ॥

एतन्निपात्यते वीर्यत्वे । अनुगवं यानम् । यस्य चायान इति समासः ॥

951. The word *anugava* is irregularly formed by adding the affix *ach*, and has the sense of "suited to the length of the cows."

Thus अनुगवं यान "the chariot suited to the length of the oxen." This compound is formed by II. I. 16 S. 670.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning "the length?" Observe, यानं पथाद् = अनुगु ॥

९५२ । द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदिः । ५ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अथपच्यद्वितीयः समासश्च निपात्यते । आवती प्रकृतौ वेदिस्ततो द्विगुणा त्रिगुणा वाऽध्वनेषादौ तवेदं निपातनम् । वेदिर्पिति क्रिप् । द्विस्तावती त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

952. The words *dvistāvā* and *tristāvā* are irregularly formed, when qualifying a *vedi* or 'altar.'

The affix *अच्* is added and the final syllable (*i. e. दि*) is elided. Thus द्विस्तावा वेदिः "an altar twice as big as an ordinary one." त्रिस्तावा वेदि "thrice as big as an ordinary altar." Such big altars are used in important sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* &c. The words are compounds of द्विः and त्रिः plus तावन् meaning "as much." Why do we say "when applied to an altar?" Observe द्विस्तावती रज्जुः, त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

९५३ । उपसर्गादध्वनः । ५ । ४ । ८५ ॥

प्रगतोऽध्वनं प्राध्वो रथः ॥

953. The affix *ach* comes after the word *adhvan*, preceded by an *upasarga* in a compound.

Thus प्रगतोऽध्वनं = प्राध्वो रथः, 'a chariot.'

Note :—Why do we say "when preceded by an *Upasarga*?" Observe परमाध्या दध्माध्या ॥

९५४ । न पूजनात् । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

पूजनार्थत्वेभ्यः समासान्ता न स्युः । सुपजा । अतिराजा ॥

स्यसिभ्यामेव * ॥ नेह । परमराजः ।

पूजनात्किम् । शान्तिकाम्त्वोपतिगद्यः । बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यदर्शोरित्यतः प्राप्तेयायं निषेधः । नेह ।
सुसक्यः । स्वस्तः ॥

954. The samāsānta affixes are not applied to those words, the first member of which is a word expressing praise.

The present rule prohibits the application of the samāsānta affixes when such words are preceded by a word expressing praise. Thus V. 4. 91 S. 788 ordains the affix टच् when the word राजन् enters a compound, as, मह + राजन् = महा + राजन् + टच् = महाराजः, and not महाराजा ॥ But सुपजा 'a good king' अतिराजा, 'an excellent king.'

Vart :—The word expressing praise must be सु or अति and not any word expressing praise in general. Therefore, the prohibition does not apply in परमराजः and परमराजः ॥

Why do we say 'a word expressing praise' ? Observe अतिगद्यः 'a fool'; literally 'one who surpasses a bull in folly.' This prohibition applies up to sūtra V. 4. 113 S. 852 exclusive. Thus सुसक्यः 'having handsome thighs'; स्वस्तः, 'having beautiful eyes' here the affix टच्. (V. 4. 113 S. 852) is not prohibited.

६५५ । किमः क्षेपे । ५ । ४ । ७० ॥

क्षेपे यः किराधस्ततः परं वचदन्तास्मासान्ता न स्युः । कृत्स्नो राजा किराजः । किराया ।
किरीः । क्षेपे किर । किराजः । किरासः । किरावः ॥

955. The samāsānta affix is not applied to a word preceded by किम् in the sense of reproach.

Thus कि + राजन् = किराजन् as किराजो यो न रक्षति "He is no-king who does not protect." किराया योऽभिद्रुहति, किरीर्षो न वहति ॥ (V. 4. 91, S. 788 V. 4. 92, S. 729 II. 1. 64 S. 743). The compounding here takes place by Rule II. 1. 64. S. 743

Why do we say 'when meaning reproach' ? Observe कस्य राजा = किराजः ;
किराया, दिनः ॥

६५६ । मज्जस्मत्पुरुषान् । ५ । ४ । ७१ ॥

मज्जमानो न । मज्जजा । मज्जया । मज्जपतिविक्रम । मज्ज सक्तम् ॥

956. The samāsānta affix does not come after a tatpuruṣa compound of words like rājan &c, herein taught, when the negative particle न precedes them.

Thus नराजा 'a no-king, i. e. one who is not a king;' असखा, 'one who not a friend;' (V. 4. 91 S. 788 prohibited). Why do we say "after a Tatpuruṣa compound?" The same words preceded by the negative particle न take the samāsānta affix when forming compounds, other than Tatpuruṣa, as सधुरं सकदम् 'a car having no yoke.'

६५७ । पथो विभाषा । ५ । ४ । ७२ ॥

नञ्पूर्वात्पथो वा तन्नासान्तः । अपयन् । अपन्थाः । तत्पुरुषादित्येव । अपथो हेतुः । अपथं च ॥

957. The samāsānta affix does not optionally come after a Tatpuruṣa compound of the word पथिन् with नञ् ॥

This declares an option, where under the last sūtra the omission could have been necessary. Thus अपयन् or अपन्थाः 'absence of road' (see V. 4. 74 S. 940 and II. 4. 30 S. 815). But अपथोहेतुः 'having unsafe roads.' Here it is Tatpuruṣa.

Here ends the Samāsānta.

अथालुक्समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIV.

ON NON-ELISION OF CASE-AFFIXES IN CERTAIN COMPOUNDS.

६५८ । अलुगुत्तरपदे । ६ । ३ । १ ॥

अलुगधिकारः प्रामानकः उत्तरपदाधिकारस्त्वापादसमाप्तेः ॥

958. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 S. 982 inclusive, is always to be supplied the phrase, "the elision does not take place, before the second member of the compound."

Note.—The words अलुक् 'there is no elision,' and उत्तरपदे "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words jointly govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, S. 982; while उत्तरपदे singly extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI. 4. 1. S. 200.) Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 S. 959 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c." The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c., are not elided before the second member of the compound." Thus स्तोकाङ्गं पुनः = स्तोकाङ्गपुनः, अङ्गान्गुनः ॥ Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्कान्तः स्तोकाङ्ग = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

६५९ । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २ ॥

पञ्चः पञ्चम्या अलुक् स्यादुत्तरपदे । स्तोकाङ्गपुनः । एवमन्तिकार्थद्वयार्थकृच्छ्रभ्यः ।

उत्तरपदे किम् । निष्कान्तः स्तोकाङ्गिस्तोकः ॥

प्राज्ञायाश्चरितं उपपद्यमानम् * ॥ प्राज्ञे निहितानि प्राज्ञानि उपपातार् प्राज्ञानि ; यादि संघतीति प्राज्ञाश्चरितं स्त्रीविशेषः । द्वितीयार्थे पञ्चम्युपसर्गदानादिषु ॥

959. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c. is not elided before the second member of a compound

Thus स्तोकाङ्गं पुनः, अङ्गान्गुनः, अङ्गिकाङ्गपुनः, अङ्गिकाङ्गपुनः, अङ्गिकाङ्गपुनः, अङ्गिकाङ्गपुनः, अङ्गिकाङ्गपुनः ॥

Note.—By I. 2. 46. S. 179, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called pratipadika, and by II. 4. 71 S. 650 the endings of a Pratipadika

are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् युक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक् &c., in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां युक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः युक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोकायुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, S. 3650 VI. 2. 144 S. 3878), the word स्तोकाभ्यां युक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39 S. 701.

Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्कान्तः स्तोकात्=निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta deos not apply here.

Vart:—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शस्त्रानि = ब्राह्मणानि ; तानि शंसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् "a kind of Ritvic priest."

Vart :—अङ्गम् also should be enumerated. Thus अङ्गसाकृतम् 'done correctly.'

Vart :—The compounds पुंसात्पुत्रः and जन्मदन्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनात्पुत्रः=पुंसात्पुत्रः 'having an elder brother' जन्मदन्धः हेतुनाऽन्धः=जन्मदन्धः 'blind from birth'. The word जन्म is another name of जन्मन् 'birth.'

६६१ । मनसः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ४ ॥

मनसायुक्ता ॥

961. After मनस् when the compound is a name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसायुक्ता ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when a Name' ? Observe मनोवृत्तः, मनोयुक्ता ॥

६६२ । आज्ञायिनि च । ६ । ३ । ५ ॥

मनसः इत्येव । मनसा आज्ञातु शीलनस्य मनसाज्ञात्री ॥

962. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन्=मनसाऽऽज्ञायितु शीलनस्य ॥ 'One knowing by mind.'

६६३ । आत्मनश्च । ६ । ३ । ६ ॥

आत्मनस्तुल्योदाया अहुक् स्तोत्र ॥

पूरण इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ पूरणवर्षयान्ते वक्ष्यते इत्यर्थः । आत्मनस्तुल्यः । अनादिनस्त्वानप्युपे एवेति षट्श्लोकिर्बोध्यः ।

पूरणे विष् । आत्मकृतम् ॥

963. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided.

Vartika :—"When an Ordinal Numeral follows" should be added

Thus आत्मनश्चैव, 'himself and four others.'

Note :—The Instrumental case here takes place under the *Vartika* तुल्योदायादिषु षट्श्लोकिनाम्नादयाम् (II. 3. 18 Vart S. 361) And the compounding takes place by II. 1. 1-2, § 1-2 by separating इत्युदाया of that aphorism and making it a separate adverb in the way :—आत्मना इत्युदाया = आत्मनश्चैव ॥

How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ्य in जनाईनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ्य एव ? It is a Bahuvrīhi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when an ordinal numeral follows'? Observe आत्मकृतम् .

६६४ । वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः । ६ । ३ । ७ ॥

आत्मन् इत्येव । आत्मनेपदम् । आत्मनेभाषा । तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थ्येव । चतुर्थीति योगविभागात्समासः ॥

964. The Dative case-ending is not elided after आत्मन्, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 36, S. 698 and the force of the Dative is here that of tadārtha. If we do not read the anuvṛtti of आत्मन्, we can then dispense with the subsequent sūtra, for then it will mean "the Dative ending is not elided in a technical term of grammar."

६६५ । परस्य च । ६ । ३ । ८ ॥

परस्मैपदम् । परस्मैभाषा ॥

965. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदं "The Parasmaipada." &c.

९६६ । ह्रस्वदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ९ ॥

ह्रस्वतादन्ताच्च सप्तम्या अलुक् संज्ञायाम् । व्यधिसारः ॥

966. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus व्यधिसारः

९६७ । मयिव्युधिभ्यां स्थिरः । ८ । ३ । ९५ ॥

आभ्यां स्थिरस्त सप्तम्य एव । स्तान् । मयिष्ठिरः । अयं मयीवि वपनविशालम् । व्युधिष्ठिरः । आत्मा स्थिरः । अयं सहायामिति सप्तमीसमासः ॥

मय्यभ्यां च " ॥ एतिसूत्रम् । स्थितिपदम् ॥

967. The स् of स्थिरः is changed to ष after the words नवि and युधि ॥

Thus नविष्ठिर, 'firm in the sky.'

Though नो does not end in a consonant and so VI. 3. 9. S. 966 does not apply to it, yet it retains its Locative ending by the implication of this rule. So also व ending words: as युधिस्थिरः and अरण्ये वसन्तः ॥ The compound-ing takes place by II. 1. 44 S. 721 and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI. 3. 9 S. 966.

Note :—Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or व " ? Observe मयां कुक्कुटिका = नवीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां प्रासाः = भूमिप्रासाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name' ? Observe भक्त्यौष्ठः ॥

Vart :—The Locative ending is not elided after हर् and र्हि; as हविष्क, विविष्क = हव्यं विवं च सूशति ॥ The Locative has the force of accusative.

This rule is an exception by anticipation to VIII. 3. III S. 2123.

६१८ । कारनामि च प्राचां हलादौ । ६ । ३ । १० ॥

प्राचां वेद्ये वाकारानाम् तत्र हलाद्यनुसरणे हलदन्ताख्यमन्या बलुक् । सुकुटेकार्पापणम् । हयसि मायकः । पूर्वेषु तिष्ठे नियमार्यम् । कारमान्येव प्राचामिव हलादौवेति ।
कारनामि किम् । अन्धादिनपञ्चुः । कारावन्मथैतदेवम्व नाम । प्राचां किम् । दूयवयुः । हलादौ किम् ।
अधिकवैरणः । हलदन्तादिकम् । मयां वेद्यः नवीवेद्यः ॥

968. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short व, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सुकुटे कार्पापणम्, हयसिमायकः ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a *niyama* or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the name of a tax ? Observe अन्धादिनपञ्चुः = अन्धादिनपञ्चुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues,' but not of a 'tax' Why do we say "of the Eastern people" ? Observe दूयवयुः = दूयवयुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant' ? Observe

अविकटे वरणः = अविकटवरेणः The word वरण means 'sheep.' A kind of tribute consisting of sheep given in the rainy season (avikata = नैषसंघात) ॥ Why do we say 'ending in a consonant or अ' ? Observe नवर्षो दौदः = नदीसंघः ॥

६६६ । मध्याद्युत्ते । ६ । ३ । ११ ॥

मध्याद्युत्ते ॥ अन्ताद्युत्ते ॥ अन्त्याद्युत्ते ॥

969. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when युत्ते follows.

As मध्याद्युत्ते: 'A word of three syllables having a long one in the middle.'

Vart:—So also after अन्त; as अन्त्याद्युत्ते: ॥

६७० । अमूर्धमस्तकात्स्वाङ्गादकामे । ६ । ३ । १२ ॥

कण्ठेकालः । वरसिलोमा । अमूर्धमस्तकात्किम् । मूर्धशिखः । मस्तकशिखः । अकामं किम् । मुखे कामोऽस्य मुखकामः ॥

970. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, वरसिलोमा ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक' ? Observe मूर्धशिखः, मस्तकशिखः ॥ Why do we say 'other than काम' ? Observe:—मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥

Note:—When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply: as वत्तशीण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलिवाजः, अङ्घ्रावलिः ॥

६७१ । वन्धे च विभावा । ६ । ३ । १३ ॥

हृदयनासस्तम्बा अङ्गुक् । हस्तबन्धः । हस्तबन्धः । हृदयन्तेति किम् । सुनिबन्धः ॥

971. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः ॥

Note:—This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrhi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19 S. 977 when the compound is a Tatpuruṣa, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not. The word बन्धः is a यन् formed word.

हृत्तेर, पूर्वज्ञेते or पूर्वज्ञते ॥ काकः—पूर्वाज्ञेते or पूर्वाज्ञते ॥ तनः—पूर्वज्ञेते or पूर्वज्ञते ॥

Notes:—Why do we say 'after a time-name' ? Observe शुक्रतेर, शुक्रते ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or *av* applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥ The word काक means the word-form काक and not time-denoting words in general. The affix तन is taught in IV. 3. 23. S. 1391.

६७६ । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् । ६ । ३ । १८ ॥

खद्यः । खद्यः । आमेवासः । आमवासः । आमेवासी ॥ आमवासी ॥ इलवन्वादिस्तेष्व् । भुनिशयः ॥

अपो योनिवन्मद्वु ॥ ॥ अप्सु योनिरुपातिर्यस्य सोऽप्सुयोनिः । अप्सु भवोऽन्तव्यः । अप्सुमन्ता-
वाड्यभासी ॥

976. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन्, when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short *av* ॥

Thus खद्यः, or खद्यः, आमेवासः or आमवासः, आमेवासिन् or आमवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पुर्वाज्ञद्यः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than *av*) we have भुनिशयः ॥

Vart:—The Locative case-affix is retained after *av* when योनि, or the affix यत् or मत् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सवः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यन् is added by treating *av* as belonging to the दिगादि class (अन्तु भवः, IV. 3. 54 S. 1429). Some give अप्सुजः and अप्सुचरः as additional illustrations. The two mantras अप्सुमे सपिष्टव (Rig VIII. 43. 9) and अप्सु मे सोमो अन्नवीत् (Rig I. 23. 20, X. 9. 6) are called अप्सुमन्तौ verses: the oblations offered with these are also so called.

६७७ । नेन्सिद्धवन्धातिषु च । ६ । ३ । १९ ॥

इन्द्रगाविषु सक्तव्यं अलुय । स्थण्डिलधायी । साङ्गाश्वसिद्धः । अकवन्धः ॥

977. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from वन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलधायिन् "an ascetic who sleeps on the bare sthāṇḍila or sacrificial ground." सङ्गाश्वसिद्धः, अकवन्धकः ॥

*Note :—*The compounding takes place by *yoga-vibhāga* of sūtra II. 1. 40 S. 717. Some use the word चक्रवन्धः as an illustration under this rule : वन्ध then is derived by वच् of III. 1. 134 S. 2896. The वन्ध ending in चञ् is governed by VI. 3. 18 S. 971. This sūtra is an exception to Tatparasha VI. 3. 14 S. 972. In the Bahu-vihī, option of S. 971 takes place.

The prohibition of this sūtra applies to Tatparasha compounds only.

६७८। स्थे च भाषायाम् । ६ । ३ । २० ॥

सप्तम्या बहुवचनम् । सप्तम्यः । भाषायां किञ् । कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्टः ॥

978. The Locative ending is not preserved before थ in the spoken language.

Thus सप्तम्यः ॥ Why do we say 'in the spoken language'? Observe आखरेष्टः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्टः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106 S. 3643.

६७९। पष्ठ्या आक्रोशे । ६ । ३ । २१ ॥

चौरस्य कुलम् । आक्रोशे विप । आह्वानकुलम् ॥

पान्थिकपदस्थो युक्तिदण्डहेतुः * ॥ पाथोयुक्तिः । विशावण्डः । पथतोहरः ॥

आहुव्यापणः॥अहुव्यापिकाः॥अहुव्याकुलिकेति च * ॥ अहुव्यापणं आहुव्यापणः । नडादित्वात्कृत् ॥ अहुव्यापणस्य भावः आहुव्यापिका । मनास्तादित्वाहुञ् । एवमाहुव्याकुलिका ॥

देवानामिय इति च मूर्तेः * ॥ अन्वय देवमियः ॥

घोषपुच्छनाहर्गुण्डु घनः * ॥ घनःघोषः । घनःपुच्छः । घनोलाङ्गुलः ॥

विश्वं वसि * ॥ दिवोवासः ॥

979. The Genitive case-affix is retained, when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult.'

Thus चौरस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say "when insult is meant"? Observe आह्वानकुलम् ॥

*Vart :—*The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्तिः after दिग् before ण्ड, and after पथञ् before हर ॥ As, पाथोयुक्तिः, विशावण्डः, पथतोहरः ॥ पथत्वमनाह्वय एवमे "a robber who steals in the very sight of the owner, such as a goldsmith." The compounding is by II. 3. 38. S. 635.

*Vart :—*The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आहुव्यापणः, आहुव्यापिका and आहुव्याकुलिका ॥ अहुव्या is the Genitive-Singular of the Pronoun अहम्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes कृत् in forming the Patronymic, अहुव्यापणम् = आहुव्यापणः, अहुव्यापण्य भावः = आहुव्यापिका formed by इम् (V. 1. 133 S. 1798). So also आहुव्याकुलिका ॥

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानां प्रियः

Note :—The author of Siddhānta Kaumudi says "when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devānām-priya" There is no authority for this, either in the Mahābhāṣya or the Kāśikā. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant 'a fool.' The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshita through Brahmanical spite. The Tattvabodhini justifies it by saying that fools only worship Devas, the wise know themselves to be Brahma and so do not offer prayer to any lower spirit. Fools are, therefore, the beloved of Devas.

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided after मृन् when शेष, पुच्छ and क्षणल follow it :—मृन्ः शेषः, मृन्ः पुच्छः, मृन्कोलाक्षुनः ॥ These are names of three Rfishs.

Vart :—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिग् when दास follows :
as दिग्दासः ॥

६८० । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । २२ ॥

पठ्याः पुत्रे परेऽङ्ग्या निन्दायाम् । दास्याः पुत्रः । दासीपुत्रः । निन्दायां किम् । दासीपुत्रः ॥

980. The genitive affix is optionally retained, when insult is meant, if पुत्र follows.

Thus दास्याः पुत्रः or दासीपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say 'when insult is meant'? Observe दासीपुत्र ॥

६८१ । ऋतो विद्यायोनिःसंबन्धेभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २३ ॥

विद्यासंबन्ध्यानिःसंबन्धवाचिन ऋतन्तात्पठ्या अङ्गुक् । होतृस्नेहासी । होतृपुत्रः । पितृस्नेहासी । पितृपुत्रः ॥ विद्यायोनिःसंबन्धेभ्यस्तसूत्रोत्तरपदग्रहणम् * ॥ नेह । होतृपुत्रम् ॥

981. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतृस्नेहासिन्, होतृः पुत्रः, पितृस्नेहासिन् or पितृः पुत्रः ॥

Vartika :—The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore the rule does not apply to होतृपुत्रम्, पितृपुत्रम्. होतृ गृहम् पितृगृहम् ॥

६८२ । विभाषा स्वसुपत्योः । ६ । ३ । २४ ॥

अतन्तात्पठ्या अङ्गुक् यः स्वसुपत्योः पत्योः ॥

982. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in कृ, when स्वस्व and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Note :—Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःष्वसा, or मातृष्वसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितृष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII. 3. 81; S. 984. and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85 S. 983.) So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्दु पतिः or ननान्दुपतिः ॥

६८३ । मातुःपितृभ्यां मन्पत्तरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आभ्यां स्वसुः सस्य षो वा स्यात् समासे । मातृष्वसा । मातुःस्वसा । पितृष्वसा । पितुःस्वसा ।
दुष्पत्ते तु ॥

983. The स् of स्वस्व is optionally changed to ष, after मातुर् and पितुर् in a compound.

Thus मातुःस्वसा, or मातृष्वसा; पितुःस्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ The words मातुर् and पितुर् end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII. 2. 24 S. 280). In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a र्, the word मातुः therefore, by the rule of साहचर्ये is also to be understood as a र् ending word.

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here मातुः स्वस, when the words are used separately in a sentence.

But when the genitive case-affix is elided, then the following sūtra applies.

६८४ । मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा । ८ । ३ । ८४ ॥

आभ्यां परस्व स्वसुः सस्य षः स्यात् समासे । मातृष्वसा । पितृष्वसा । असमासे तु मातुःस्वसा ।
पितुः स्वसा ॥

984. The स् of स्वस्व is changed to ष after मातृ and पितृ in a compound where the case-affix is elided.

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ When there is no compounding then मातुः स्वसा and पितुः स्वसा. That is there is not even the optional ष of sūtra VIII. 3. 85 S. 983, when these words are used separately as a sentence.

Thus we have three cases :—

- (1) अनुक्त समासे as, मातुः स्वसा or मातुः ष्वसा "mother's-sister."
- (2) Ordinary समास, as, मातृष्वसा "mother's-sister."
- (3) No samāsa, as मातुः स्वसा "mother's sister."

Here ends the chapter on Aluk Samāsa

अथ समासाश्रय विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXV.

SOME RULES DEPENDING ON COMPOUNDS.

६८५ । धरूपकल्पचेलद्भुवगोत्रमतहृतेषु लघोऽन्तकाचो ह्रस्वः । ६ । ३ । ४३ ॥

भाषितपुंस्काचो ङी लघन्तस्यभिकाचो ह्रस्वः स्यात् धरूपकल्पव्यत्ययेषु परेषु चेलदाविषु चोत्तर-
परेषु । ब्राह्मणितरा । ब्राह्मणितरा । ब्राह्मणिकृषा । ब्राह्मणिकृषा । ब्राह्मणिवेरी । ब्राह्मणिहृवा । ब्राह्म-
णिगोत्रेखादि । ह्रस्वः पञ्चावस्यि इच्छद्विद्युत्तुल्यवैरभायो विधायते । चेलदावीनि वृत्तिविषये कुत्सनवा-
पीनि ॥ तैः कुत्सितानि कुत्सनेति विनासः । इच्छ किम् । इच्छातर । भाषितपुंस्काचिन् । आमलकीतर
कुवलीतर ॥

985. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, and before the words चेल (with the feminine in ई), ध्रुव, गौत्र, मत and हृत, a word ending in the feminine affix ङी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus प—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितरा ॥ ब्राह्मणिकृषा, ब्राह्मणिकृषा, ब्राह्मणिवेरी, ब्राह्मणि-
हृवा, ब्राह्मणिगोत्र, ब्राह्मणमत and ब्राह्मणितरा ॥ प, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेल् &c.
are words as second members; ध्रुवः is formed by झच् (III. 1. 134 S. 2896)
added to धृ, गुण and वच substitution being prevented anomalously. The
words चेल &c. denote censure as regards the livelihood of the person. The
compounding in the case of these takes place by II. 1. 53 S. 732.

Why do we say "ending in ई (ङी)"? Observe इच्छातर, शुभातर ॥ Why do
we say "consisting of more than one syllable"? Because words of one syllable
optionally become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say "having a
corresponding masculine"? Observe आमलकीतर; कुवलीतर, where आमलकी and
कुवली denote trees and are invariably feminine, having no equivalent mascu-
line forms.

Note :—The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called प (I. 1. 22. S. 2003) They
denote superlative comparative degrees. रूपप् is added in denoting praise (V. 3. 65
S. 2021). चेल is derived from चिन् चले 'to dress.' It means 'garment.' At the
end of a compound it denotes bad, wicked, vile. The word is read in पञ्चादि class as
चेल् (III. 1. 134. S. 2896) The ह् indicates that the Feminine is with ङीत् (IV. 1.
15, S. 470).

In ब्राह्मणितरा there is not masculation as required by VI. 3. 35 S. 836
because of the prohibition of VI. 3. 41 S. 842.

६८६ । नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ४४ ॥

अङ्गन्तनया इत्यन्तस्यैकाच पाणिषु इत्थो वा स्यात् । अङ्गबन्धुतर । अङ्गबन्धुतर । स्त्रिवरा
स्त्रीतरा ॥

कनया न * ॥ लक्ष्मीतरा ॥

986. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadi (I. 4. 3 S. 266 and 4 S. 303), the substitution of short vowel before घ &c. under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? They are of two sorts. First :— Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (ङी), and are called Nadi ; and secondly :—feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus अङ्गबन्धुतर or अङ्गबन्धुतर, स्त्रिवरा, or स्त्रीतरा ॥ The rule of masculation also does not apply.

Vart :—Nadi words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted : as लक्ष्मीतरा, सङ्गीतरा formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160).

९८७ । उमित्तञ्च । ६ । ३ । ४५ ॥

उमित्तः परा या नदी तदन्तस्य पाणिषु इत्थो वा स्यात् । विदुषित्त । इत्थाभावपक्षे तु तत्तिलानि
न्यसि विदुषन् । विद्वन्तरा । वृत्त्यापि विदुषीतरेत्यनुदात्तं तन्निर्मुक्तम् ॥

987. The feminine ई (ङी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before घ &c. (VI. 3. 43 S. 985).

Thus विदुषित्त ॥ It is formed by the Taddhita affix कृन् ॥ In the alternative when there is no shortening, there is masculation under VI. 3. 35. S. 836, when we get the form विद्वन्तरा ॥

In the Kāśika, Prakriyā Kumudī &c, the alternative form given is विदुषीतरा । This is not valid : for the long ई can never come, as the rule of वृत्त्यन् (S. 836) will at once apply in this alternative.

Note :—Or this latter form विद्वन्तरा may be considered to have been evolved from विदुषन्, to which is added the affix denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix in denoting a feminine.

६८८ । इदमस्य ह्येत्यवदण्नाभेयु । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

इदमिति ह्येत्यन् इदमस्य इति इदमन् । इदमवदेति इति । इदमन् । इत्येत्यवदण्नाभेयु । इत्येत्यवदण्नाभेयु । इत्येत्यवदण्नाभेयु । इत्येत्यवदण्नाभेयु ॥

988. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख and the affixes यत् and अण and before लोप्स ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखति = हृदयेऽयं, हृदयस्य दिवं = द्यम्, हृदयवेदुः = दर्वम्, हृदयस्य नासो = हृन्नासः ॥ The word लेख here is derived by ण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by ण् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयवत्तः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim "उत्तरपद-विकारे प्रत्ययमहणे न तदन्तमहणम्" ॥

Paribhāṣa :—"An affix, when employed in a rule in which the word-उत्तरपदे is valid, i. e. in a rule of VI. 3. 1. S. 958 does not denote a word-form ending with the affix."

Note :—As a general maxim, an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययमहणे यस्यान् स विहित स्वप्नदे स्वान्तस्य महणम्) ॥ Thus the word य. यत् &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in य. affix &c. But in this 3rd chapter of the sixth Book, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the above maxim: उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययमहणे न तदन्तमहणम् ॥ On the contrary, the affix denotes its own-form. Thus त्र तन् and तन in VI. 3. 17. S. 975 do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in the present sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख; and the affixes यत्, ण्, and लोप् follow". Had the affix ण् here meant the word-form ending in ण् then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the ण् affix. See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 S. 1391 for the affix तन् ।

६८६ । वा शोकध्वज्रोमेषु । ६ । ३ । ५१ ॥

हृच्छोकः । हृदयशोकः । सौशार्यम् । सौहृदयम् । हृज्रोमः । हृदयश्रोमः । हृदयसम्पत्त्यायो हृच्छ्रो-
ज्यास्ति । केन सिद्धे प्रपञ्चार्थनिवृत्तः ॥

989. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix च्च् follows.

Thus हृच्छोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौशार्यम् or सौहृदयम् ॥ Here च्च् is added, as हृदय belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 124. S. 1788. When हृद् is substituted there is Viddhi of both the members हृ and दृ by VII. 3. 19 S. 1133. So also हृज्रोमः or हृदयश्रोमः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृन् which is a full word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.

६६० । पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु । ६ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एतन्तरपदेषु पादस्य पद् इत्यदन्त आदेशः स्यात् । पादाभ्यामजतीति पदाजिः । पदातिः । अज्य-
तिभ्यां पादे चेलीण् प्रत्ययः । अज्यर्थभावी विपातनाम् । पदगः । पदोपहतः ॥

990. पद् (Padā) is substituted for पाद (pāda) before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजतिः ; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामतिः ॥ आजिः and अतिः are formed by इण् from अज् and अत् (Uṇ IV. 131), and irregularly अज् is not changed to शी though required by II. 4. 56 S. 2292 before this affix. So also पदगः = पदोभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पदोर्नोपहतः ॥

Note :—The substitute is पद् pada, ending in short अ, and not पद् 'pad' ; for had पद् been the substitute we could not form पद् + ग = पदगः ॥ Moreover in the next sūtra, the substitution taught is पद् (Pad) without the final अ ; so the पद् of this is with final अ ॥ The word पद् has no case-affix as a sūtra anomaly.

६६१ । पद्यत्यतर्थे । ६ । ३ । ५३ ॥

पादस्य पत्स्यावतर्क्ये यति परेन. पादे विध्यान्ते पद्याः सर्कराः । अतर्क्ये किम् । पदार्थपुदकं पाद्यम् । पदार्थाभ्यां पोति यत् ॥

इके परतादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पादाभ्यां परति पदिकः । पदोदितान् ह्रत् ॥

991. पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत्, used in any sense other than that of "suited there to."

Thus पदोदितान्ति = पद्या. सर्कराः ॥ Why do we say 'when यत् is used in any sense other than that of "suited there to"?' Observe पाद्यम् = पदार्थपुदकं ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 S. 1635 and V. 4. 25 S. 2093).

Vart :—Before the affix इण्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद ; ad पादाभ्यां परति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10 S. 1558.) by ह्रत् affix.

Note :—The word पाद in this sūtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यद् of V. I. 84, S. 1289 as द्विपाद्यम्, विपाद्यम् because पाद here denotes 'a measure'.

२९२ । द्विपादादित्यतिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५४ ॥

यतिगम् । पादात्पी । पदजिः ॥

992 पद् is substituted for पाद before द्वि, कतिप् and हति ॥

Thus पद्धिमन्. (= पदस्य स्त्रीत्वं) पत्कादिन् (= पदकारिणः) (with शिभि of III. 2. 78. S. 2988) as in अथ पत्कादिस्त्री यान्ति, and पद्धतिः (पदार्थां हन्यते) ॥ इति is formed with क्तिन् (कर्गणि क्तिन्) ॥

६६३ । अत्रचः शे । ६ । ३ । ५५ ॥

कचः पदस्य पर्यायच्छेदरे । गायत्री पच्छः सति । पदप्राप्तिस्यर्थः । कचः क्तिन् । पादश्चः कार्पापणं ददाति ॥

993. पद् is the substitute for पाद् before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री संतति=पादे पादे संतति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. S. 2110. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादश्चः कार्पापणं ददाति ॥

६६४ । वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु । ६ । ३ । ५६ ॥

पादस्य पद् । पदघोषः । पादघोषः । पन्मिश्रः । पादमिश्रः । पच्छब्दः । पादशब्दः ॥
निष्के चेति वाच्यम् * ॥ पद्विष्कः । पादविष्कः ॥

994. This substitution of पद् for पाद् is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पदघोषः or पादघोषः, पदमिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vart.—So also before निष्कः as पद्विष्कः or पादविष्कः ॥

६६५ । उदकस्त्रेयः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ५७ ॥

उदकघः ॥

उदकपदस्य घेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ स्त्रीघः ॥

995. उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदनेयः 'a person called Udamegha',

Note.—The well-known Patronymic from this is श्रीरुदेयिः ॥ Why do we say when it is a Name? Observe उदकानिदिः ॥

Vart.—उद is the substitute for उदक, when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, श्रीरुदेयः ॥

६६६ । पेशवासवाहनधियुः । ६ । ३ । ५८ ॥

उदपेशादिनिदि । उदवासः । उदवाहनः । उदधिपेयः । सप्तमे तु पूर्वैः सितम् ॥

996, उद is substituted for उक्क before पेपं, वास. वाहन .
and चे ॥

Thus उदपेपं दिनोद formed by शङ्ख by III. 4. 38. S. 3359. उदवासः =
उदकमववासाः, so also उदवाहनः ॥ उदकं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उदधिः 'a water jar'. The affix
is .कि (III. 3. 93 S. 3271). When the meaning is 'ocean', this form उदधि
will be evolved by the preceding sūtra, for then it is a sanjñā or name.

६६७ । एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ५९ ॥

उदकुम्भः । उदककुम्भः । एकेति किम् । उदकरधाली । पूरयितव्येति किम् । उदकपर्वतः ॥

997 उद is optionally substituted for उक्क before
a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses
that which is filled with water.

Thus उदकुम्भः, or उदककुम्भः, उदवाक्त्रम् or उदकपात्रम् ॥ Why do we say
'एकहलादि' meaning 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'?
Because the rule does not apply to उदकरधाली as the second member begins with
a conjunct consonant. Why do we say 'that which is filled with water'?
Observe उदकपर्वत ॥

६६८ । मन्थोदनसक्तुर्विन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

उदमन्यः । उदकमन्यः । उदोदनः । उदकोदनः ॥

998. उद is optionally substituted for उक्क, before
मन्य, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उदकेन मन्य = उदमन्य or उदकमन्यः । उदकोदीन, उदोदनः or उदकोदनः । सक्तु ।
उदकेन सक्तुः, उदराक्तु or उदकसक्तुः । विन्दु । उदकस्य विन्दुः, उदविन्दुः or उदकविन्दुः । वज्र ।
उदकस्य वज्रः उदवज्रः or उदकवज्रः । भार । उदकं विमर्शति उदभारः । or उदकभारः । हार उदकं
हरतीति, उदहारः or उदकहारः । वीवध । उदकस्य वीवध, उदवीवधः or उदकवीवधः । गाह । उदकं
गाहति इति, उदगाहः or उदकगाहः ॥

६६९ । इफो ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

इगलस्याङ्यलस्य इस्वो वा श्वाहुत्तरपठे । यामजिपुषः । यामजीपुषः । इक्कः किम् । रमापतिः ।
घटप इति किम् । गीरीपतिः । गालवमरण पूजार्थम् । अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवृत्तिः ॥

इयद्वयद्वयभयिनामवयवार्थो य नैति वाच्यम् * ॥ श्रीमयः । भूभङ्गः । सुश्रीभाषः ॥

अभृकुत्तारीनामिति पञ्चव्यम् * ॥ भृकुत्तः । भृकुटिः । भृकुत्तः । भृकुटिः । नाकारोऽनेन
वधायित इति व्याख्यान्तरम् ॥ भृकुत्तः । भृकुटिः ॥ भृवा कुत्तो भावणं घोषो वा यस्य सः स्त्रीवधायी
नर्तकः । भृव.कुटिः कौटिल्यम् ॥

999. According to the opinion of Gālava, a short
vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second

member for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (स्त्री)

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (स्त्री) and for ऊ, a short and व are substituted in a compound, before the second member. Thus चागणिवुनः or घानणीवुनः, अष्टचन्द्रवुनः or अष्टचन्द्रवृषः ॥

Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe एगवतिः ॥ Why no we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix स्त्री'? Observe नौरीवतिः ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned puṣārtha; for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra.

Vat :—It does not apply to Avyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इक् or वक् augment in their declension, as श्रीमद्ः । सुभक्तः । सुश्रीवाद्ः ॥

Part :—It does however apply to भूकुसं &c, as भूकुसः, or भूकुसः । भूकुतिः or भूकुतिः ॥ Others say व is substituted for भू &c. as भूकुसः and भूकुतिः ॥ भूकुस means an 'actor,' literally "he who talks (kunse) by the contraction of the eye-brows, or whose ornament (kunsā) are the eye-brows." A male actor who plays the part of a female. भूकुति means 'knitting of the eye-brows, or frown.'

१००० । एक तद्धिते च । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

एकशब्दस्य द्वयः स्वात्तद्धिते वत्तत्पदे च । एकस्या आगतं एकरूपम् । एकस्तीरम् ॥

1000. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या आगतं = एकरूपम् ॥ So also एकस्याः स्त्री = एकस्तीरम् ॥

Note :—The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका having the affix स्त्री ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवच्च) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. § 85. S. 836 i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then these rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine, which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the final letter, and not to a vowel situated in the beginning of a word.

१००१ । ख्यापोः संज्ञाल्त्वसोर्विभुलम् । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

रवतिवुनः । अशस्तीरम् ॥

1001. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (डी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As ऐतिषुः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः । नान्दीषोपः । नान्दीषिषालः ॥

So also in the Vedas, as कुमादिषा, प्रदादिषा ; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as कात्युनीषीर्णवासी, जगतीष्ठन्ः ॥

आप् ending words in Name: अजसीत्स्; किलवत्स्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकाष्टम्, लोमकाष्टम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजसीरेण सुशेति, ऊर्णवश पृथिवी विश्वधावत्स् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णवशेण कवयो वयसि ॥

१००२ । स्वे च । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

स्वगतये ऋषोर्वा इत्स् । अजत्स् । अजत्स् । ऐहिणित्वम् । ऐहिणीत्वम् ॥

1002. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix स् ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजत्वे or अजात्वे, ऐहिणित्वे or ऐहिणीत्वम् ॥

Note:—These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in इत् ॥

Now we take up the compounding of कौमुदगन्ध + पुषः ॥ In compounding these, two words, the following rule applies.

१००३ । प्यङ्ः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे । ६ । १ । १३ ॥

प्यङ्नात्स्य पूर्वपत्य संप्रसारणं स्यात्पुत्रपत्योक्तत्पदयोस्तत्पुरुषे ॥

1003. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix प्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

Therefore कौमुदगन्ध + पुषः = कौमुदगन्धि + पुषः ॥ Then applies the next sūtra, by which इ is lengthened.

Note:—When the words पुष and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samparsāraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowel) of the affix प्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus कौमुदगन्धेन संप्रसारणं = कौमुदगन्धिः (a Bahuvrīhi compound taking the samparsāraṇa affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 127 S. 863) कौमुदगन्धेन संप्रसारणं = कौमुदगन्धि + पुषः (IV. 1. 92 S. 106S) = कौमुदगन्धिः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding प्यङ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1193) Thus we have कौमुदगन्ध्या (see IV. 1. 78 S. 1193). Now in forming the Tatpurusha

compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final ह् will be changed into इ and we have कारिषगन्धी पुत्रः, कारिषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The वा of वा becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108 S. 330), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139 S. 1004). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः or कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix व्यङ्" ? Observe इत्यापुत्रः। क्षरीयापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुत्र or पति" ? Observe कारिषगन्धाकुलम्, कौमुदगन्धाकुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatparusha compound" ? Observe कारिषगन्धावतिरस्य घातस्य = कारिषगन्धावतिरस्ये घातः ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The affix व्यङ् is here the feminine affix य् followed by पाप् (भा) (see IV. I. 77 and 74).

१००४ । संप्रसारणस्य । इ । ३ । १३० ॥

संप्रसारणस्य रीतिः स्यादुत्तरस्ये । कौमुदगन्धायाः पुत्रः कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः । व्यवस्थितविभाषया इत्यो न । क्षीप्रत्यये चापुत्रसर्जनेनेति तदादिनियममतिरिधात् । परमकारिषगन्धीपुत्रः । उपसर्जने तु सदादिनियममिह । अतिकारिषगन्धापुत्रः ॥

1004. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः । कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13 S. 1003.

करीपस्वेवं गन्धीऽस्य = करिषगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta by V. 4. 136 and 137 S. 875 and 876). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61 S. 999 does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परत्वं, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139 S. 1004 and the rule VI. 3. 61 S. 999 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्गं विज्ञानं "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival, सङ्गतिविप्रतिषेधेऽप्यपि सङ्गतिरिव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: मन्त्रयपरस्ये चत्वाह स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तम्य ग्रहणम् ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply

in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word-form is subordinate: स्त्रीप्रत्यये षादुपसर्जने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारिपगन्ध्यायाः पुद्गः = परमकारिपगन्धीपुद्गः and so also परमकारिपगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्त कारिपगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारिपगन्ध्यापुद्गः, अतिकारिपगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

१००५ । बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ । ६ । १ । २४ ॥

बन्धुशब्दे वचस्पदे प्यङ्गः संप्रसारणं स्वाहहृदी । कारिपगन्ध्या बन्धुरस्येति कारिपगन्धीबन्धुः । बहुव्रीहिरिति किम् । कारिपगन्ध्याया बन्धुः कारिपगन्ध्याबन्धुः । स्त्रीनिर्देशस्तु शब्दस्वरूपावेत्या ॥ मातृशतृकमाह्वु वा ० ॥ कारिपगन्धीमातः । कारिपगन्ध्यामाता । कारिपगन्धीमातृकः । कारिपगन्ध्यामातृकः । कारिपगन्धीमाता । कारिपगन्ध्यामाता । अस्मादेव निपातनाम्नाह्वुशब्दश्च मातृशब्दः । 'तप्युत' (८१३) इति कविकल्पः । बहुव्रीहिविधेयम् । नेह । कारिपगन्ध्याया माता कारिपगन्ध्यामाता । विदसामर्थ्याविस्मरे बहुव्रीहिवरं वाचते ॥

1005. There is vocalisation of the affix च्चङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus कारिपगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारिपगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कीदृशगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारिपगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारिपगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word. It is shown as neuter only as regards the word-form bandhu.

Var:—There is vocalisation of च्चङ् in a Bahuvrīhi compound with मातृ, मातृक and मातृ optionally: as कारिपगन्धीमातः or कारिपगन्ध्या माता, कारिपगन्धीमातृक or कारिपगन्ध्यामातृक, कारिपगन्धीमाता, कारिपगन्ध्यामाता ॥ All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in क् take the samāsānta affix कर्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V. 4. 153, S. 833. So the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कर् is also optional. The rule is confined to Bahuvrīhi compounds. Therefore in Tatpurusha compounds there is no option, we have only one form, as कारिपगन्ध्यामाता "the mother of Kārishagandhya".

The indicatory च्च of मातृच् makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710), thus debarring the special accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1. 8. 3735).

१००६। इष्टकपीकामालानां चित्तूलमारिषु । ६। ३। ६५ ॥

इष्टकादीनां लक्षणां च पूर्वपदानां चित्तादिषु क्रमादुत्तरपदेषु ह्रस्वः स्यात् । इष्टकचितम् । पक्षेष्टकचितम् । इष्टीकतूलम् । सुज्ञेयीकतूलम् । मालमारी । उत्पलमालमारी ॥

1006. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित, in इष्टीका before तूल, and in माला before मारिष ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इष्टीकतूलम् and मालमारिषी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका, &c as they fall under Padādhikāra. So that the compounds ending in इष्टका, &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्षेष्टकचितम्, सुज्ञेयीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालमारिषी कन्या ॥

१००७। कारे सत्यागदस्य । ६। ३। ७० ॥

सुम्, स्यात् । सत्यङ्कारः । अगदङ्कारः ।

अस्तोषेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अस्तुङ्कारः ॥

पेनोर्भेज्यायाम् * ॥ पेनुम्भव्या ॥

लोकस्य पूथे * ॥ लोकम्पृणः । पूण इति सूत्रविभुजाविश्वरक्तः ॥

हृद्येऽनभ्यादस्य * ॥ अनभ्यादमित्यः । पूतः परितर्क्य इत्यर्थः ।

आष्टाम्ब्यादिभ्ये * ॥ आष्टामित्यः । अष्टामित्यः ॥

मिलेऽगितस्य * ॥ विमिक्षितः । अगितस्य किम् । मिलमित्यः ॥

मिलमित्ये च * ॥ विमिक्षितमित्यः ॥

उष्णभद्रयोः करणं * ॥ उष्णङ्कारणम् । भद्रङ्कारणम् ॥

1007. सुम् is the augment of सत्यः and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यङ्कारः = सत्यं करोति or सत्यस्यकारः 'to take oath'. So also अगदङ्कारः "a physician."

Vart :—So also of अस्तुः as अस्तुङ्कारः "efficacious, working as a medicine."

Note :—So also, in Vedas, of भृष्ट before कार—e. g. भृष्टङ्कार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥

Vart :—Of पूथे before भृष्ट, e. g. पूथेभृष्ट (पूथेभृष्टासीत्यर्थे च) ॥

Vart :—Of लोक before पूथे, e. g. लोकपूथे "filling or pervading the

world." As लोकमृणैः परिमलैः परिपूरितस्य ॥ वृण् is formed by the affix क (III. 2. 5. S. 2919 vart.) added to the root वृण् ॥ as it belongs to the Mōla-vibhujādi class.

Vart :—Of वृण्भ्याश्च before हृत् as वृण्भ्याश्चामित्यः "to be shunned from afar."

Vart :—Of भाट् and भट्ति, before ह्यन्धः, as भाट्तिमिन्धः, भट्तिमिन्धः "one who fries or roasts."

Vart :—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल c. g. तिमिङ्गिलः "a kind of fish which swallows a *timi*." But गिलगिलः ॥

Vart :—So also before गिलगिल, c. g. तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vart :—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, c. g. उष्णकरण and भद्रकरण ॥

१००८ । रात्रेः कृति विभाषा । ६ । ३ । ७२ ॥

रात्रिचरः । रात्रिचरः । रात्रिमरः । रात्र्यतः । अत्रिद्वयानि संज्ञकम् । अत्रि तु अत्रिद्वयानि गिलमेव वक्ष्येत् । रात्रिमन्यः ॥

1008. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमरः or रात्र्यतः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāṣā. This sūtra applies to words not formed by a कृत् affix. The augment हुम् is compulsory by VI. 3. 67 S. 2942 before a kṛt-affix having an indicative स्, As, रात्रिमन्यः ॥ Here the affix खम् (III. 2. 83 S. 2923) is added to the root मन्; and as it is a sārvaśatuka affix, because it has an indicative च, therefore the vikaraṇa खन् is added.

१००९ । सदस्य सः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ७८ ॥

सचरार्थः । सचरार्थम् । संज्ञायाम् किम् । सद्व्युत्पत्ता ॥

1009. स is substituted for सद, in a Name, when followed by another word in a compound.

Thus सद्व्युत्पत्ता ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सद्व्युत्पत्ता formed by लङ् (III. 2. 96 S. 3005). The ई is not added in the Feminine, because of the *Atika* under IV. 1. 7. S. 456.

१०१० । सप्रधानताधिके च । ६ । ३ । ७९ ॥

सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने । सप्रधाने ।

1010. स is the substitute for सद, in a compound when followed by another word, when it has the sense of

'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work) or 'more.'

Thus सकलं = कलान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also समुहूर्तम् = (सुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ सः संसृष्टं (=संमहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by "अन्त-वचने" (II. 1. 6 S. 652). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81 S. 660. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book.' When the sense is that of 'more,' we have सदोपाख्याती. समस्तः कार्पाष्यः । सकाकिणीको मासः ॥

१०११ । द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये । ६ । ३ । ८० ॥

अनुमेये द्वितीये सहस्य सः स्यात् । सराक्षसीका निशा । राक्षसी साक्षादनुपलभ्यमाना निचयाऽनुमीयते ॥

1011. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter, however, is not directly perceived.

Note:—Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, 'the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य. I. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus सदि' (कपौतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where.' सविचाया वाय्वा "a storm-wind which announces the Pīśāchas."

सराक्षसीका निशा. Here the fire, the Pīśācha or the Rākshas as are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon, storm-wind and night. In सराक्षसीका, there is added क्व by V. 4. 153 S. 833.

१०१२ । समानस्य छन्दस्वमूर्ध्वमभ्युदकेषु । ६ । ३ । ८४ ॥

समानस्य सः स्यादुत्तरपक्षे ननु मूर्धादिषु । अत्र भावा समर्थेः । ननु स्यात् सख्यः । यो नः सख्यः । नयमय इत्यर्थे समर्थसख्यसमुदाशयः । समुपाशय किम् । समानमूर्ध्वः । समानमभ्युदयः । समानीदृक्काः । समानस्येति योगो विभज्यते । तेन सप्तः साधर्म्यं समातीयागव्याप्तिं सिद्धयिति काशिका । वाय्वा सविचायः सहस्यवचनोपपत्तिः । सहसः सख्यः सख्यतीति यथा । तेनायमस्यपदविमर्शो बहुव्रीहिः । समानः पक्षोऽस्येति ॥

1012. स is the substitute of समान in the Ohhandas but not before मूर्धन्, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अनुधाता सगर्भः, अनुसखा सयूध्यः, कोना ससुखा (IV. 4. 114 S. 3460) समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, सख भवः = सयूध्यः formed by सत् affix IV. 4. 114 S. 3460. Why do we say 'not before मूर्धन् &c.' Observe समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृत्या, समानो-दर्काः ॥

"The sūtra should be divided into two *vids*, समानस्य forming one sūtra, and छन्दस्वमूर्द्धं &c., another. 'This we do in order to get the forms सवसः, साधाम्यम्, सजातयिन् &c., in secular language also.' Thus says the author of the Kāśikā.

Or we may say the word सह means also सदृश, as we have already seen in the word ससर्खा (= सदृश सख्यत्). Therefore the above are Bahuvrīhis, which should be analysed thus समानः पञ्चोद्भूतः = सपञ्चः &c. Here स is an elliptical form of सह meaning सदृशः. See VI. 3. 82 S. 849 by which सह is changed to स ॥

Note:—This sūtra is a Vaidic rule and ought to have been taught by Bhattoji in the Vaidic chapter. He has taught it here in order to show that by Yoga vibhāga it can be applied to ordinary language also.

But if the view be taken that in सपञ्चः &c., the स is सह, then there is no necessity of Yoga-vibhāga; for the Māhābhāṣya has not shown this splitting of this particular sūtra.

१०१३ । ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनामिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णचयवचनयन्धुषु ।
६ । ३ । ८५ ॥

एषु द्वावतत्त्वतएतेषु समानस्य सः स्यात् । सज्योतिः । सजनपद इत्यादि ॥

1013. This substitution of स for समान takes place before the twelve words ज्योतिष्, जनपद, रात्रि, नामि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान, वर्ण, चयस्, वचन and यन्धु in the common language also.

This सज्योतिः, सजनपद, सरात्रिः, सनामि, सनामन्, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सचयः, सवचन, सयन्धुः ॥

Note:—सज्योतिर (scent) is the period of impurity which lasts up to the setting of the sun or the asterism in which the impurity commenced.

१०१४ । चरमे प्रत्ययानिनि । ६ । ३ । ८६ ॥

प्रत्ययानिनिप्राप्तये सप्तमस्य स सप्तमस्य सप्तमस्य सप्तमस्य । चरमे, चारता । इन्द्र वेदः । सप्तमस्य सप्तमस्य । सप्तमस्य सप्तमस्य । सप्तमस्य सप्तमस्य ॥

1014. 'स' is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study ब्रह्म means the Vedas. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a sabrahmachāri. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow, is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥

Note:—सब्रह्मचारिन् therefore means a co-student, one who reads the same Vedic portion as the other.

१०१५ । तीर्थे ये । ६ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तीर्थे वसन्त्ये यावै प्रत्यये विवक्षिते समानस्य सः स्यात् । सतीर्थ्यः = एकगुरुकः । समानतीर्थेण सीति यथलयाः ॥

1015. 'स' is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ, when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थ्यः = समान साथ चारी (IV. 4. 107. S. 1658) 'a fellow-student,' i. e. whose preceptor is one and the same person: who are studying under a common teacher. The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 107 S. 1658.

१०१६ । विभाषोदरे । ६ । ३ । ८८ ॥

यावै प्रत्यये विवक्षिते इत्येव । सोऽर्थः । समानोऽर्थः ॥

1016. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

सोऽर्थः or समानोऽर्थः (IV. 4. 108 S. 1659).

१०१७ । दृग्दृक्चतुषु । ६ । ३ । ८९ ॥

सदृक् । सदृशः ॥

दृशे चेति यत्कर्मण्य * ॥ सदृशः । चतुस्तार्यः ॥

1017. 'स' is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दृश् and the affix यत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes क्त्, and क्तिन् are added to दृश् under III. 2. 60 S. 429. Vārt which give us the forms दृक् and दृश ॥

Vart :—So also before दृश् as सदृश् ॥ दृश् is formed by कृत् affix under III. 2. 60S. 429 Vārtika.

The affix वृत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

१०१८ । ईदं किमोरोशकी । ६ । ३ । २० ॥

इदं दृश्यवत् इदम् ईदं किम् की स्यात् । ईदक् । ईदशः । कीदक् । कीदशः । वृत्सादृशं वक्ष्यते ।
दृक्षे च । ईदशः । कीदशः ॥ आ सर्वनामः ॥ दृक्षे च । तादृक् । तादशः ॥ तावाम् । तादृचः । दीर्वः ।
मत्स्योत्सः । अमृदक् । अमृदशः । अमृदचः ॥

1018. ई is substituted for इदम् and की for किम् before the words दृक्, दृश् and the affix वृत् ॥

Thus ईदक्, ईदशः and इयान्, कीदक्, कीदशः and कियान् ॥

Note :—ईयान् and कीयान् are changed to ई + इयान् and की + इयान् by V. 2. 40 S. 1841 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311 and we get इयान् and कियान् ॥

Vart :—So also before दृच, as ईदचः and कीदचः ॥

So also when the rule VI. 3. 91 S. 430 applies and आ is added to pronouns, as तादृक्, तादशः, तावाम् and तादृचः ॥

So also in the case of the Pronoun अदम् when it takes the long अ (VII. 3. 91 S. 430), and म and न substitutions: (VIII. 2. 80 S. 419) as—
अमृदक् ; अमृदशः ; अमृदचः ॥

१०१९ । समासेऽङ्गुलिः सङ्गः । ८ । ३ । ८० ॥

अङ्गुलिश्च समासस्य सङ्गः सङ्गः सङ्गः । अङ्गुलिश्चङ्गः । समासे किम् । अङ्गुलिः सङ्गः ॥

1019. ण् is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound.

Thus अङ्गुलिश्चङ्गः ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe अङ्गुलिः सङ्गः ॥

Note :—The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive (८ सङ्गस्य ॥

१०२० । गीरोः स्थानम् । ८ । ३ । ८१ ॥

गीरोः स्थानम् । स्थानम् । गीरोः स्थानम् । गीरोः स्थानम् । गीरोः स्थानम् ॥

1020. ण् is substituted for the स् of स्थानम् when preceded by गीरि in a compound

Thus श्रीहृष्टानम् ॥ The word "compound" is understood here also ; otherwise भीरोः स्थानि ॥

१०२१ । ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आभ्यां स्तोमस्य सत्य नूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । उद्योतिद्योमः । आयुद्योमः । समासे किम् । उद्योतिषः स्तोमः ॥

1021. The **स** of स्तोमः is changed to **प्** after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound.

As उद्योतिद्योमः, आयुद्योमः ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe उद्योतिषः स्तोमः where there is no compounding.

१०२२ । सुषामादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ९८ ॥

सत्य नूर्धन्यः । शोभने साम यस्य सुषामा । सुषन्धिः ॥

1022. The **स्** is changed to **प्** in the words सुषामन् and the rest.

Thus सुषामा आश्रयः=शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥ So also सुषन्धिः ॥

Note :—1 सुषामा, 2 निषामा, 3 दुषामा, 4 सुषेधः, 5 निषेधः (निषेधः), 6 दुषेधः, 7 सुषन्धिः, 8 निषन्धिः (निषेधः), 9 दुषन्धिः, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 नीरिषक्यः संज्ञायां 13 प्रतिष्ठायां, 14 अज्ञायां, 15 नीरिषक्यम् (नीरिषक्यम्), 16 दुष्टुनिषेधक्यम् (दुष्टुनिषेधक्यम्), 17 एति संज्ञायां, 18 इति संज्ञायां, 19 नष्टायां, 20 इति संज्ञायां ॥ आश्रयः ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII. 3. 111, S. 2123 others would never have taken **प्**, hence their inclusion in this list. The word सु is here a karmapravachanīya (I. 4. 94 S. 555) and निर and दुर also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs नेम् and ऋः; so VIII. 3. 65 S. 2270 does not apply to संघ preceded by निर and दुर ॥ The word संघ here is a पञ्च formed word, from विष् हिसा संघः; if it be derived from विष् सत्यम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII. 3. 113 S. 2278. The words सुषन्धिः, दुषन्धिः &c., are derived from घृ with the prepositions सु and दु, and the affix क्ति (III. 3. 92 S. 3270); and the स of सन्धि is changed to घ ॥ The words सुष्टु दुष्टु are Uṇādi formed words (U. I. 25). The word नीरिषक्यः is a Bahuvrīhi, the स of संज्ञेय is changed to घ and the Samāsanta पञ्च is added (V. 4. 113 S. 852). The long इ of the first member is shortened by VI. 3. 63 S. 1001. The change takes place when it is a Name. The word प्रतिष्ठायां is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root स्था, and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106 S. 3283), and we have प्रतिष्ठायां with अङ्; then अङ् is added by V. 3. 73 S. 3028 and अङ् shortened (VII. 4. 13 S. 834), and इ added by VII. 3. 44 S. 463. The word नीरिषक्यम् is formed by adding लुङ् to निर ॥ दुष्टुनिषेधक्यम् is also a लुङ् formed word from संघेति or इति संघेति ॥ There are two sūtras in the above list. They are explained below.

१०२३ । एति संज्ञायामगात् । ८ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्यः । हरिवेणः ॥ एति किम् । हरिवक्थम् । संज्ञायां किम् । पृथुसेनः । अगकारात्किम् । विष्वक्सेनः । इष्कोरित्वे । सर्वसेनः ॥

1023 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इष् or कु is changed to ए, when the word is a name, and when the स् is not preceded by न् ॥

Thus हरयः सेना अस्य = हरिवेणः, परितः सेना अस्य = परिवेणः, so also वारिवेणः, आहुवेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिवक्थम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथु सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI. 3. 34 S. 831). Why do we say 'when the स् is not preceded by न्'? Observe विष्वक् सेनः ॥ The phrase इष्कोः (VIII. 3. 57 S. 211) is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेनः ॥

Note :—This sūtra is read in the list of Sushāmādi class (see the last sūtra 1022) so also the next sūtra. They have been inserted in the Aśhādhya from the Gaṇapāṭha.

१०२४ । नक्षत्राद्या । ८ । ३ । १०० ॥

एति सस्य संज्ञायामगकारान्मूर्धन्यो वा । रोहिणीवेणः । रोहिणीसेनः । अगकारात्किम् । सप्त-
मिषक्सेनः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1024 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ए substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional.

Thus रोहिणीवेणः or रोहिणीसेनः ॥ Why do we say 'when not preceded by न्'? Observe मिषक् सेनः where the preceding letter is न् ॥

Note :—These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gaṇa-sūtras, being read in the Gaṇa. They have, since long, been raised to the rank of full sūtras.

All cerebral ए changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under the Sushāmādi gaṇa.

१०२५ । अपष्ठचतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थस्थितोत्सुकोत्तिकाक-
रागच्छेषु । ६ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अन्यदशस्य दुगागमः स्यादशीरादिषु परेषु । अन्यदशीः । अन्यदशाः । अन्यदशस्थः । अन्यदस्थितः । अन्यदुगाकः । अन्यदुति । अन्यद्वामः । अन्यदीयः ॥ अपष्टीत्यादि किम् । अन्यस्याऽन्येन वागी । अन्यदशी । कारके छिन्ना नाम निषेधः । अन्यस्य कारकः अन्यत्कारकः । अन्यस्यायमन्यदीयः । गृह्यसकृतिगण-
स्थाः ॥

1025. **अन्य**, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment **हुक्** (हु), before **आशिष्**, **आशा**, **आस्था**, **आस्थित**, **उत्सुक**, **कृति**, **कारक** and **राग**, as well as before the affix **छ** (ह्य).

Thus **अन्य आशीः** = **अन्यवाशीः** **अन्य आशा** = **अन्यवाशा**, **अन्य आस्था** = **अन्यवास्था**, **अन्य आस्थितः** = **अन्यवास्थितः**, **अन्य उत्सुकः** = **अन्यवत्सुकः**, **अन्य कृतिः** = **अन्यवृतिः**, **अन्य कारकः** = **अन्यवकारकः**, **अन्य रागः** = **अन्यवरागः** ॥ So also with **छ**, as **अन्यस्मिन् भवः** = **अन्यवस्मिन्** ॥ It takes **छ** because it belongs to **गृहादि** class (IV. 2, 138 S. 1362.) **Gahādi** is **Akritigāṇa**.

Why do we say 'when not in the Genitive or the Instrumental'? Observe **अन्यस्व आशीः** = **अन्यवाशीः**, **अन्येन आस्थितः** = **अन्यवास्थितः** &c. With regard to the word **कारक** and the affix **ह्र**, the **हुक्** augment is universal, though **अन्य** may be even in the Genitive case &c: as **अन्यस्य कर्तृकः** = **अन्यद् कर्तृकः**, **अन्यस्यिह** = **अन्यदस्यिह** ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the *sūtra* (**अपटी** and **अवृत्तीया**), implies this.

१०२६ । अर्थे विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १०० ॥

अन्यार्थः । अन्यार्थः ॥

1026. **हुक्** is optionally the augment of **अन्य** when **अर्थ** follows.

As **अन्यार्थः** or **अन्यार्थः ॥**

१०२७ । कोः कस्यपुरुषेऽपि । ६ । ३ । १०१ ॥

अजातवृत्तरपदे । कुत्सितोऽप्यः कश्चिः । कश्चिद् । तस्यपुरुषे किय । कुट्टी राजा ॥
षी च * ॥ कुत्सिताख्य कश्चिः ॥

1027. **क्व** is substituted for **कु** in a **Tatpuruṣa**, when **अ** word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As **कश्चिः**, **कश्चिद्** ॥ Why do we say in a **Tatpuruṣa**? Observe **कुट्टी राजा** ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel" ? Observe **कुत्सिताख्य**, **कुपुरुषः** ॥

Vari :—**क्व** is substituted before **च**, as **कश्चिदयः** = **कुत्सिताख्यः** ॥

१०२८ । रथवदयोश्च । ६ । ३ । १०२ ॥

कश्चिः । कश्चिद् ॥

1028. कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and घद् also.

Thus कद्ग्रथः, कद्घः ॥

१०२६ । तुये च जातो । ६ । ३ । १०३ ॥

कच्णम् ॥

1029 कत् is substituted for कु. when वृण follows denoting a species.

As कच्णा नाम जातिः ॥ But कुक्षितानि वृणानि = कुवृणानि ॥

१०३० । का पटयक्षयोः । ६ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कापयम् । काक्षः । अक्षयत्वेन तत्पुरुषः । अक्षयत्वेन बहुव्रीहिर्वा ॥

1030. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापयम् and काक्षः ॥ The latter is a Tatpuruṣa, if the second word is *akṣha*; and it is Bahuvrīhi also, if the second term is *akṣhi*.

१०३१ । ईपदर्थे । ६ । ३ । १०५ ॥

ईपजलं कानलम् । अनावाधनि परवाल्कादिभः । कामः ॥

1031. का is the substitute of कु, when the meaning is 'a small.'

As कानपुलम्, कानलम् । कानलम् "a little water." Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 S. 1027 because this sūtra is *subsequent* in order; as कामम् ॥

१०३२ । विशाखा पुरुषे । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

कापुरुषः । कुपुरुषः । अप्राप्तविशेषणम् । ईपदर्थे हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधातिशयोक्त्या । इवपुरुषः । कापुरुषः ॥

1032 का is optionally substituted for कु. when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कुपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhagā. In the sense of 'a little ईप', the substitution is compulsory and not optional, by the setting aside of the prior; as ईपन् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

१०३३ । कवं चोष्णे । ६ । ३ । १०७ ॥

उष्णश्चक्रे उत्तरपदे कोः कवं का च वा स्यात् । कवोष्णम् । कोष्णम् । कदुष्णम् ॥

1033. का and कव are optionally the substitutes of कृ when उष्ण follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

१०३४ । पृषोदरादीनि यथोन्दिष्टम् । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

पृषोदरप्रकाराणि शिष्टैर्यथोच्चारितानि तथैव साधूनि स्युः । पृषतः उपरं पृषोदरम् । तजोपः । वारिवाहको वलाहकः । पूर्वपदस्य चः उत्तरपदादेशे लत्वम् ॥

भवेत्तर्थागमाद्धेतः सिद्धे वर्णावपर्ययात् । गूढोऽपि दर्शयितुं वर्णनात्पृषोदरम् ॥

दिक्कावैश्वस्तीरस्य तारभावो वा * ॥ दक्षिणतारम् । दक्षिणतीरम् । उत्तरतारम् । उत्तरतीरम् ॥

दुरो शशमाशवभज्येधूलमुत्तरपदादेः दुत्वं च * ॥

दुःखेन वाच्यते दूडाशः । दुःखेन वाच्यते दूणाशः । दुःखेन वाच्यते दूडभः । खल् त्रिभ्यः । इम्मेमेतोषी निपात्यते । दुःखेन ध्यायतीति दूडभः । गीतयोति काः । लुपन्तोऽस्यां सीदन्तीति वृषी । ध्रुवच्छ-
पदस्य ह्र आदेशः सदैरधिकरणे ङङ् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1034. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषोदर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपादिष्टम् = शिष्टैर्यथोच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुदरे यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् वधानं तस्य = पृषोद्धानम् ॥ Here there is elision of इ ॥ So also वारिवाहकः = वलाहकः, here वारि is replaced by व, and ल replaces व of वाहकः; जीवनस्य गूढः = जीमूतः, here वन has been elided; शनानां शयने = शमधानम्; here शन replaces शव; and शान for शयन ॥ वल्ले खनस्य = वल्लुखलम्; here वल्लु replaces वल्ल, and खल replaces खन ॥ 'विशि-
ताशः = विशाचः ॥

मह्यां ऐषि = नहूरः ॥ Here मह्ये is replaced by नहृ, and the final of इ is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अरवस्य, काचित्य &c.

The following verse enumerates the anomalies of Prishodara class compounds :—

VERSE.

The word ह्रस्व is formed by the augment of a letter; the word सिङ्ग is formed by the transposition of letters; the word गूढोऽस्मात् is formed by mutation of letters, and the word पृषोदरे is formed by the destruction of letters.

Note :—हंस is formed from the root हन् with the affix अण् (of Paśhādi class III. 1, 134 S. 2896) ; and the augment सक्. हन् + सक् + अण् = हंसः ॥ From √ हिर is formed सिंह by the Paśhādi अण्, the letters ह and स change position inter se.

Vart :—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतीरम्, or दक्षिणतारम्, वनतीरम्, or वनतारम् ॥

Vart :—The final of हुन् is changed to व, before राघ, नाघ, वभ and ध्वे and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus हुःखेन राघयते, नाघयते, वभयते वः = वूढाघः, वूढ्याघः, वूढभः ॥ In the last (वभ) there is elision of the nasal also. These three words are formed by the affix लृट् (III. 3, 126 S. 3305) हुःखेन ध्यावति = वूढ्यः ॥ Here is added the affix क् to the root ध्या (ध्वे) preceded by the upapada हुः, by III. 1, 126 S. 2898.

कुपन्तीऽश्वां वीरयति = वृत्ती ॥ Here वृ takes the affix उट् in the locative, and वृष is replaced by वृ ॥ वृत्तीनामसनं वृत्ती "The seat of a sage is called brisī." (See Amarakośha II. 7. 46).

१०३५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । ३ । ११४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1035. In the following sūtras upto the end of the third pāda of the sixth Adhyāya, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an uninterrupted flow of speech."

Note :—Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 S. 3537 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns." Thus विष्वादिष्या सप्तसि ब्रूत गोनाम् ॥ The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विष्वा, हि, स्वा, सप्तार्ध, ब्रूत गोनाम् ॥

१०३६ । कर्णे लक्षणस्याऽविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिमिश्रच्छिन्नच्छिद्रक्षुब्धस्वस्ति-
कस्य । ६ । ३ । ११५ ॥

कर्णपक्षे वेरे लक्षणवाचकस्य शिर्षः । द्विगुणार्कः । लक्षणस्य किम् । सोमनार्कः । अविष्टादीनां किम् । विष्टकणः । अष्टकणः । पञ्चकणः । त्रिकणः । द्विकणः । छिन्नकणः । छिद्रकणः । क्षुब्धकणः । स्वास्तिककणः ॥

1036. Before कर्णे, there is the -substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not

when the words are **च**, **अपृ**, **पञ्चन्**, **मणि**, **भिन्न**, **छिन्न**, **छिद्र**, **शुच** and **स्वास्तिक** ॥

Thus **ह्रियणाकण** ॥ The word **लक्षण** here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say 'when it denotes such a mark'? Observe **होमनकर्म** ॥ **od** ॥ Why we say 'with the exception of **विष्ट** &c'? Observe **विष्टकर्म** ॥ **मद्यकर्म**, **पञ्चकर्म**, **भिन्नकर्म**, **छिन्नकर्म**, **रिद्धकर्म**, **शुचकर्म**, **स्वास्तिककर्म** and **मणिकर्म** ॥

१०३७ । नदिवृत्तिवृत्तिव्यधियचिसहितानिषु कौ । ६ । ३ । ११८ ॥

किञ्चिन्तेषु एषु परेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः । उपागन् । नीवृत् । भावृद् । सर्गाविन् । नीहृक् । अनीहृक् । ऋतीपद् । परीतहृ । क्ताविति किम् । परिग्रहनम् । विभाषा पुरुष इत्यंता मण्डूकप्लुत्या विभाषातुवन्ते सा च व्यवाधिता । तेन गतिकारकयोरेव । नेहृ । पट्टहृक् । तिग्महृक् ॥

1037. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs **नहृ**, **वृत्**, **वृष्**, **व्यधृ**, **रुहृ**, **सहृ** and **तहृ**, when these roots take the affix **क्वि** ॥

Thus **उपागन्** (**उपागन्** Nom. S.), 'so also, **परीतहृ**, **नीवृत्**, **उपावृत्**, (with **vrt**) **भावृद्**, **उपावृद्**, (with **vrtsh**) **सर्गाविन्**, **वृद्धाविन्**, **स्वाविन्**, (with **vyadh**) **नीहृक्**, **अनीहृक्** (with **tuch**) **ऋतीपद्**, (with **sah**) **सरीतहृ** (with **tan**). The nasal is elided after **गम्** before **क्वि** (VI. 4. 40 S. 2986), and by an extension of that rule, it is elided after **सन्** also. Why do we say 'when **क्वि** follows'? Observe **परिग्रहनम्** ॥

In this *sûtra* we read the *anuvritti* of the word "*vibhâshâ*" ("optionally") from the aphorism VI. 3, 106 S. 1032, which does not govern the intervening ten *sûtras*, but applies to this VI. 3, 116 S. 1037, by the method, called 'frog-leap.' The option of this *sûtra* is, however, a *vyavasthita vibhâshâ* or a settled option. Namely, it applies only when the *upapadas* are *gatis* or *kârakas*. Therefore not here, **पट्टहृक्** or **तिग्महृक्** ॥

१०३८ । वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कौटरकिंशुलुकादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११७ ॥

कौटरादीनां वने परे किंशुलुकादीनां गिरौ परे दीर्घः स्वात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

1038. For the final vowel of **कौटर** &c. a long vowel is substituted before **वन**, and so also of **किंशुलुक** &c. before **गिर**, when the compound is a Name.

Thus **कौटर + वन** ॥ Now applies the following *sûtra*.

Note :—Thus **कौटरावनम्**, **किंशुलावनम्**, **सिद्धकावनम्**, **सारकावनम्** ॥

So also किञ्चलुकागिरिः, भञ्जनगिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ण in घन by VIII. 4. 4 S. 1039. But असिपञ्चवनम् and कुञ्जगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes,

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिध्रक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किञ्चलुक (किञ्चलक), 2 साल्व (साल्वक), 3 नड*, 4 भञ्जन, 5 भञ्जन, 6 लोहित, 7 कुञ्जकुट ॥

१०३६ । वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकासारिकाकोटरात्रेभ्यः । ण । ४ । ४ ॥

वनशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्य एभ्य एव णञ् नान्येभ्यः । इह कोटरास्ताः पञ्च वार्धविधौ कोटरादयो बोध्याः । तेषां कृतसंघर्षाणां ण्यविविधौ निर्देशो नियगर्थः । भञ्जशब्दस्य तु विध्वयर्थः । पुरगावणम् । मिश्रकावणम् । सिध्रकावणम् । सारिकावणम् । कोटरावणम् । एभ्य एवेति किम् । असिपञ्चवनम् । वनस्यामे भमेवणम् । राजवन्तादिषु निपातनास्तत्तन्म्य भल्लम् । प्रातिपदिकार्थनाम प्रयत्ना । किञ्चलुकागिरिः ॥

1039. The न of घन, is changed into ण, when preceded by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrkâ, sârikâ, koṭarâ, and agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name.

The words वृक्षवनम् and संज्ञावनम् of the sūtra VIII. 4. 3 S. 857 are to be read into this aphorism. Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावणम्, कोटरावणम् ॥ These are names of hells of various kinds. भमेवणम् (II. 2. 31 S. 902) शारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above five up to कोटर is by VI. 3. 117 S. 1038 and the word कोटरादि of the last sūtra refers to these five words of the present sūtra. Though the word अये वणं = भमेवणस्य is not a Name, yet the rule VI. 3. 9, S. 966 applies to it and the case-affix is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II. 2. 31 S. 902). The seventh-case-affix is included in the meaning of a Prātipadika, hence the word agre-vanam is in the Nominative case. So also किञ्चलुकागिरिः ॥

The substitution of ण for न with regards to the first five words would have taken place by the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VIII. 4. 3, S. 857. The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word घन, after these, shows that this is a restrictive or नियम rule, so far as the five words up to koṭrâ are concerned. But with regards to agre it is a vidhi. The न of घन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and

no other. Thus कुबेरवन्. अक्षधारयन्, अलिपचयन् ॥ The word agrevagam' is not a Name, and therefore sūtra 857 would not have applied to it. Hence with regard to agre the present sūtra is a vidhi or an original rule.

१०४० । चले । ६ । ३ । ११८ ॥

यत्नमत्यये परे दीर्घः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । कृषीयत्नः ॥

1040. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix चल ॥

Thus कृषीयत्नः ॥ This is formed by the affix चलच् (V. 2. 112 S. 1919.)

१०४१ । सतीहृचोऽनजिरादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११६ ॥

अनरावती । अनजिरादीनां किम् । अनिरवती । बह्वचः किम् । व्रीहिमती । संज्ञायामित्येव । नेह । यत्नयवती ॥

1041. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix सत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus अनरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix सत् (IV. 2. 85 S. 1304.) The सत् is changed to वत्, by VIII. 2. 11. S. 1899. 'Why' with the exception of अजिर &c.' Observe अनिरवती, खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables' ? Observe व्रीहिसती ॥ The phrase "when it is a name" has been read into the sūtra. When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening. As यत्नयवती ॥

1 अनजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक ॥

१०४२ । शरादीनां च । ६ । ३ । १२० ॥

शरावती ॥

1042. The final vowel of शरं &c. is lengthened before सत् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, यशावती ॥ The य of यत्न is changed to व because it is Name (VIII. 2. 11, S. 1899.) But not so after व्रीहि &c as these belong to यवादि class (VIII. 2. 9 S. 1897.)

1 शर, 2 यश, 3 धूम, 4 जेहि, 5 कपि, 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 श्रुति, 9 हृत् ॥

१०४३ । इको वहेऽपीलोः । ६ । ३ । १२१ ॥

इगन्तस्य दीर्घः स्याद्वहे । ऋपीवहम् । कपीवहम् ॥ इकः किय् । विण्ढवहम् । अपीलोः किय् । पीलुवहम् ॥

अपीस्वादीनामिति वाच्यम् ० ॥ शस्वहम् ॥

1043. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह् ॥

Thus ऋपीवहम्, कपीवहम्, हुमीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe विण्ढवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Var.—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As शस्वहम् ॥

१०४४ । उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १२२ ॥

उपसर्गस्य बहुलं दीर्घः स्यादुपमन्ते परे न तु ननुष्ये । परीपाकः । परिपाकः ॥ अननुष्ये किय् । निपादः ॥

1044. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus परीपाकः or परिपाकः ॥

Note :—It does not take place, as प्रसेषः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before साश् and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासाश् and प्राकारः ॥ Otherwise प्रसाश् and प्रकाश् ॥ Optionally in देश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रवीवेशः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥

Why do we say, "when human beings are not meant"? Observe निपादः "The caste Nishāda." It is formed by षच् under sūtra III. 3. 12 S. 3300 (निषीदत्यस्मिन् षापच् इति निपादः) ॥ The word मतीक्षारः 'gate-keeper' is apparently an exception.

१०४५ । इकः फाशे । ६ । ३ । १२३ ॥

इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात्फाशे । शीकाशः । गीकाशः । इकः किय् । प्रकाशः ॥

1045. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final before फाश् ॥

As शीकाशः, गीकाशः ॥ फाश् is formed by षच् (III. 1. 134 S. 2896). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इच् ॥

१४६। अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२५ ॥

अष्टनः शीर्षः । अष्टापदम् । संज्ञायाम् किम् । अष्टपुत्रः ॥

1046. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टापदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when the compound is a name'? Observe अष्टपुत्रः, where the compound is not a name.

१०४७। चित्तेः कप् । ६ । ३ । १२७ ॥

एकचित्तिकः ॥

1047. The final vowel of चित्ति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचित्तिकः ॥ The कप् is added by V. 4, 154 S. 891.

१०४८। नरे संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२६ ॥

विश्वानरः ॥

1048. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a name.

Thus विश्वानरः, but विश्वनरः = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name.

Note :—The word *viśva* is understood here from the preceding *Aṣṭādhyāyī* sūtra VI. 3. 128 S. 379.

१०४९। मित्रे चर्यौ । ६ । ३ । १३० ॥

विश्वामित्रः । ऋषौ किम् । विश्वामित्रो नामयकः ॥

हृत्ते वृत्तादङ्गुर्गुण्णवराहपुच्छपक्षेभ्यु दीर्घो वाच्यः * ॥ आदन्तः इत्यादि ॥

1049. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvāmitra'. Why do we say 'the name of a Rishi?' Observe विश्वामित्रः 'a boy called Viśvāmitra'.

Vart :—The final of अन् is lengthened before the following हन्त, दंष्ट्र, कर्ष, कुन्त, पराह, पुच्छ and वः—as आदन्तः, आदंष्ट्र, आकर्ष, आकुन्त, आदराह, आपुच्छ, आपवः ॥

Note :—The word *हृत्ता* is read in the Vārtika with a long final आ ॥ Some

read it as short final, and say श्राद्धः is a Bahuvrīhi where the final of श् is lengthened, but the lengthening does not take place in a Tatpurusha.

१०५० । प्रनिरन्तः शरेजुलक्षाम्रकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूषाभ्योऽसंज्ञायामपि । ८ । ४ । ५ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रयणम् । कार्ष्यवनम् । इह चात्परस्वाणत्वम् ॥

1050. The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmra, kârshya, khadira, and pīyûkshâ.

Thus प्रयणम् ; कार्ष्यवनम्, ॥ The word is कार्ष्य and not कार्ष्य, and it is this व that causes the ण change.

Note :—The word vana is understood from the preceding Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtra VIII. 4. 4 S. 1049.

१०५१ । विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः । ८ । ४ । ६ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्वं वा स्यात् । वृषावनम् । वृषावनम् । शिरीषवणम् । शिरीषवनम् ।

प्रयणवन्त्यामेव * ॥ नेह । देवराष्ट्रवनम् ॥

इतिविभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ इतिवनम् । इतिवनम् ॥

1051. The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree.

Note :—When the pûrvapada is a word denoting आषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change-producing or alterant letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ The word vanaspati is defined in Amarakoṣha as those trees which produce fruits without flowering, such as fig trees &c (udumbara). The शिरीष is not a vanaspati in this sense: because it has visible flowers and fruits both. But the word vanaspati in the sūtra is taken here as synonymous with 'tree' in general. See note below. This is an optional rule.

Thus :—वृषावनम् or वृषावनम्; Here वृष is the name of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीषवणं or शिरीषवणम्; is an example of vanaspati.

Vart :—This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवराष्ट्रवनम् ॥

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words इरिका &c. As इरिकावनम् । निरिकावनम् ॥

Nota:—Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति ; yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also.

Kārika:—Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara. वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, वीषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुधः ॥

१०५२ । वाहनमाहितात् । ८ । ४ । ४ ॥

आरोप्य अदुहति तद्विधिस्थानिनिमित्तात्पस्य वाहनकारस्य जलं स्यात् । इक्षुवाहनम् । माहितात्किम् । इन्द्रवाहनम् । इन्द्रस्वानिक्तं वाहनमित्यर्थः । बहतेत्यदि वृद्धिरित्येव सूत्रे निपातनात् ॥

1052. The न of वाहन is changed into स्, when an alterant letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried.

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् 'a sugar-cart'.

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called, आहित ॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried". Observe इन्द्रवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Indra".

The word वाहन is formed by adding लुट् to वह, and the vridhhi lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

१०५३ । पानं देशे । ८ । ४ । ९ ॥

पूर्वपक्ष्यान्विदिताथस्य पानस्य नस्य जलं स्याद्वैद्ये गम्ये । क्षीरं पानं येषां ते क्षीरपाणा उक्षी-
नराः । क्षीरपाणाः प्राच्यः । पीयते इति पानम् । कर्मणि लुट् ॥

1053. The न of पान is changed into स्, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains an alterant letter causing change ; and the whole compound denotes a country or a people.

The word पान meaning "that which is drunk" is formed by the affix लुट् III. 3. 113 S. 2811. The force of the affix is to denote the object. Thus क्षीरपाणा उक्षीनराः = 'क्षीरपाणं येषां' the milk-drinking Uśīnara's. क्षीरपाणाः प्राच्यः 'the wine drinking Prāchyas'.

Nota:—Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe अक्षीरं the drink of the Dākshis.

The words दशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names.

१०५४ । वा भावकरणयोः । ८ । ४ । १० ॥

पायस्येव । क्षीरपायम् । क्षीरपाणम् ॥

गिरिनद्यादीनां वा * ॥ गिरिनदी । गिरिणदी । अक्रानितम्बा । अक्रीयितम्बा ॥

1054. Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पाय is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound.

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपायन् "drinking of milk" is an example of भाव or condition.

Note :—Similarly क्षीरपाणः or क्षीरपायः कंसः 'a vessel for drinking milk.' This is an example of करण or instrument.

Vart :—Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c. Thus गिरिनदी; or गिरिणदी; अक्रानितम्बा or अक्रीयितम्बा ॥

१०५५ । प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिमक्तिषु च । ८ । ४ । ११ ॥

पूर्यपदस्थान्निवितात्परस्य एषु स्थितस्य नस्य णो वा स्यान् । प्रातिपदिकान्ते, मापवापिणौ । नुमि, ग्रीहवापणि । विमक्तौ, मापवापेण । पक्षे, मापवापिनावित्यादि । उत्तरपक्षे यत्पानिपदिक्तं तदन्तस्येव णत्वम् । नेह । कर्माणां भगिनी कर्मभगिनी । अत एव नुम्बहणं कृतम् । अङ्गस्य नुम्बधानात्तदन्ते हि नुम् नतुत्तरपक्षस्य । किञ्च । महिषत्रित्यादौ हिंसेर्भूतो णत्कार्यमपि नुम्बहणम् । मेन्वनवित्यादौ तु ह्युन्नादित्वात् ॥

पुत्रादिर्दे * ॥ रम्ययूना । परिपक्वानि ॥ (एकाशुत्तरपक्षे णः ॥ नित्यनिष्ठुक्तम् । वृचहणौ । इति मानयतांति इतिभगिनी । नुमि, क्षीरपाणि । विमक्तौ, क्षीरपेण । रम्यविजा ॥)

1055. Optionally श is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātipadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound).

Thus, to take the case a प्रातिपदिकान्त first, मापवापिणौ or मापवापिनौ from मापवापिन् 'māsha-sowing' formed by णिनि under III. 2. 81. S. 2991

To take the example of a नुम् augment, ग्रीहवापणि or ग्रीहवापानि, nominative plural neuter. The augment नुम् is here added by VII. 1. 72 S. 314 from ग्रीहवाप नपयन्ति = ग्रीहवाप with कर्माणि अण्, the plural णि is added by VII. 1. 20 S. 312 and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case-termination, मादवापेन or मापवापेन, ॥

The word प्रतिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prati-padika'. But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member, of a compound, the first member containing the cause of change'. Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गायां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga". But गर्गभगिनी if the word is derived from गर्गभगः 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga." In this case, like the word मातृभोगीशुः 'fit to be possessed by a mother': the change will invariably take place. The very fact that नुन् is taught separately in the rule leads to this inference. The नुन् is ordained with regard to an *anga*; so it is a portion of the *anga* as a *whole* (whether such *anga* consist of a single word or several words glued into a compound), and *not* of the last word of the compound. So the root ह्रिचि takes नुन् and becomes ह्रिन् (Bhuādi root 622). This न् is changed to ख as in ग्रहिण्यन् । But in ग्रह्यन् न् no change takes place; as it belongs to kshubhnādi class (VIII. 4. 39 S. 792)

The word मापवापिनी or 'नी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim:— (11. 2. 19). "It should be stated that Gatīs, Kārakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit- affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" भक्तिकारकोपपदानां कृतिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् शुभ्रवत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as मापवापिन् (माप + वापिन्) and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prati-padika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added.

Similarly नुन् is not considered as the end portion of the *second member* of the compound, but as the end-portion of the *full* compound word.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c. As स्मययूना (VI. 4. 133 vocalisation), क्षयियूना ॥ ग्रतिपक्षानि is a grati-samas, दीर्घादी घञ् ॥

१०५५ । क । एकाशुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

(वृत्तिः ॥ एकाशुत्तरपदं यस्य सस्मिन्निर्द्धतमाशे प्रतिपदिकान्तशुभ्रिभक्तित्वस्य दृष्टपदस्याभिनिचाशुत्तरस्य नकारस्य नित्यं णकार भादशो भवति ॥)

1055. A. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण invariably in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a

prâtipadika, or is the augment **नुम्**, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

This sūtra has already been read as Sūtra 307 see page 171. It is repeated here to complete the context. This is an obligatory rule, as we have used the word nityam in explaining it. See Sūtra 307.

Thus वृषहणौ 'the Vṛtra-killer' = वृषहन्तवन्तौ with क्तिप् (III. 2. 87 S. 2998) So also हरि मानयति = हरिमाणी "Hari worshipper." हरिपाणि "Drinkers of milk": छुपपाणि 'drinkers of wine': are examples of हुम् VII. 3. 88, क्षीरेण and रम्यदिना are examples of case-terminations.

Note:—The word रम्यादि 'a beautiful bird'; is a compound of रम्य and वि (रम्यधातौ विञ्) ॥ The नृ is Instrumental Singular (VII. 4. 120 S. 244).

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sūtra, while its anuvṛtti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional but an obligatory rule. In fact, it shows that the anuvṛtti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further.

१०५६ । कुमति च । ८ । ४ । १३ ॥

कर्मण्युत्तरपदे प्राम्बत् । हरिकानिनी । हरिकामाणि । हरिकानिञ् ॥

1056. In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, (there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment **नुम्**, or occur in a vibhakti.)

if the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क्, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic. As हरिकानिनी, नुम् :—हरिकामाणि ॥ विभक्ति :—हरिकानिञ् ॥

१०५७ । पदव्यचारेऽपि । ८ । ४ । ३८ ॥

पदेन व्यवधानेऽपि लभे न स्यात् । मापकुम्भवाचने । चतुर्वङ्गयोगेन ॥

अतस्त्रित्व इति वाच्यम् * ॥ आर्द्रगोमयेन ॥ शुष्कगोमयेन ॥

1057. The नृ is not changed to ण when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न ॥

The word **इषज्यवाय** is a compound 'meaning **पदेन व्यवस्य** 'separated by a Pada'. Thus **साधकुम्भवादेन चतुर्होमेन** ॥ Here the **Padas कुम्भ**, and **वाङ्**, intervening, the change does not take place.

Vart :—It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a **Taddhita**. Prohibition does not apply to words like **वाङ्मेमवेण**, **शुष्कमेमवेण** ॥

Note :—Here **गो** takes the affix **नय** by **IV. 3. 145, S. 1525** and the word **गो** is a Pada by **I. 4. 17, S. 230** and it intervenes between **नय** and the first word. The author of **Mahābhāṣya** however does not approve of this **Vārtika**. According to him the **पदयदुस्य** means **पदे व्यवस्य** ॥

१०५८ । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः । ६ । १ । १४३ ॥

भाव **सुग्विपात्यते** । **कुस्तुम्बुरु** धान्याकम् । **ह्रीदत्तवत्तन्म** । **जातिः** किम् । **कुस्तुम्बुरुणि** । **कुत्सितानि तिन्दुकीफलानीत्यर्थः** ॥

1058. The word **कुस्तुम्बुरु** is irregularly formed with the augment **सुट्** and means 'a species of herb'.

The **कुस्तुम्बुरु** is the name of coriander : i. e. **धान्याक**; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the **sūtra** in the Neuter gender does not, however, show that the word is always Neuter. Why do we say when meaning a species of herb? Observe **कुस्तुम्बुरुणि** = **कुत्सितानि तुम्बुरुणि** ॥ The word **तुम्बुरु** here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

१०५९ । अपरस्परः क्रियासातत्ये । ६ । १ । १४४ ॥

सुग्विपात्यते । **अपरस्परः** सार्था गच्छन्ति । **सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः** । **क्रियेति** किम् । **अपरस्पर** गच्छन्ति । **अपरे च परे च सक्तुदेन गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः** ॥

1059. The word **अपरस्परः** is formed by the augment **सुट्** when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action

Thus **अपरस्परः** सार्था गच्छन्ति = **सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति** ॥ Why do we say 'un-interrupted action'? For, when the continuity of action is not meant, we have **अपरस्परः** सार्था गच्छन्ति = **अपरे परे च सक्तुदेन गच्छन्ति** ॥

Note :—The **सातत्ये** comes from **सततं**, by adding **ज्यञ्** to form the abstract noun, **सततस्य भावः** (V. 1. 123 S. 1787) = **सातत्ये** ॥ How do you explain **सततम्**, it ought to be **सततम्**? The **म्** of **सम्** is optionally elided before **सर्ग**, on the strength of the **Kārika** :—"the **म्** of **अवभृम्** is elided before a word ending in a **kṛt** affix, the **म्** of **तुम्** is elided before **काम** and **मयम्**, the **म्** of **सम्** is elided optionally before **हित** and **तत्**, the final **म्** of **मस्** is elided before **पाक** or **पचनम्** ॥" As (1) **अपरस्ये कर्तव्यं** = **अवश्यकर्तव्यं**, (2) **भोक्तुम् कामः** = **भोक्तुम् कामः**, **श्रीतुम्** ॥ (3) **सहितं** = **सहितं**, **सम् तत्** = **सततं** ॥ (4) **मस् पाकः**, **मस् पचनम्** ॥

१०६० । गोप्यदं सेवितसेवितप्रमाणेषु । ६ । १ । १४५ ॥

सुद सत्त्वं पलं च निपात्यते । गावः पश्यन्तेऽस्मिन्देशे स गोभिः सेवितो गोप्यदः । असेवितो गोप्यदस्तद्व्याप्तिः । प्रमाणे गोप्यदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् । सेवितेत्यादि किम् । गोः पदं गोप्यम् ॥

1060. The word गोप्यद is formed by सुद, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोप्यदो देशः = गावः पश्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोप्यदस्तद्व्याप्तिः ॥ The word गोप्यद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows.' Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोप्यदमात्रं क्षेत्रम्. Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land. Why do we say 'a locality visited &c.' For when it has not the above senses, the form is गोप्यम् = गोः पश्यम् ॥

Note:—What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra; the word गोप्यद will give अगोप्यद, by adding the negative particle, न गोप्यद = अगोप्यद ? The force of नञ् 'compound' is that of सदृश "like that but not that". As अश्वत्थाम means "a man who is [a] Kshatriya &c. not a Brāhmaṇa, but does not mean a stone &c.". Therefore अगोप्यद with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोप्यद ॥

१०६१ । आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् । ६ । १ । १४६ ॥

आत्मवासनाय स्थाने सुद निपात्यते । आस्पदम् । प्रति किम् । आपराधम् ॥

1061. The word आस्पद is formed by सुद when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठ means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority.' Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लक्ष्यम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आ परार्थं = आपराधम् ॥

१०६२ । आश्चर्यमनित्ये । ६ । १ । १४७ ॥

अदृष्टे सुद । आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जीते । अनित्ये किम् । आश्चर्यं कर्म । भेदनम् ॥

1062. The word आश्चर्य is formed by सुद, when meaning something 'unusual'

The word आपराध is formed by adding the affix श्च् to the verb चर with

the preposition **अ**, and the augment **सुट्** ॥ Thus **आमये यदि स भुञ्जीत** ॥ Why do we say 'unusual'? For when not having this sense, we have **आपदे कर्णे शोभनम्** ॥

१०६३ । वर्चस्कोऽवस्करः । इ । १ । १४८ ॥

कुत्सितं वर्चः वर्चस्कम् भजनं तस्मिन् सुट् । अवकीर्यत इत्यवस्करः । वर्चस्के किम् । अवस्करः ॥

1063. The word **अवस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called **वर्चस्क** (**कुत्सितं**) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root **कृ** is added the affix **अप्** (III. 3. 57 S. 3232), the preposition **अ** and irregularly the **सुट्** ॥ Thus **अवस्करोऽन्नमदम्** ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have **अवस्करः** ॥

१०६४ । अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् । इ । १ । १४९ ॥

अपस्करोऽन्यः ॥

1064. The word **अपस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning "the part of a chariot".

This word is also derived from **कृ** with the preposition **अप** and the affix **अप्** (III. 3. 57 S. 3232) and **सुट्** augment. When not having this meaning we have **अपस्करः** ॥

१०६५ । विष्किरः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा । इ । १ । १५० ॥

पक्षे विष्किरः । पापचर्मैश्च शुद्धिकल्पे विद्धे विकिस्रहणं तस्यापि शकुनेत्यत्र प्रयोगे माधुर्येति वृत्तिस्तत्र । भाष्यविरोधान् ॥

1065. The word **विष्किर** is formed with **सुट्** optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being **विकिर** ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix **क्** (III. 1. 135 S. 2897) to **कृ** with the preposition **वि** and the augment **सुट्** ॥ The word **विष्किर** also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase **शकुनिर्विकिरो वा** is added from the *Vārtika* and is no part of the original *sūtra*. Thus सर्वे शकुनौ भक्ष्यः **विष्किरः कुक्कुटादौ** ॥ "Though the *sūtra* **विष्किरो वा शकुनौ** would have given the optional form **विष्किर**, the specific mention of this form in the *sūtra* indicates that **विष्किर** always means 'bird' and nothing 'else. Otherwise **विकिर** would have

referred to something other than a bird."—this opinion of Kāśikā is not valid, as it is opposed to the Mahābhāṣya.

१०६६। प्रतिष्कशश्च कशेः। ६। १। १५२ ॥

कश मतिशान्तनयोरित्यस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्यधि सुट्। नपठ्यते भत्वं च। सहायः पुरोवाची वा प्रतिष्कश इत्युच्यते। कशेः किम्। प्रतिगतः कशां प्रतिकशोऽश्वः। यद्यपि कशेरिव कशा तथापि कशेरिति धातोर्महानुपसर्गस्य प्रतेर्महानार्थम्। तेन धात्वन्तरोपसर्गान्न ॥

1066. To the root कश 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुट्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding कश् affix (III. 1. 134) to the root, with the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus धाममय प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary.' The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कश"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां=प्रतिकशोऽश्वः 'a horse guided by the whip.' Here though कशा is derived from कश, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word.

१०६७। प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी। ६। १। २५३ ॥

हरिश्चन्द्रमद्वयमन्वार्थम्। कर्षीति किम्। प्रकण्वो देशः। हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः ॥

1067. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. 1. 151 S. 3527 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. Why do we say 'Rishis'? For when not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देशः, (कर्णं पार्श्वं तद्वर्गं यस्मात्), हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य सुप्रस्य) ॥

१०६८। मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपट्टिवाजकयोः। ६। १। १५४ ॥

मकरपट्टोऽण्युपग्रस्तस्य सुडिनिध निपात्यते। वेणिरिति किम्। मकरो प्राहः। मकरी सडुट् ॥

1068. The word मस्कर means 'a bamboo', and मस्करिन् means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an underived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say "when

meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोपाहः "an alligator", मकरि-
समुद्रः "an ocean".

Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix कर्त्तृ, the long कृ being shortened. Thus मा क्रियते येन प्रतिषिध्यते = मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of लुप्तीत्यर्थे to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करयतीति = मस्कारी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "माकुर्वतः कर्मणि शान्तिरर्थः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

१०६६ । कास्तीरजस्तुन्दे नगरे । ६ । १ । १५५ ॥

ईषत्तीरमस्यास्तीति कास्तीरं नाम नगरम् । अजस्तुन्दं तुन्दमस्येति अजस्तुन्दं नाम नगरम् ।
नगरे किम् । कास्तीरम् । अजस्तुन्दम् ॥

1069. The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities.

Why do we say 'names of cities'? For when not meaning cities we have कास्तीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजस्तुन्दम् (अजस्तुन्दं तुन्दमस्य) ॥

१०७० । कारस्कारो वृक्षः । ६ । १ । १५६ ॥

कारं कर्तेतीति कारस्कारो वृक्षः । अन्यत्र कारकारः । केषिणु, कस्कादिभिर्बुधैः पठन्ति न
यत्र ॥

1070. The word कारस्कार means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट (III. 2. 21) = कारस्कारः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकारः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism. Some read it in Kashkādi (VIII. 3. 48 S. 144).

१०७१ । पारस्कारप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् । ६ । १ । १५७ ॥

एतानि समुद्रकानि निपात्यन्ते नामि । पारस्कारः । किष्किन्धा ।

समुद्रकानि: करपत्योर्ध्वोरद्वयोः सुद तलोपश्च* ॥ आर्यपूर्वेष्वर्षेण स्वार्तेति दीप्यः । समुद्रकानि-
कारनकारी लुप्येते । करपत्योस्तु सुदः । ध्वोरद्वयोरिति समुद्रावापार्थः । पारस्कारः । प्रभृतिः ॥

प्रायस्य किञ्चित्प्रायः* ॥ प्रायश्चित्तम् । प्रायश्चित्तिरित्यादि । आर्यनिर्गणोऽयम् ॥

1071. The words पारस्कार &c. are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुद ॥ Thus पारस्कारः
'a country called Pāraskara'. किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave'.

Vartika :—सस्कर 'a thief' and वृहस्पति N. of a deity 'are formed by inserting सुट् in the compounds of नत् कर, वृहत् + पति and eliding न् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning a thief and a deity'? Observe सस्कर, वृहस्पति ॥ The words चौर and देवता are used in the Gaṇapāṭha merely for the sake of diversity; the word संज्ञा would have connoted that.

Vart. :—Before the words चित्ति and चिच्छ is added the augment सुट् when प्राय precedes. Thus प्रायचित्तम्, प्रायचिच्छिः ॥

1 पारस्करो वेद्यः, 2 कारकतर्कवृत्तः, 3 रथस्या नरी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा सुहा, 6 तद्वृत्तः करपस्याश्चारेयनयोः सुट् सतपथ (सस्करः चौरः, वृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्राय तुम्पती गवि कर्तारि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ साकृतेरणः ॥

प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root तुप्तुम् 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition प्र there is added सुट् to प्र when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रस्तुम्पतिः पनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुट् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गवौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गायः ॥

This is an ākṛitigaṇa.

अथ तद्धितापत्याधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TADDHITA PATRONYMIC AFFIXES.

१०७२ । समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

इदं पञ्चम्यधिक्रियते । प्राग्द्विष इति वाच्यम् । सामर्थ्ये परिनिष्ठसत्त्वम् । कृतसंधिकार्यत्वादिनि
वाच्यम् ॥

1072 The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, *vis.* (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction. (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first ; (3) वा 'on the alternative,' exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation : that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book ; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्द्विषो विभाक्तः (V. 3. 1. S. 1947.) The word *sāmārthya* means the word-form after it has undergone the Sandhi operation : *i. e.* in its *pariniṣṭhata* state. The word *pariniṣṭhata* means a completed word, *i. e.* a word on which sandhi operation has been performed, and so it has completed its junction. Thus ह्र + उत्थित = सुत्थितम् ॥ Add इम्, and we have सौत्थितिः, and not सौ + उत्थित = सात्थितः (S. 1088). The *anuvṛtti* of वा however extends further than S. 1947.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk : "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional."

Note:—The fifteen sūtras that follow, teach the rules which are generally applicable to all Taddhitas. We shall take up the further explanation of this sūtra in S. 1088.

१०७३ । प्राग्द्विष्यतोऽगम् । ४ । १ । ८३ ॥

तेन द्विष्यतोऽगम् प्रागप्यधिक्रियते ॥

1073. The affix **अण्** should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the aphorism *tena divyati* &c.

Up to the aphorism IV. 4. 2 S. 1550, the affix **अण्** has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an *adbhikāra sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā sūtra* or a *vidhi sūtra*.

१०७४ । अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८४ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्यात् प्राग्धीव्यतीयेभ्योऽण् । पक्षमाणस्य प्यस्यापवादः ॥

Note :—This is an exception to the aphorism, IV. 1. 85. S. 1077 by which the affix **प्य** would have come after words ending with '*pati*'. The present *sūtra* enjoins **अण्** instead.

The following is a list of words belonging to *अश्वपत्यादि* class :—

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 दातृपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति 6 स्थानपति 7 यत्नपति, 8 संप्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पञ्चपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्यपति 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

१०७५ । तद्धितेष्वचामादेः । ७ । २ । ११७ ॥

भिति भिति च तद्धिते परेऽचामादेरचो वृद्धिः स्यात् ॥

1075. The *Vṛiddhi* is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a *Taddhita*-affix having an indicative **ञ** or **ण्** follows.

Note :—As *वाच्ये* from *वाच* + *ञ*, so also *वसिष्ठः* ॥ *वाचि* (इच् + इञ्), *प्राणिः*, *गोपमव* (with **अण्** from *उपशु*) *कापठव* &c. (This declares the *Vṛiddhi* of VII. 2. 116 S. 254 and VII. 2. 116, S. 2282 as *स्वाद्* : from *स्वद्*, and *जागत* from *जगद्* ॥)

१०७६ । किति च । ७ । २ । ११८ ॥

किति तद्धिते च वृद्ध्या । अश्वपतेरपत्यादि अश्वपतम् । गाणवतम् । शाखपत्यो मन्त्र इति ढ प्राप्तादिकमेव ॥

1076. The *Vṛiddhi* is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a *Taddhita* affix with an indicative **ञ** follows.

Note :—As *वाचायव* with *कच्*, so also *चापयणः* (IV. 1. 99 S. 1101), and *वाचिवः* and *वालादिकः* with *वृच्* (IV. 4. 1 S. 1548).

Thus अश्वपति + अश्व = अश्वपतम् (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 142 S. 311. So also राजपतम् ॥

The form राजपतिः as used by Haradatta in राजपतिं मुनिः is wrong.

Note :—(The Tattvabodhini, however, justifies this use of Haradatta.)

१०७७ । दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदात्पत्यः । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

दित्यादित्यः पत्युत्तरपदाच्च मासीत्यतीत्येवार्थेण पत्यः स्यादणोऽपवादः । दैत्यः । अदितेरादित्यस्य वा आदित्यः । राजापत्यः ।

यनायेति काशिकायाम् * ॥ आर्यः ॥

पृथिव्या आजौ * ॥ पार्थिवः । पार्थिवी ॥

देवायामजौ * ॥ दैव्यम् । दैवम् ॥

वह्निपतिलोपो यज्य * ॥ वायः ॥

ईकव्य * ॥ वाहीकः ॥

स्याग्नोऽकारः * ॥ अश्वत्थानः । पृथीहरादित्यास्तस्य सः ॥

भवार्थे तु लुग्वच्यः * ॥ वाभ्वत्थामा ॥

लोकोऽपत्येषु बहुव्यकारः * ॥ बाह्वासीयोऽपवादः । उद्धृतेनाः । उद्धृतेनाम् । बहुषु विद् ॥ औद्धृतेनाः ।

गोत्रादिप्रसङ्गे वत् * ॥ गन्धर्वः । अत्रादिप्रसङ्गे द्विप् । गोत्रो हेतुभ्य आगतं गोत्रत्वात् । गोमयम् ॥

1077. The affix पत्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena divyati &c, after the proper names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya ; and that which has the word पति as its final member.

Thus दिति + पत्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi' The form आदित्य may also denote the son of आदित्य or sacred to Aditya. आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as राजपति + पत्य = राजापत्यः ; so also सैन्यपत्यम् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word अम; as, शम्भुः ॥ This Vartika is found in the Kāsika and not in the Mahābhāṣya.

Note :—In the Chhandas, after the words वाच, वसि and विश्वम् comes the affix पत्य ॥ As, वाचश्च (Vs, 13. 58.) वाचम् and विश्वम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes अ and जम् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + अ = पार्थिवः ; पृथिवी + जम् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, S. 454 and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15 S. 470.

Vart:—The affixes द्यम् and वम् come after the word देव 'a god.' As देव्यम् or देवम् 'divine.'

Vart:—There is elision of the final syllable of बहिस्, before the affix यम्; as बहिस्+यम्=बाह्यः 'external.'

Vart:—And the affix ईकम् may be employed. As बहिस्+ईकम्=बाहीकः 'external.' (VII. 2. 118, S. 1076).

Note:—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकम् as बाहीकः the difference being in the accent. (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686).

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its णि portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the णि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ-*bha*. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाञ्च (the णि of the *avyaya* base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the णि of the base *bha* is elided when a *taddhita* affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the अव्याय वासन् we get वासन्ती &c; here the णि is not elided.

Vart:—Of the word स्यान्, the णि is replaced by य, as अय्+स्यान्=अयस्यान् ॥ The स is changed to य as the compound belongs to Prishodarádi class.

Vart:—But there is elision of the Taddhita affix य after स्यान् when the sense is that of 'existence' only, as अयस्यान् ॥ The word अयस्यान् means अयस्येय स्यान् यस्य "whose strength is like that of a horse". It is a Bahuvrīhi.

Vart:—The णि of लोमन् is replaced by य in the plural, when the patronymic affixes follow; as बहुलोमा, बहुलोमान् ॥ Why do we say "in the plural number"? Witness लोमलोमा, (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096).

Vart:—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word लो, let the affix यन् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c.) from लो is expressed by लोयन् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe लोभ्यो हेतुय or आगतं=लोभ्यन् and लोमयन् ॥

formed by the affix *ङीष्* (IV. I. 45; the word *द्वित्व* being formed by the Kṛit-affix *द्वित्व* and therefore it will take *ङीष्* in the feminine). To the feminine word *द्वित्व* is added *ह्य* and we get *द्वित्वः* ॥ The Paribhāṣā प्रातिपदिकमहणे लिङ्गविहितस्यापि बहुवचः (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form *द्वित्वः* as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahābhāṣya or any Vārtika.

१०७८ । उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । ८६ ।

औत्सः ॥

अग्निवत्सिन्धोऽङ्क् वत्सव्यः * ॥ अग्निवत्सादि आग्नेयम् । कलिव्यम् ॥

1078. The affix *अञ्* comes after the word *उत्स* &c in the various senses taught antecedently to *tena-divyati* &c.

This debars the affix *अञ्* taught in IV. I. 83 S* 1073. as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus *उत्स + अञ् = औत्सः*, *आग्नेयः* ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to *उत्सादि* class.

1 उत्स, 2 वत्सपान, 3 विक्र, 4 जिन, 5 महान, 6 महानस, 7 महामान, 8 तक्ष, 9 तक्षु, 10 वत्सपान, 11 पृथिवी, 12 वेत्स, 13 पञ्चि, 14 जगती, 15 विष्णु, 16 वत्सपान, 17 वत्सपान, 18 वत्स, 19 उष्णीस, 20 योष, 21 पीडक, 22 वत्सपान वेत्सः, 23 वत्सपान, 24 महती, 25 रथेन्द्र, 26 मध्यदिन, 27 वत्स, 28 महत्, 29 वत्स, 30 वत्स, 31 वत्सपान, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 वत्स, 34 वत्स, 35 वत्स, 36 वेत्स, 37 वत्सपानवेत्सः ॥

Note :—The word *योष* in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody.' Therefore it is not so here: *वेत्सो विष्णुः* 'The Graishmi Trishṭup metre.' But *वेत्सः* 'belonging to summer.' The word *वत्स* here means 'metre,' and not *Veda*. The word *वत्सपान* = *वत्सपान* *अञ्*, the phrase *अञ्* meaning *अतमसि*, (*अ* being the name given to *तमस* by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be *वत्सपानाञ्* ॥ The Paribhāṣā महानसः प्रातिपदिकमहणे लिङ्गविहितस्यापि बहुवचः does not apply here. Therefore, *tadantavidhi* applies here and we have *अग्निवत्सम्* (*अग्नेर्नाम्* *वत्सः*) ॥ The word *वत्सपान* takes *अञ्* when meaning a 'place': as *वत्सपानो वेत्सः*; otherwise *वत्सपानः* 'the son of Udashāna.' The word *वत्स* takes *अञ्* when meaning 'a share', otherwise it will take *अञ्*, as *वत्सोऽञ्* ॥

Part :—The affix '*ghak*' always comes after the words *Agni* and *Kali*, in the various senses of the affixes called *Prāgdivyatiya*. (See IV. 2 8, S. 1209) *आग्नेयम्* and *कलिव्यम्* meaning 'born of Agni' and 'of Kali' respectively.

Here ends the section of affixes that ...

१०७६ । स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां नञ्स्त्वौ भवतात् । ४ । १ । ५७ ॥

धाव्यानां भवन इत्यतः प्रागर्थेषु स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां क्रमात्प्रज्ञाभौ स्तः । स्त्रियाः । वीज । वल्यर्थे च ।
स्त्रीपुंष्येति ज्ञापकात् । स्त्रीवत् । पुंष्वत् ॥

1079. The affixes नञ् and स्तञ् come after the words छी and पुस्त respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ" (V. 2. 1 S. 1802).

Thus स्त्री + नम् = स्त्रीणम् 'feminine'.

Note:—The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore, the word स्त्रीणम् will have all those various significations; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीणम् (IV. 3. 58 S. 1428), 'existing in females', or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1248) 'a collection of females'; or स्त्रीणां उत्पन्नं (IV. 2. 74 S. 1458) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीयो हिंस (V. I. 5 S. 1603) 'suitable for females,' &c.

Similarly पुंसु + क्तञ् = पौंसञ् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वृत् taught in V. 1. 115. S. 1778. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुंसव् (and not वीस) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, S. 831 thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वृत्, I. 2. 60 S. 932 the affix अन् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीण्व्. The forms स्त्रीण्व्, स्त्रीणा, पुंसव् and पुंसव् are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. S. 1788. The वृत् of पुंस is elided before अन् by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54; had it not been elided, one affix वृत् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

१०८० । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये । ५ । १ । ८८ ॥

द्विगोर्गन्धिकां दत्ताष्टिमेऽजादिरपत्यायैः प्राग्दीप्यतीदस्तस्य तुष्ट्वा रथात् । पञ्चपञ्च पापाये
 संस्तुताः पुनिराष्टः पञ्चकपावः । द्विगोर्गन्धिकायेति किम् । पञ्चकपावस्थिं सप्तं पाञ्चकपावम् ।
 सप्तदिः किम् । पञ्चगव्यस्यम् । अगपते किम् । द्वयोर्गन्धयोरपत्तं द्विगन्धिः ॥

Why do we 'of a Dvigu compound'. The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्यैर् = पञ्चकपालम् ॥ "a piece belonging to the five cups."

Note :—Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as *sthāna-shashti*, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu', the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided after such a word, because it becomes a *prātipadika* like others, as पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपालस्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः P This is not so; there is no Taddhita, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपालस्याम् संस्कृतः ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz. पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्यां संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samāhāra Dvigu). A Samāhāra and a Taddhitartha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपालस्याम् संस्कृतः will always remain a *vaśya* and never give rise to a Taddhita.

Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe the affix is not elided in ऐचमसौ गर्गेश आगतं = ऐचमसैक्यम् or ऐचमसमदम् ॥ Because the elision of those affixes only takes place which begin with a vowel, while rūpa and maya begin with a consonant.

Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्वेवित्रिः, a descendant of two Mitras.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Note :—Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena dīpatī*?" Observe द्वैपाद्ययविकः ॥

Note :—How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in वैविद्या, पाञ्चनदः and वाङ्मनः? The word वैविद्या does not mean विविध विद्या अपीत but इदमयं विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामयीति = वैविद्याः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पञ्चसु नदीषु नद्यः but पञ्चानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पञ्चनदः, पञ्चनदे नद्यः = पाञ्चनदः ॥ So also with वाङ्मनः ॥

१०८१ । गोत्रेऽनुवाचि । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

अत्रादौ प्राचीन्यतीति विपक्षिते गोत्रप्रत्ययस्यालुक् स्वातु । गर्गायां तायाः । वृक्षान्तः ॥

1081. The *luk*-elision of *Patronymic* (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sūtras II. 4. 63 S. 1146 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial

vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati* &c. (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गर्ग्यः is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64 S. 1108). But the disciples of वत्सः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) which is a *prāgdivyatiya* affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix, the base will be considered to be गर्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गर्ग्यः + छ ॥

Here applies the next sūtra.

१०८२ । आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति । ६ । ४ । १५१ ॥

उल्लः परस्यापत्यस्यकारस्य लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते परे न स्वाकारः । गर्गाद्याः । प्राग्दीव्यतीये किम् । गर्ग्येभ्यो हितं गर्गीयम् । अस्मि किम् । गर्ग्येभ्य आगतं गर्गरूप्यम् ॥

1082. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्ग्यः + छ = गर्गाद्याः (VII. 1. 2. S. 475) and not गर्गीयाः.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prāgdivyatiya* affix"? Thus गर्ग्येभ्यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'what is fit for the Gargas.'

Note :—Here the affix छ (V. 1. 1. S. 1661) has the sense of 'suitable for that,' as taught in sūtra V. 1. 5. S. 1665 not one of the *prāgdivyatiya* senses. Hence the *lūṭ* elision is maintained.

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्ग्येभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गर्ग्यरूप्यम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य, a *prāgdivyatiya* affix taught in sūtra IV. 3. 81 S. 1461 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग्य and not गर्ग्य.

१०८३ । यूनि लुक् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

गार्गीयकीये यज्जारी मन्थवे विषक्षिते पुत्रप्रययस्य लुक् स्यात् । म्लुपुक्तस्य गोदावर्ग्यं म्लुपुक्तस्य । वक्ष्यमाण. किम् । गर्गा म्लुपुक् । म्लुपुक्तायनः । तस्य उपोऽपि म्लुपुक्तायनः । अतोऽपि म्लुपुक्तायनः ॥

Thus the Patronymic from 'शुक्र' is 'शुक्रादयः' (IV. 1. 160 S. 1184) with the affix 'किम्' to be taught hereafter. The Yuvan of the latter is 'शौचकायनः' (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) with the affix 'अण्'; the word denoting the pupils of the latter is 'शौचकायनाः' by (IV. 2. 112 S. 1333) formed from 'शुक्रादयः'. When 'अण्' is elided the word 'शौचकायन' becomes 'शुक्रायन', and as the first syllable has no Vridhi letter now, there is no adding of 'छ' in the sense of pupils; for 'ह' is added by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 only after those words whose first syllable has a Vridhi letter.

१०८४ । पैलादिभ्यश्च । २ । ४ । ५६ ॥

पुत्रो युवमत्यस्य लुक् । पीलाया वेत्यण् । तस्मादणो ह्यच इति किम् । तस्य लुक् । पैलः पिता युवश्च ॥

तद्वाच्यपाथः ॥ ह्यसमर्पेत्पण्णन्ताराङ्गवशादणो ह्यच इति किमो लुक् । आङ्गः पितः युवश्च ॥

1084. And after the words पैल &c., there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पीला + अण् = पैलः (IV. 1. 118 S. 1121). 'The Gotra descendant of Pīla.' पैलः + किम् (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180). The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix 'किम्' is elided; so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word.

Note:—Some say that the 'Paila &c., words are formed by the affix 'इन्' (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) and then the luk-elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 1085. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prāchyas not being indicated.

1. पैल. 2. शालङ्कि. 3. ताम्यकि. 4. ताम्यकानि. 5. सहवि. 6. रावशि.
7. औदञ्ज. 8. औदञ्ज. 9. औदञ्ज. 10. औदञ्ज. 11. औदञ्ज.
12. औदञ्ज. 13. वैदस्थानि. 14. वैदस्थानि. 15. रावन्ति. 16. औदञ्ज.
17. राजि. 18. औदञ्ज. 19. औदञ्जानि. 20. औदञ्जान. 21. औदञ्ज. 22.
तद्वाच्यपाथः

G. sūtra:—The Yuvan affix is elided after a word formed by the tadraja affix 'अण्' ॥ Thus the word 'आङ्ग' is formed by adding the affix 'अण्' under IV. 1. 170 S. 1188 to 'अङ्ग'; to this is added 'किम्' under IV. 1. 156 S. 1180. This 'किम्' is elided. As 'आङ्ग' meaning both father and son.

१०८५ । इयः प्राच्याम् । २ । ४ । ६० ॥

योधे य इन् सन्ताप्यपत्यस्य लुक् त्यात् तपेक्षीर्चं प्राचां भवति । पद्मागारदापत्यम् । अठ

By the Sūtra IV. 1. 90 S. 1083 all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present Sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes कृत् and कृत्स्नम् ॥ Thus the Patronymic of कृत् is कात्य (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107); the Yuvan of कात्य is formed by कृत् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) कात्यायनः ॥ Thus the word denoting the pupils of Kātyāyana will be कानीया or कात्यायनीयाः ॥ Similarly of the affix कृत्स्नम् (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) Thus from वाक्, the Patronymic is वाक्का (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). The Yuvan of the latter is वाक्कायनि (IV. 1. 156 S. 1180) The pupils of Yāskāyana will be called वाक्कीयाः or वाक्कायनीयाः ॥

१०८८ । तस्यापत्यम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

पदवन्तात् कृतसन्धेः समर्थावपत्येऽर्थे वक्ता वक्ष्यमाणस्य प्रत्यया वा स्युः । उपगोपत्यं औपगवः ।
आदिबुद्धिर्लोपधाबुद्धी याधते ॥

तस्येति निश्चयस्येऽपि याधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्तरार्गः शेष एवास्ती वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥ १ ॥

योगविभागस्तु । भानोरपत्यं भानः । कृतसन्धेः कृत् । सौत्थितिः । अङ्गान्तरपरिभाषक
साधुस्थितिर्ना भूत् । समर्थपरिभाषका नेह । वस्तुपगोपत्यं पैषत्यं । प्रथमास्तिकम् । अपत्यधा-
नकावपत्येर्भा भूत् । वामहणाद्वाक्यमपि । ऐवयत्तीति स्यादप्यतरस्यामहणादुत्तेः सनासीति ।
उपगवस्यम् । जातिलान् जीव । औपगवी । आन्वपतः । इत्यः । औत्सः । खेयः । पौषः ॥

1088. (The affixes अण्, ण्य &c, already mentioned in IV. 1. 83 S. 1673 &c, and those which will be taught here-after, such as इञ् &c, denote) 'the descendant of some one', (and they come after a word in the the sixth case, which has completed its junction).

Note :—This Sātra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) e. g. अण्, ण्य अञ् &c, and to the affixes that follow such as इञ् &c. The affixes herein taught, have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which is in the genitive case.

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोपत्यम्; or by adding अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) to the word उपसृ (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगव "the offspring of Upagu" The word औपगवः is thus evolved.

Note :—उपसृ + अण् = औपगव + अण् ॥ Now applies either VI. 4. 146 S. 847 causing guṇa of final ण, and VII. 2. 115 S. 254 requiring the vṛddhi of the final. The following discussion shows why guṇa takes place to the exclusion of vṛddhi though subsequent. औगुणः VI. 4. 146 S. 847 ("for ण or ङ of a bha stem, there is substituted guṇa before a Taddhita affix") is debarred

by the *subsequent* sūtra अचोऽङ्गिति VII. 2. 115 S. 254 ('before the affixes having an indicatory ङ् or ञ्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end vowel of a stem') for guṇa will find scope in विचय्य &c. So let there be vṛiddhi of the final इ of वपयु ॥ This is one objection.

Note :—But if vṛiddhi is not allowed, and इ is guṇated to ओ, and we have by sandhi वपयो+अ=वपयद्+अ then arises another difficulty; for the अ of अ now being penultimate requires vṛiddhi by अत्र उपधायाः VII. 2. 116 S. 2282.

Ans. To remove both these difficulties the author says आदिवृद्धिर्न्योपधावृद्धी नास्ते "the vṛiddhi of the initial vowel taught by VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 debars the two vṛiddhis, namely the vṛiddhi of the final required by VII. 2. 115 S. 254 and the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ required by VII. 2. 116 S. 2282."

Note :—(Because rule VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 is *subsequent* to these two.) The vṛiddhis of the final and the penultimate find their free scope in गौः (the affix सु being णिङ् by VII. 1. 90 S. 284 causes vṛiddhi of गौ by VII. 2. 115), and पाचकः with ष्वल् added to पच् respectively where VII. 2. 116 applies. While the vṛiddhi of the initial will find its free scope in वीक्षुतः from क्षुप्तं ॥ But in द्वाष्टः from स्वष्ट् and बाधतः from जघन् the rules VII. 2. 115 and 116 appear simultaneously with VII. 2. 117, and in their case the vṛiddhi of the *initial* takes effect, because that rule (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) is *subsequent* (This we do on the maxim सकृत्ति &c. as well as by the inference of finding the word दुष्करत्तम् in the list of Anuṣatikādi VII. 3. 20.)

Note :—For if the *initial* Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) did not debar the *penultimate* Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 116 S. 2282), then we would have got the form पोचकत्तादि regularly by the *simultaneous* application of these two rules VII. 2. 116 and 117; S. 2282 and 1075 without its being read in the Anuṣatikādi class. But the very fact that it is so read indicates that these two Vṛiddhis cannot take place simultaneously.

Note.—The *tasyedam* would certainly have included *tasyāpatyam*; for *idam* may be anything *apatya* &c. The necessity for making a separate *sūtra* for *apatyam* is this. The *Vṛddhāch* *chhah* excludes the *अण्* of *tasyedam*; so that in case of *Vṛddha* words we have *ह* instead of *अण्* ॥ But *ह* does not come after *Vṛddha* words in the sense of *apatya*. Hence this separate *sūtra*. If it be said that neither the *अण्* of *tasyedam* nor its exception the *ह* of *Vṛddhāch* *chha* can ever come in the sense of *apatya*, for they come in the *śaishika* senses only and *apatya* is not included in the *śaishika* sense; we reply, that there is nothing to prevent us from including the sense of *apatya* also in the *śaishika* sense, of *sūtra* IV. 2. 92. S. 1392. Therefore, we come back to our former point that the necessity of this *sūtra* is really to make *अण्* applicable to *Vṛddha* words. Thus the son of *भानु* (a *Vṛddha* word) will be *भानवः* by the *अण्* of this *sūtra*, and not *भानवीयः* by *ह* of S. 1337, which would have been the case had this *sūtra* not existed, and had *tasyedam* IV. 3. 120 S. 1500 been requisitioned to denote *apatya* also.

By the general rule *samartha-pada vidhih* (II. 1. 1. S. 647); (the rule will not apply when the words are not in syntactical construction.) Thus the words *उपगोपत्यम्* "Upagu's" "offspring" are not in syntactical construction in the following sentence:—*यत्तमुपगोपत्यं चैतस्य* "the dress of Upagu, the offspring of Chaitra."

Why do we say "after the *first* word"? That the affix should not come after the word denoting the offspring, with the force of a genitive case. Thus in *इन्द्रोदेवता सस्य इविषः = ऐन्द्रिः इविः*, the affix is added to *Indra* in the first case in construction, similarly *उपगुपत्यनस्य देवदत्तस्य = औपगुपोदेवदत्तः* or *देवदत्तो-उपत्यनस्योपगोः = देवदत्तिरुपगुः* should not be formed.

By force of the word *वा* in IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 we can have a sentence also. As *उपगोपत्यम्* ॥

And by drawing in the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* from the *sūtra* IV. 1. 81 S. 1201, we have composition also in the other alternative. As *उपगुपत्यम्* ॥

The Patronymic being a *jāti* word takes *ह्री* in the feminine. As *औपगवी* ॥

So also *आश्वपतः* । *दैत्यः* । *सौत्तः* । *क्षेत्रः* । *पौत्तः* ॥

Note.—In explaining IV. 1. 82 S. 1072, we have used the words *कृतसन्धिकार्यत्वम्* "after the operation of sandhi or junction has been completed." Why have we used those words? Otherwise observe the anomaly. Thus *ह्र + श्रित्यतः = श्रित्यतः*, *दि + ईक्षमाणः = वीक्षमाणः* ॥ If the affix be not added to the form *श्रित्यतः*, but to *ह्र + श्रित्यतः*, so also not to *वीक्षमाणः* but to *विईक्षमाणः* that is to say, if the affix be added before sandhi, then the resultant forms would be *ह्री श्रित्यतिः =*

साङ्गुत्थितिः and वायीक्ष्माणिः by force of वार्त्ताशङ्गं बलीयः maxim, but the proper forms are सौत्थितिः and वैक्ष्माणिः ॥

Q. The rule of sandhi, though an operation relating to letters (a varṇa rule), yet being antaraṅga, will take effect *first*, and then the Viddhi operation, which though an anga rule, is after all bahiranga with regard to sandhi; what is the necessity of using the word समर्थ at all in the sūtra IV, 1, 82 S. 1072 or explaining it by कृतसन्धिः ?

Ans. The very fact that Pāṇini has used the word समर्थ in this aphorism, when it could well have been dispensed with, indicates the existence of the following maxim लक्ष्यव्यूहः पाणिनीयः "The followers of Pāṇini do not insist on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause disappears." (See p-30). Therefore had Pāṇini not used the word समर्थ in the sūtra IV. 1. 82, S. 1072 then by the application of the present maxim, the *antaraṅga* operation of sandhi would have been set aside by the *bahiranga* viddhi and the forms would have been साङ्गुत्थितिः and वायीक्ष्माणिः ॥ To prevent this समर्थ has been used.

Kārikā. सत्येकमित्यपत्येऽपि बोधितार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

चत्सर्गः दोष एवासीद्गुणान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

Note:—The *Kārikā* should be broken up in order to understand it. सत्येकमित्यपत्येऽपि ॥ The sūtra सत्येदम् (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) will include this अपत्य also, for the word इदम् may be applied to all things like अपत्य, समूह, विकार &c. Therefore सत्यु will come, by force of that sūtra, in the sense of "descendant," why then make this separate sūtra tasyāpatyam? If you say that this aphorism is necessary for the sake of sūtras अत इदम् &c. (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then why make a *separate* sūtra and not *join* it with the last? Ans: वाचनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ॥ The separate sūtra might have been made in order to debar the operation of the sūtra गुदाच्छ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). That sūtra supersedes सत्येदम्, and so in the case of apatyam also, छ would have applied instead of चत् where the base was a Viddhiham word. But that is not desired. Hence the separate sūtra.

If it be objected that "the अच् or tasyedam, and its apavāda the affix छ of viddhāch chhah, being śaishika affixes cannot come with the force of apatyam, because the word śaishika has been explained in IV, 2. 92 S. 1312 as the sense different from that of descendant and the quadruple significance, and so the above objection does not arise." To this the answer is

patyam not been separately enunciated, but made one sūtra with *अत इत्* something like *तस्यापत्यम् अत इत्* (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095); then it will govern those bases only that end in *अ* and the bases like *आहु* &c. (IV. 1. 95 and 96 S. 1095 and 1096), and not bases like *उपगु*; and therefore with regard to the base *उपगु* there would be no rule of adding an apatya affix but the *śaishika तस्येदम्* ॥ Thus even an apatya denotation can become a *śesha* under the above circumstances. It will be an *utsarga-śesha* i. e. the remainder not covered by a general rule: the general rule here by supposition being *अत इत्* &c. Therefore *अण्* of *तस्येदम्*, with the force of apatya, will come after *Upagu*, but it will be debarred in the case of *आहु* &c. by the rule *बृह्नाच् छ* ॥ But if we make *tasyāpatyam* a separate sūtra, then there being no *śesha*, the *छ* will never come under any circumstances.

Obj. If it be said that for bases like *उपगु* &c, which are not *Vṛddham* words, there will be no occasion for the addition of *छ*, and so there is no necessity of making a separate sūtra. To this we reply,

Ans: *बृह्नापत्यस्य प्रयोजनम्* The necessity of this sūtra is in the case of *Vṛddham* bases like *आहुः*, *दद्यानहुः* (*रयाम् नाहो ऽह*) &c.

Therefore there must be this separate sūtra. Thus *नानोरपत्यं=भानपः* ॥

The summary of the above discussion is that this sūtra "*tasyāpatyam*" is made for the sake of *Vṛddham* bases. Otherwise "*tasyedam*" would have been sufficient for bases like *Upagu* &c.

Note:—Now we take up the farther explanation of the sūtra *samarthānām prathamād vā* " (IV. 1. 82. S. 1072). Its explanation was postponed till now.

The maxim *समर्थः पदविधिः* (II. 1. 1. S. 647) applies here also. Thus *वस्त्रं उपगोरपत्यं चैव* "the garment of *Upagu*, the son of *Chaitra*". Here the two words *उपगोरपत्यम्* are not in construction; for *उपगोः* governs *वस्त्रं* and *अपत्यं* is governed by *चैव*, and so there is no affix.

Why do we say "after the first"? The force of this question will be understood by the following considerations. In the sūtra *तस्यपत्यम्* there are two words, *तस्य* and *अपत्यं*, of these the first only can stand as a base to an affix, and not apatya. Therefore, when searching for the *base* to which the affix is to be added, we shall take *तस्य* ॥ Therefore, there is no necessity of using the word *इयमात्* at all.

Ans: The words "after the first" are used in order to indicate that the affix will not be added to the word which is the *name* of the descendant, and referred to by the genitive word. Thus the sūtra *tasyāpatyam*

is really ambiguous; for it literally means "let the affix *अण्* &c. come in the sense of "*His son*". The affix may come after Upagu exhibited in the genitive case; or after the word which is the Proper name of the son of Upagu. Thus if Devadatta be the name of the son of Upagu; then *देवदत्तः* is *उपगोऽपत्यम्*; then by *tasyāpatyam*, the affix might be added either to *उपगुः* or to *देवदत्तः* ॥ To prevent this, *प्रथमात्* is used in the sūtra.

Moreover as in the case of *इन्द्रो देवता यस्य हविः* : 'Indra is the devatā of this offering' we add the affix to *इन्द्र* denoted by the genitive case under the rule *सास्त्वित्* (IV. 2. 24. S. 1226); and get the form *इन्द्र* as applied to *हविः*; similarly *उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य* "Upagu is the son of this Devadatta" we will have *औपगवो देवदत्तः* "Devadatta Aupagava" i. e. "Devadatta whose son is Upagu"; or in *देवदत्तोपत्यमस्योपगोः* "Devadatta is son of this Upagu", we shall have *देवदत्तिरुपगुः* "Upagu whose son is Devadatta". Now this is not intended. We cannot have *औपगवः* in the sense of "He whose son is Upagu", nor *देवदत्तः* in the sense of "He whose son is Devadatta."

Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say *उपगोऽपत्यं*, instead of the *taddhita* formed word *औपगवः* ॥

Note :—The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (*saṁāsa*); as *उपगुरपत्यम्* 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the *saṁāsa* rule here is not superseded by the *Taddhita*-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2, 8. 175 because the *anuvṛtti* of *अन्यतरस्याम्* is understood here from sūtra IV. 1. 81, S. 1201 so that in the alternative when the *Taddhita* affix is not employed, the *saṁāsa* rules will find scope. The word *औपगवः* being a *जति* denoting word (because *jāti* includes *गोत्रं च चरत्यः* सह ०० *Kārikā* to IV. 1. 83. S. 518; therefore its feminine will be by *टीप्* (VI. 1. 83) As *औपगवी* ॥

१०८६ । अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् । ४ । १ । १६२ ॥

अपत्येन विवक्षितं पौत्रादि गोत्रसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1089. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called *Gotra*.

Note :—When an offspring with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called *Gotra*. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be *गार्गिः*, and the son or grandsons &c. of *गार्गिः* with reference to Garga will be *गार्ग्यः* ॥ Similarly *चारवः* ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendant or the son will not be called *Gotra*. Thus *श्रीधरः*, *गार्गिः* ॥

Note :—Q. The word अपत्यं has been read uselessly in this sūtra, for grandsons &c are apatyam or descendants? The sūtra could have been well stated as *pantra-pravṛtī gotram*’.

Ans. Yes. Therefore in explaining the sūtra, the author has said “*apatyatvena vivakshitam*”—“when it is intended to speak of a person as a descendant.” Why do we say “when it is intended to express”? As a matter of fact, even grand-sons and lower descendants of Garga also will be denoted by the general patronymic गार्गिः formed under the द्वेष rule गर्गस्येदम्, when no particular stress is laid on the *degree* of descent. The Gotra denoting affix need not be added here.

Others say that the force of *vivakshita* is that the grandsons &c should not get the designation *gotra*, but only their relationship. Therefore औपगवः though formed by गण् (not a gotra affix) is also a gotra word.

१०६० । जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा । ४ । १ । १६३ ॥

वंश्ये विवाहो जीवति पौत्रदेव्यस्य चतुर्थस्य तस्य संज्ञेन न गोत्रसंज्ञम् ॥

1090. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called *Yuvan* only.

Note :—The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or ‘a line.’ One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंशः ॥ When such a *वंश* is alive then the descendant of a grandson &c is called *Yuvan*. The phrase पौत्रप्रपत्यस्य in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रपत्येर् अद् अपत्यं ‘He who is the descendant of a grandson &c’ In the last sūtra however this phrase पौत्रप्रपत्यस्य was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रपत्यि in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning “a descendant being a grandson &c.” Thus the word *Yuvan* will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्गः being the head, we have गार्गिः ॥

अपत्यम्— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{गार्गिः. (son or putra)} \\ \text{गार्ग्यः. (Gotra)} \\ \text{गार्ग्यद्वेषः. (Yuvan) if Gārga or Gargī &c be alive).} \end{array} \right.$

The force of the word तु, in the sūtra is that it will be called *Yuvan* only, and not Gotra as well.

१०६१ । भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि । ४ । १ । १६४ ॥

येष्टे भ्रातरि जीवति कवीश्वर चतुर्थस्य तस्यात् ॥

1091. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Note:—Even when a वृद्धः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not वान्श्या) the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus: गार्ग्यायणः॥

The word वृद्धः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a वान्श्या, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when वान्श्या is not meant. Thus Gārgyāyana is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gārgya; similarly Vātsyāyana, Dākshyāyana, and Plākshāyana.

१०६२ । गार्ग्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति । ४ । १ । १६५ ॥

आतुरग्न्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । एकं जीवतिप्रहजमपत्यस्य विशेषणम् । द्वितीयं सपिण्डस्य । तद्वृत्तिर्देसा उभयोस्तुकार्पायः । स्थानम् वृत्त्या शोक्लुटे पितृभ्यः मातामहे भ्रातरि वा जीवति । गार्ग्यस्यापत्यम् गार्ग्यायणः । गार्ग्यो वा । स्थविरति किम् । स्थानवयोन्यूनं गार्ग्य एव । जीवतीति किम् । पूते मृते वा गार्ग्य एव ॥

वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम् * ॥ गोपस्यैव वृद्धसंज्ञा प्राच्यम् । गोपस्य युवसंज्ञा पूजायां गन्धमानायाम् । तत्रभवान् गार्ग्यायणः । पूजेति किम् । गार्ग्यः ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायां गोपसंज्ञेति वाच्यम् * ॥ गार्ग्यो आप्नः । कुस्तेति किम् । गार्ग्यायणः ॥

1092. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a (more) superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛtti of जीवति also from IV. 1. 163. S. 1090. (This जीवति of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda. The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees.) The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतरे is comparative and means 'more superior' that is to say, (superior both by degree of descent and by age,) such as an uncle, or a maternal grand-father or an elder brother &c. when alive.

Thus the descendant of गार्ग्य will be गार्ग्यायणः or गार्ग्यः ॥

Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

Why do we say "superior"? When the person alive is lower either in degree or in age, then we have only one form गार्ग्य only. Why do we say

"when alive?" When either the descendant of a grandson &c is dead or the superior sapinda is dead, then also we have one form गार्ग्यः only.

Vārtika :—The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word *Viddha* is another term for Gotra in the terminology of the ancient grammarians. As तन्न नवान् गार्ग्ययणः or गार्ग्यः "you honored Gārgyāṇa or Gārgya".

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, गार्ग्यः ॥ The definition of *Viddham* as given by other Grammarians is अपश्यन्तर्हितम् वृद्धम् ॥

Vārt :—The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus गार्ग्यो जात्यः or गार्ग्ययणो जात्यः ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्ययणः ॥

१०६३ । एको गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

गोत्रे एक एवापत्यप्रत्ययः स्यात् । उपगोर्गोपापत्य औपगवः । गार्ग्यः । कृदाद्यन्तः ।

गोत्रे स्वेकौनस्ययानां प्रत्ययानां पञ्चपर ।

यद्वा स्वद्विगुणसंख्येयौऽनिवृत्तौऽपिः प्रत्ययौ ॥ १ ॥

अपत्यं पितुरेव स्वात्ततः प्राप्तामपीति च ।

मत्वेनेन तद्वान्यै सृजितवत्तयोक्तम् ॥ २ ॥

पितुरेवापत्यमिति पते हि उपगोर्गोपापत्ये वाच्ये औपगवादिभ्यः स्यात् । चतुर्थे सजीवज्ज्येष्ठे वृत्तवर्ग्ये औपगवेः कक् । द्वयं कर्मिणोः कर्मिणोः परस्परानां मृताप्युत्तमं गोत्रे एकौनस्यं प्रत्ययाः स्युः । पितृमहावीर्यामप्राप्तिं सुख्यपत्ते तु तृतीयं वाच्यं उपगोर्गोपापत्ये इति त्रिज्येष्ठे अपत्यनादिभ्यः स्यात् । चतुर्थे कर्मिणि कर्मिणोः परस्परानां पितृवर्ग्ये गोत्रेऽप्युत्तमवदिरिति प्रत्ययाः स्युः । अतो नियमायनिर्णयं सुखम् । एवमुत्तरस्त्रयेऽप्युक्तम् ॥

1093. One descendant-denoting affix only is employed when a gotra descendant (how low-so-ever) is to be indicated.

Note :—The word Gotra is defined in sūtra IV. 1. 162! and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 93) The son of गार्ग्यः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्ययणः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of a गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्ययणः, no

new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever the affix *सम्* will be added to the word *गर्ग्य*, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of *गर्ग्य* will be formed by adding the affix *सम्* not to the base *गर्ग्य* (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 S. 1088 strictly applied), but to the base *गर्ग* ॥ So that one base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

Thus the Gotra descendant of उपगु is औपगवः, of गर्ग्य is गार्ग्यः, of नद is नदायनः ॥

Note :—The word *सोपे* in the sūtra is in the singular number as the word denotes the whole class; i.e. all gotra descendants. The word *एकः* is a numeral. If the sūtra be translated thus :—"when a Gotra-descendant is intended to be expressed, then the descendant denoting affix should be one only"—then in the case of gotra-descendant the first word only takes the affix, and not any other. On the other hand, if the gotra affix can be added, even after the word has taken an apatya-affix, then there is not one affix in denoting a Gotra-descendant. Hence the author has explained by saying "One descendant-denoting affix only is employed &c". The word *apatya* is read into the sūtra from the context, as it is the governing word of the whole section.

Others explain the word *एक* as equivalent to प्रथम or first; and the first means the base which is devoid of any apatya-affix. They explain the sūtra thus. "The first or the original word takes the apatya-affix in denoting Gotra."

Thus the son of Upagva is Aupagava, the gotra descendant will be also Aupagava. The gotra-affix will be added to Upagva and not to Aupagava. Thus the gotra-descendant will be formed by the affix *सम्* also, just as the immediate descendant (i.e. son) is formed by *सम्*; and not by *इम्* ॥ For though औपगव 'son of Upagva' is a word which ends in *व*, and therefore in forming a descendant from it the affix *इम्* ought to be added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095; yet *सम्* is added by force of this sūtra. There is no specific Gotra affix for this word उपगु ॥

Similarly गार्ग्य formed by *सम्* of IV. 1. 105 S. 1107. Here *सम्* is specifically ordained to denote Gotra-descendants, and therefore, there is not *इम्* added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095, which is added only when an immediate descendant (i.e. son) is to be denoted. Thus here we have two forms, the son of Garga is गार्ग्यः, while the grandson and lower descendants will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Thus गार्ग्य denotes not only the grandson of Garga, but the son of Gārgya as well. The word denoting the son of Gārgya (the grandson of Garga) will not be formed by *सम्* added to गार्ग्य, because of the restriction of this rule: since one affix only can be added. The affix *सम्* would have been added by IV. 1. 101 S. 1103. in denoting the son of

Gārgya, for, he is a Yuvan: as Gārgyāyana. But when he is considered as a Gotra-descendant, then he will be called by the general name Gārgya.

Similarly नादायनः formed by क् and IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. Here also क् is specifically ordained to come after Naḍādi words, and therefore the general affix इम् (IV 1. 95 S. 1095) is precluded: which now finds its scope in denoting the immediate descendant i. e. the son of Naḍa. Thus Naḍi is son of Naḍa: while Naḍāyana is the grandson of Naḍa. The son of Naḍāyana will be Naḍāyana: and not Naḍāyani, with the इम् of IV. 1. 95 S. 1095; because of the restriction of this sūtra which says only one affix is to be added.

Verse:—"In denoting a Gotra descendant, there is a succession of affixes, being either one less in number than the degree of the descendant: or two less in number: the undesirable occurrence taking place after all pratipadikas which are two less in number than the base".

"The word apatya (son or descendant can be used in relation) to the father only; and in relation to older (than father) also," according to diversity of opinions. Hence the necessity of this sūtra, as well as of the next sūtra, to remove these anomalies."

In the first alternative, when apatya is only of a father, (and we can not say "a grandfather's apatya"); when the third in degree from Upagu is to be denoted, there must be added the affix इम् to औपगवः, (thus giving the form Aupagavi "the grand-son of Upagu"). Similarly to denote the fourth in degree, when the elder brother is not alive, and when the elder-members-of-the-family (vanāya) are dead, the affix क् is added (and we have औपगवायनः) ॥ (The son of Aupagavāyana will be by इम्, Aupagavāyani, his son will be Aupagavāyana and so on). Thus by the constant recurrence of क् and इम् affixes alternately, in denoting a Gotra descendant hundredth in degree from the original उपगु, there will be ninety-nine affixes.

In the second alternative, when the word apatya can be applied with regard to grand-father &c (when we can say apatya of a grand-father, &c)—and this is the valid alternative—the third in degree will be expressed by अण् added to उपगु; i. e. औपगवः will express the grandson also of Upagu: and though thus the true and desired form is obtained, yet the affix इम् will also come after अण्-ending औपगवः ॥ In denoting the fourth, the affix will be क् and then will commence the recurrence of क्, इम् क्, इम् &c, and thus in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant, there will occur ninety eight undesirable affixes.

Therefore, for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule, has this sūtra been enunciated.

This must be understood in the next sūtra also.

Note:—Objection. How could more than one affix be simultaneously applied in denoting *one* Gotra, and is not, therefore, this sūtra useless?

Ans:—No. The following considerations show the necessity of this sūtra. Now the person from whom the Gotra is to be calculated, is the first or propositus his son will be second, his grand-son will be third, and so on. The first or the Propositus takes no affix, in denoting the son or the *second* there will be *one* affix added; in denoting son's son or the *third*, two affixes will be added, and so on; so that in denoting the hundredth, ninety-nine affixes will be added. Thus the son of उपगु will be उपगु + अण् = औपगवः ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of Aupagava will be औपगव + इम् = औपगविः ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of औपगवि will be औपगवि + क्क् = औपगवादनः ॥ The fifth or the son of औपगवादन will be औपगवादन + इम् = औपगवादिः and then will commence the recurring series. Thus. 1. Upagu, 2. Aupagava, 3. Aupagavi, 4. Aupagavāyana, 5. Aupagavāyana, 6. Aupagavāyana, 7. Aupagavāyana, 8. Aupagavāyana, 9. Aupagavāyana &c. Thus the second in degree or son has *one* affix अण्, the third has two affixes, अण्, and इम्; the fourth has *three* affixes अण्, इम् and क्क् the fifth has four affixes अण्, इम्, क्क् and इम् and so on. Therefore the verse says, गोत्रे ऐकौनसंघवनो मयद्यानां परम्परा "In a Gotra descendant there will be an uninterrupted succession (parampara) of affixes whose number will be *one less* (eka-una) than the *degree* of descent (स्व) of the person to be so denoted." This is one anomaly to remove which the present sūtra has been made.

Though as a matter of fact, the final व and इ would have been always elided by दक्षेति च (VI. 4. 148 S, 311), and the forms would not have shown the actual presence of the affixes अण् and इम्, yet the number of affixes added will be always one less than the *degree* of descent.

Another necessity of this sūtra is as regards the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the base or prātipadika in the case of son is Upagu; in the case of grand-son or third descendant is Aupagava, or *one* new base; in the case of the fourth descendant, the base is Aupagavi or *second* prātipadika, and so that in the hundredth descendant there will be ninety-eight new prātipadikas; i. e. always *two* less than the degree of descent. Therefore the verse says: यदा स्वदृष्ट्यन संघदेभ्योऽनित्येभ्यः प्रसज्ये "Or the anomaly (anishṭa) arises in the case of those prātipadikas which are less by two than the degree of descent." Thus in the case of third degree, there is one undesirable prātipadika i. e. Aupagava: i. e. the affix is added to Aupagava and not to Upagu; in the case of fourth in degree there is another undesirable prātipadika i. e. affix is added to Aupagavi and not to Upagu; and so on. Thus the number of affix-taking undesirable stems increase with the degree of descent, their number being *two* less than the degree, therefore, the necessity of the present sūtra in order to restrict the number of stems to *one*.

The above two difficulties, one of ninety nine affixes, and the other of ninety eight arises from the two meanings of the word *apatya*. In one view the word अपत्य is restricted to the son of the father only: and not to grand-sons &c. This is the view pre-eminently of the lexicographer Amara, who defines *apatya* thus:—

आत्मजस्तनयः सुतुः सुतः पुत्रस्त्रियां स्वमी ।

आहुतुहितरे सर्वेऽपत्यं तोकं तयोः सन्नि ॥

In this view there will be ninety nine affixes, in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra' descendant

The other and siddhānta view is that *apatya* not only means the immediate descendants (son or daughter) but the grandson and grand-daughter and lower descendants also. Thus *apatya* is not only of father, but of those who are older (*prāchām*) than father also, i. e. of grand-father and great-grand father &c. In other words the word *apatya* should be taken in its etymological sense i. e. "he who prevents the fall (*patan*) of another"—the presence of any descendant, how low so ever, prevents the fall of ancestors from heaven "न पतन्त्यनेनेति"—अपत्यम्" or यन्निमित्तं अस्यापतनं, तत् तस्यापत्यम् ॥ And as grandsons &c prevent the fall of grand-father &c. so they are also called *apatya* (fall-preventer) of grand-father &c. In fact, it is in this wider sense of a "descendant," that the word *apatya* is used by Pāṇini himself in the sūtra *apatyam pautra pratyiti gotram* (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089).

१०९४ । गोत्राद्यन्यस्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ९४ ॥

युवपत्ये गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादेव प्रत्ययः स्वात् । स्त्रियां तु न युवसंज्ञा । गर्भस्य युवपत्यं गार्ग्ययणः । स्त्रियां गोत्रत्वदेक एव प्रत्ययः ॥

1094, When a descendant of the description denoted by *Yuvan* (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (*gotra*): but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the *Yuvan* of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्ययणः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). Similarly बान्ध्यायनः, दाक्षायणः, प्लाक्षायणः, औपगनिः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*"? Observe दाक्षी which is the Feminine of दाक्षिः (*Gotra*) as well as of दाक्षायणः (*Yuvan*), Similarly प्लाक्षी feminine of प्लाक्षिः and प्लाक्षायणः ॥ In short, *Yuvan* affixes are not added in the Feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant

of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by the Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *nigama* rule, there will be no *nigama* with regard to the Feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the Sâtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् युनि प्रत्यये भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियम् । (2) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact, the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known by Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

१०९५ । अत इञ् । ४ । १ । ९५ ॥

अदन्तं यत्प्रतिपदिकं तत्प्रकृतिकात्प्रत्ययान्वादिञ् स्यादपत्येऽर्थे । दाक्षिः ॥

1095. The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debar प्रत्य (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus दत्तस्यापत्यं=दाक्षिः 'a descendant of Daksha.'

Note:—Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter न् added to अ by I. 1. 69 and 70 S. 14 and 15) ? The descendant of शुभ्याः or कीलाजपाः (words which end in long अ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दाशरथ by this sâtra is दाशरथिः, but the form दाशरथ formed by अञ् is also met with. As "प्रवीयताम् दाशरथाय भैषिती" 'Give Sita to the son of Dāśaratha'.

१०९६ । बाहुदिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ९६ ॥

बाह्विः । चौद्वलेभिः । आहूतिप्रयोगश्च ॥

1096. The affix इञ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'bâhu' &c.

Thus बाह्विः "a descendant of the clan of Bâhu." The words 'Bâhu' &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ् ॥ Hence the necessity of the present sâtra. So also चौद्वलेभिः ॥

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आहूतिप्रत्यय) ॥

1 दाह, 2 द्यहाह, 3 द्यवाह, 4 दिवाह, 5 मिवाह, 6 दहाह, 7 उद्विन्दु (उद्विन्दु) 8 द्यवाह, 9 द्यवाह, 10 पूरा, 11 लाका, 12 मुदिता, 13 रुचिता, 14

भगला (छगला) 15 घुवका, 17 सुनिश्री, 18 हुनिचा, 19 पुष्करसद्, 20 ज्ञघुहर्, 21
 सेवार्मन्, 22 अमिशर्मन्, 23 भद्रचर्मन्, 24 सुचर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27
 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितीजसः सलोपम्, 31 सुधावन्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33
 34 गाव, 35 शराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 जैनवृद्धिन्, 38 मृद्व्खलतीतिद्वन्, 39 खरनादिन्,
 40 नगरनादिन्, 41 प्राकारनादिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीर्णम्, 44 कृष्ण, 45 युधिष्ठिर,
 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्न्, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राग, 51 उदङ्, 52 उदङ्: संज्ञायाग 53
 संभ्राम्भसोः सलोपम्, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगद्योऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57
 सात्वकिः 58 आङ्घ्रिः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्भिः 60 आङ्घ्रेतिः इत्यादि ॥

Vart:—The words ब्राह्म &c must be Proper Names, being heads of
 Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इञ् will not be
 applied. Thus the son of a private person called ब्राह्म will be ब्राह्मन् ॥

Vart:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are
 prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus
 the offspring of श्वशुर meaning 'father-in-law' is श्वशुर्यः, but when it means a person
 called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वशुरिः ॥

Note:—The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the
 list also take this affix. Thus जान्भिः, ऐन्द्रशर्भिः, आङ्घ्रेतिभिः, आङ्घ्रिभ्यः, श्रीङ्गलोभिः ॥

१०९७ । सुधातुरकङ् च । ४ । १ । ९७ ॥

यादिम् । सुधातुरपत्न्यं सौधातकिः ॥ व्यासवृद्धनिषादपदालविम्बानां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1097. The affix इञ् is placed after the word sudhâtri
 in denoting the descendant, and the ञ् of sudhâtri is replac-
 ed by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातुरपत्न्यम्—सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri'.

Vart:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वृद्ध, निषाद,
चण्डाल and विम्ब when the Patronymic इञ् is to be added. Thus वैयासकिः,
वारुडकिः, निषादकिः, चाण्डालकिः, विम्बकिः ॥ In forming these words, the anomalous
 Vṛiddhi takes place by the following sūtra.

१०९८ । न पञ्चाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच् । ७ । ३ । ३ ॥

पदान्ताभ्यां यकारश्चकाराभ्यां परस्य न वृद्धिः किंतु ताभ्यां पूर्वौ कगदिवावागमौ स्त-
 वैयासकिः । वारुडकिरित्यादि ॥

1098. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory
ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel
 in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्,

but दे and औ are respectively placed before the semi-vowels.

That is दे is placed before दृ, and औ before डृ ॥ As देवासक्तिः, from प्यास; वास्तुदक्तिः &c so also देवाकरणः from व्याकरणं (व्याकरणाधीने) सौवधः from स्वधः (स्वधस्यापलं) ॥

१०९६ । गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्चकन् । ४ । १ । १८८ ॥

1099. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'kuñja' &c, when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix कम् the letter म् is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फम्; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113 S. 1100 by which the words ending in the affix चकम् take the further affix य (अ), in order to form a complete word. The letter म् of this affix causes Viddhi (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075). Then remains फ which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, S. 475 is replaced by चायन् ॥

Note:—The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

११०० । दातृकञ्जोरस्त्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

दातृवादिभ्यश्चकन्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रिये ज्यःस्वात्र तु स्त्रियाम् । कौञ्जायन्यः । बहुष्वे तद्ग्राजत्वास्तु-
भ्यश्च्यते । दातृनायन्यः । स्त्रियां कौञ्जायनी । गोत्रस्येन जातिस्वाङ्गीत् । अनन्तरापत्ये कौञ्जिः ॥

1100. The affix nya comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in chphañ (आयन IV. 1. 98 S. 1099), without change of sense; but not in the feminine.

Note:—A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence is called दातृ or 'wild band'.

Thus कुञ्ज + कम् = कौञ्ज + चायन् + य = कौञ्जायन ॥ This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by the present sūtra thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्या, plural is कौञ्जायन्याः; the affix अ being elided by II. 4. 62, S. 1193 in the plural, it being an affix of the ग्राज class (IV. 1. 174 S. 1192). Similarly दातृनायन्यः, दातृनायनी, दातृनायनाः ॥

Why do we say "not in the Feminine? Observe कौञ्जायनी, ग्रीहिण्यः, होत्रादनी, ग्राजादनी ॥ The affix दी is added as Gotra is a jāti word

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जि: 'the son of Kuñja'. Here इञ् is added by IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 in denoting an immediate descendant.

११०१। नडादिभ्यः फक् । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । नडाद्यनः । चाराद्यणः । अमन्तरे नाडिः ॥

1101. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड् and the rest.

Thus नाडाद्यनः (नड् + फक् = नाड + आद्यन VII. 2. 118 S. 1076 and VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Similarly चाराद्यणः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड् will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word शलंकु is changed to शलंक before this affix. Thus शालंकाद्यनः ॥ The word शालंकिः occurs in पैलादि class II. 4. 59, S. 1084. The Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes इञ् by IV. 1. 96, S. 1096 as belonging to Bāhvrādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषमण gotra, e. g. अग्निशर्माद्यनः = चार्प्यमाद्यनः; otherwise the form will be अग्निशर्मन् ॥ The word कृष्य will form कर्ष्याद्यनः when a Brāhmana is meant; otherwise कर्ष्यः, so also एषाद्यनः = वासिटः, otherwise राशिः ॥ The word क्रौष्ट is changed to क्रौड as कौष्टाद्यनः ॥

1 नड्, 2 चर (वर) 3 वक् 4 हुञ् 5 इतिक्, 6 इतिय, 7 द्यक्, 8 एक, 9 समक् । 10 शलंकु शलङ्क च । 11 सन्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक । 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषमणे । 15 माण, 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास, 19 निच, 20 क्षीर, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किङ्कर, 24 किङ्गल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 कारवप (कुस्यप) 28 कारय, 29 काल्य 30 शब्द, 31 अद्युष्य (अद्युष्म) 32 कृष्यारखौ ब्राह्मणशालिटे । 33 अग्निच, 34 निशु, 35 चिच, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रौष्ट क्रौड च, 38 लोई, 39 दुर्ग 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिक्षपा, 42 अम, 43 हृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमन्त, 46 सुमन्, 47 निमन्त, 48 क्षत्र, 49 जलंधर, 50 अश्वर, 51 युग्धर, 52 ऐसक, 53 दण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिराव, 56 वंषात, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकुल, 59 रिपयक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चदक, 62 मंदर, 63 अश्वत्त, 64 शरव, 65 लङ्ग, 66 इन्ध, 67 अक्ष, 68 कामक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 क्षीण, 72 अलोद, 73 दण्डप, 74 जङ्ग, 75 अश्वक, 76 धान्य, 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वयक, 79 अन्तवन, 80 दन्तर, 81 अंशक, 82 धान, 83 क्षाम, 84 वात ॥

११०२। हस्तिदिभ्योऽञः ४ । १ । १०० ॥

एभ्योऽञन्तोभ्यो यनि फक् । हस्तिताद्यनः । इह योवाधिकारोऽपि सामर्थ्यादुच्यते । नदि गोवाद्यन्ते गोचमस्यः । निदाद्यन्तोभ्यो हस्तिदिः ॥

1102. The affix फक् comes (in denoting a yuvan descendant) after the words हरित &c. when they end in the affix अञ्ज (IV. 1. 104)

The words हरित &c. form a subdivision of विद class, which class by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 takes the affix अञ्ज in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्ज) ॥ The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita." In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra-affix अञ्ज will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

११०३ । यमिञोञ्ज । ४ । १ । १०१ ॥

गोत्रे यौ यमिञौ तदन्तात् फक् स्यात् । अनालीलुक्तेरापत्यत्वेति यलोपो न । गार्गायणः । दादायणः ॥

1103. The affix फक् is added in denoting a (Yuvan) descendant after a Nominal-stem (denoting a Gotra descendant and) formed by the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) = गार्ग्य ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्गायणः " तप्त + इञ् = दादिः ; दादि + फक् = दादायणः ॥

It is not every word that ends in यञ् or इञ्, which takes the Yuvan affix फक्; but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV. 3. 10 S. 1380 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतेग्न &c, the force of the affix being आहुतार्थिक ॥ Thus सौतेगनिः ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

११०४ । शरद्वज्जुनकदभाञ्जिगुयत्साप्रायणेषु । ४ । १ । १०२ ॥

गोत्रे फक् । यमिञोपपदः । धायौ विवादी । शरद्वजायनो भार्गवश्चेत् । शरद्वजोऽयः । शीतकायनो धार्यश्चेत् । शीतकोऽयः । दामांशय यमायणश्चेत् । दामित्यः ॥

1104. The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the words 'śaradvat', śunaka' and

‘darbhā’, when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Āgrāyana respectively.

The first two words शरद्धन् and शुनकः belong to बिदादि class, and therefore would by IV. 1. 104 S. 1106 have taken the affix अम् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead. This debars the affixes अम् and इम् ॥ The affix फक् is a Gotra affix here.

Thus शारद्धात्तायनः = भार्गवः otherwise शारद्धतः (formed by अम्) शौनकायनः = शक्यः; otherwise शौनकः, दामर्षियः = दामाश्रयः otherwise दामर्षिः, formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95).

११०५ । द्रोणपर्वतजिवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १०३ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रे फक् वा । द्रोणायनः । द्रौणिः । पार्वतायनः । पार्वतिः । जैवन्तायनः । जैवन्तिः । अत्रादिरिति द्रोणः । अश्वत्थाम्न्यनन्तरे दूनचारात् ॥

1105. The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words ‘Droṇa,’ ‘Parvata,’ and ‘Jivanta.’

This debars इम् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रोणायनः or द्रौणिः; पार्वतायनः or पार्वतिः; जैवन्तायनः or जैवन्तिः ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Droṇa, called द्रोणायनः and not द्रौणिः in the phrase “अश्वत्थामा द्रोणायनः”? The द्रोणः here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhārāt, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रोणायनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthāmā was called Draupāyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

११०६ । अनुप्यत्तये बिदादिभ्योऽङ् । ४ । १ । १०४ ॥

एभ्योऽम् गोत्रे वे ल्यत्रानुप्यत्तेभ्य अनन्तरे । खजे स्वार्थे ण्यम् । बिदत्य गोत्रापत्यं वेदः । अनन्तरो वेदिः । बाह्यादेशकृतिगणत्वादिम् । पुत्रस्वापत्यं गोत्रः । दौहित्रः ॥

1106. The affix अङ् comes after the words ‘Bida.’ &c, in denoting a remoter (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अङ् has the force of denoting an immediate descendant.

in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no alpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्यः which 'is a name of Parasūram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyāsa the son of Parāśara is called पाराशर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्ररूपाध्यारोपः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatyā forms are by कव्यञ् (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) i. e. जामदग्नः and पाराशरः ॥ In forming the plural of गार्ग्य the following rule applies :—

११०८ । यञञोश्च । २ । ४ । ६४ ॥

गोत्रे ययञन्तमञन्ते च तदवयवयोरेतयोर्लुक्स्यात्तत्कुते बहुत्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । गार्गाः । वत्साः । विदाः । ऊर्वाः । तत्कुते इति किम् । प्रियगार्ग्याः । स्त्रियां तु गार्ग्यः स्त्रियः । गोत्रे किम् । द्वैप्याः । क्षीत्वाः । प्रथमाध्यायमसिद्धमिह गोत्रम् । तेनेह न । वीत्राः । दैहित्राः ॥

1108. And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and अञ् (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

गर्म + यञ् = गार्ग्यः ; plural गर्गाः 'the male Gotra descendants of Garga.' So also वत्साः 'the male Gotra descendants of Vatsa'; the singular being, वात्स्यः ॥ Similarly, विद् + अञ् = वैद् (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106) ; plural विदाः, similarly ऊर्वाः singular ; ऊर्वाः plural.

Why do we say tat-krite bahutve 'when the plural is of that word alone' ? But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved ;' प्रियवैदाः 'those to whom Baidā is beloved.' Here the Plural is not of the word Gārgya, but of those who love Gārgya.

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्यः is the feminine plural of गर्गी ॥

११०६ । मधुवन्नोब्रीह्यकौशिकयोः । ४ । १ । १०६ ॥

गोत्रं यञ् । माधव्यो ब्राह्मणः । माधवोऽयः । ब्राह्मण्यः । कौशिकश्चापि । माधवोऽयः ।
ब्रह्मण्यस्य भार्गवियादित्यदि नियमार्थमिवम् । भार्गवियादिकं तु लोहितादिकार्थमिव । ब्राह्मण्यवर्णी ॥

1109. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and यञ्, when the words so formed mean 'a Brāhmaṇa' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brāhmaṇa.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu."
ब्राह्मण्यः = कौशिकः Rishi. Otherwise ब्राह्मणः ॥

The word यञ् belongs to the Gargādi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a niyama or restriction, viz. यञ् takes यञ् then only when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargādi class serves another purpose : as it belongs to the sub-class लोहितादि, the rule IV. 1. 18 S. 476 becomes applicable to it ; so that its feminine is formed by ण् ॥ Thus पादव्यावली ॥

Note :—In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapāṭha, instead of writing यञ् alone, there was यञ् कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

१११० । कपिवोधादाङ्गिरसे । ४ । १ । १०७ ॥

गोत्रं यञ् स्यात् । काप्यः । बौधः । आङ्गिरसे किम् । कपियः । बौधिः ॥

1110. The affix यञ् comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras'. So also बौधः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कपियः (IV. 1. 122 S. 1125) 'the gotra-descendant of Kapi' so also बौधिः formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096) class.

Note :—The word कपि occurs in Gargādi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargādi class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18 S. 476. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi".

The word *anantarya* in the *sūtra* is formed by the affix *सम्* without changing the sense. In fact *अनन्तर्य* is equal to *अनन्तर* "an immediate descendant." Thus the *Gotra* descendant of *Bida* will be *बैदः*; but the immediate descendant will be *बैदिः* formed by *इम्* of IV. 1. 96 S. 1096, as it belongs to *Bāhvādī* class which is an *Akrītiḡaṇa*. Similarly the son of a son (*putra*) will be *पौत्रः* ॥ So also *दौहित्रः* ॥

Note:—This *Sūtra* consists of four words: *अनृषि* "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage"; *अनन्तर्ये* "in expressing an immediate descendant." *विदादिभ्यः* "after *Bidādi* words" *सम्* "the affix *सम्*." Thus of the words falling in *Bidādi* class, the words like पुत्र 'son,' दूहित्र 'daughter,' नानान्द 'sister-in law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix *सम्* is added to these words, it has the force of denoting the immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र+सम्=पौत्रः 'grand-son.' दूहितृ+सम्=दौहित्र. "daughter's son." But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix *सम्* makes the *Gotra* descendants. Thus विद+सम्=बैदः 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that, of *Bida*.'

How in a context relating to *Gotra* affixes we come to this two fold meaning of this *sūtra*? To this we reply, that the phrase *अनृष्यान्तर्ये* should be thus construed. The word 'anṛṣi' is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word *अनन्तर्य* is the same as *अनन्तर*, the affix *सम्* being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c. denote the immediate (*anantara*) descendants of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (*gotra*), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means:—'after a *Bidādi* word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'an' is added in denoting an immediate descendant.'

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words विद &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus विद forms वैदिः 'a descendant of *Bida*' by IV. 1. 96 S. 1098 इम् and not by *सम्* of IV. 1. 114, because विद is supposed to belong to the *Akrītiḡaṇa* of *Bāhvādī*.

1 विद. 2 उर्य. 3 करयय. 4 कुशिक. 5 भरद्वाज. 6 उपमन्यु. 7 किलात. 8 कन्दर्प (किन्दर्प). 9 विश्वामर. 10 ऋषिदेव (ऋषिदेव). 11 ऋतभाग. 12 दुर्ध्व. 13 मियक. 14 आपलाम्ब. 15 धूपवार. 16 छत्रवृक्ष. 17 शुनक (शुनक). 18 धेनु. 19 गीतवन. 20 शिषु. 21 विन्दु. 22 भोगक. 23 भाजन. 24 द्रविक. 25 अभावतान. 26 द्यामक. 27 द्यामक. 28 द्यामक. 29 द्यामक. 30 दृष्टि. 31 किंदात. 32 ब्रह्मक. 33 सार्कश्व (सार्कश्व). 34 द्योम. 35 विष्णु. 36 पृष्ठ. 37 प्रतिबोध. 38 दृष्टि. 39 रक्षितर (रक्षितर). 40 गीतवित. 41 निपाद. 42 छत्र. 43 शल्ल. 44 मर. 45 पृष्ठक. 46 पृष्ठक. 47 पृष्ठ. 48 पुनर्. 49 पुन. 50 दूहित्र. 51 नवान्द. 52 परस्त्री वरहं च. 53 किलात. 54 मरक. स्वादह ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परसु when taking the affix यञ् ॥ Thus परस्त्रियः अपत्यं = पारस्यवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Sādra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुयतिकदि (VII. 3. 20 S. 1438) and कत्यायवादि (IV. 1. 126 S. 1181) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्यैष्येयः, with double वृद्धि of both members by VII. 3. 20 : S. 1438; which does not take place in the पारस्यवः ॥

११०७ । गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् । ४ । १ । १०५ ॥

गौत्र इत्येव । गार्ग्यः । वात्स्यः ॥

1107. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्यः &c.

गर्गः, 2 वत्सः, 3 वाजासे, 4 संस्कृतिः, 5 अञ्ज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विदध्नुः, 8 प्राचीनयोगः, 9 अर्गास्तः, 10 पुलस्तः, 11 चनसः, 12 रेभः, 13 अग्निवेशः, 14 शंखः, 15 शयः, 16 शकः, 17 एकः, 18 धूनः, 19 अयदः, 20 मनः, 21 धनंजयः, 22 वृचः, 23 विश्वावसुः, 24 जग्मायः, 25 लोहितः, 26 शंसितः, 27 वभः, 28 वन्धुः, 29 मयङ्गुः, 30 मयङ्गुः, 31 शंकुः, 32 त्रियुः, 33 रुद्रहः, 34 मन्तुः, 35 मन्तुः, 36 अन्तिगुः, 37 जिगीषुः, 38 मृगुः, 39 तन्तुः, 40 नवायीः, 41 स्रुः, 42 कयकः, 43 कन्धकः, 44 कचः, 45 वृच (वृच) 46 स्रुः, 47 हरुचः, 48 स्रुचः, 49 तरुचः, 50 वतरुचः, 51 कविकतः, 52 कतः, 53 कपः, 54 भृत्, 55 कुसुक्कतः, 56 सनङ्गुहः, 57 कविः, 58 पुरुकुम्भः, 59 शक्तिः, 60 कयवः, 61 शकलः, 62 गोकचः, 63 अगस्त्यः, 64 कुण्डिनी, 65 यद्वल्कः, 66 पर्यवल्कः, 67 समयवाचः, 68 विरोहितः, 69 वृषगणः, 70 रुद्रगणः, 71 शशिङ्गलः, 72 वर्यक (चयक) 73 शुलुकः, 74 रुद्रलः, 75 कुशलः, 76 जमदग्निः, 77 पराराधः, 78 अतृकर्षः (जातृकर्ष) 79 महितः, 80 महितः, 81 अश्वमरयः, 82 शर्कराचः, 83 प्रतिनादः, 84 स्थूरः, 85 अदरक (अररक) 86 एलाकः, 87 विष्णुलः, 88 कृष्णः, 89 गालन्दः, 90 उत्तकः, 91 तित्तिचः, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 विष्णुजः, 94 भडितः, 95 भग्निङ्गलः, 96 दल्लः, 97 वैकितः, 98 चिकित्सितः, 99 देवहः, 100 इन्द्रहः, 101 एकलः, 102 विष्णलः, 103 रुद्राग्निः, 104 सुलोहिन्, 105 सुलोभिन्, 106 वषयः, 107 कुटीयुः, 108 संहितः, 109 पयः, 110 कन्धुः, 111 भुवः, 112 कर्कटकः, 113 रुचः, 114 प्रभुलः, 115 विलम्बः, 116 विष्णुज ॥

Note :—The word मनु is found in the लोहितवादि sublist of this class. It ought to take वक् after यञ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, S. 476; how then the form गार्ग्वी

११११ । वतएडाञ्च । ४ । १ । १०८ ॥

आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वातएडः । अनाङ्गिरसे तु गर्गादी शिवादी च पाठ्यञ्चणौ । वातएड्यः ।
वातएडः ॥

1111. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant after the word 'वातएड्,' when meaning a descendant, of Angirasa.

Thus वातएड्यः = आङ्गिरसः, otherwise वातएडः ॥

The word वतएड् occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107) and in the Sivādi class (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115). It would have taken both affixes यञ् and ञ् ॥ The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतएड् will not take ञ् of the शिवादि class: and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both those affixes e. g. वातएड्यः and वातएडः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

१११२ । लुक् स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । १०९ ॥

वतएडाद्येन विहितस्य लुक् स्यान् स्त्रियाम् । आङ्गिरसादित्वान् ङीन् । वतएडी । अनाङ्गिरसे तु वातएट्वायनी । सोऽदित्वादित्वान् ण्फः । आणि तु वातएडी । कपित्वाद्भक्ष्यमाणः व्यङ् न ॥

1112. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतएडी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतएड् we get वातएड्य in the masculine. As the word belongs to Śaraṅgaravādi class it takes ङीन् in the feminine by IV. 1. 73.

In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातएट्वा + ङीन् (IV. 1. 73 S. 527) = वतएडी "a female descendant of Vātaṇḍa of the clan Angirasa." Why do we say "of Angirasa?" Observe वातएट्वायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitādi rule (IV. 1. 18 S. 476). When वतएड् takes यञ् under Sivādi class, its feminine is वातएडी ॥ Though the word is formed with एट्, yet in the feminine, there is not व्यङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78 S. 1195), because Vātaṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

१११३ । अम्वादिभ्यः फञ् । ४ । १ । ११० ॥

गोत्रे । अम्वादनः ॥ पुंनि गोत्रे * ॥ पुंसीति हि प्रकृतिर्वैधेयम् । जातस्य गोत्रात्पुंनं जातान्नः । पुंसीति हि । माताया ऊचते गोत्रियः ॥

1113. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अम्ब &c.

The anuvṛtiti of āngirasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व + फञ् = अश्व + आश्वन (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) = आश्वानः (VII. 2. '17 S. 1075) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'

Note.—Similarly आश्वमादनः ॥ There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आश्वेय, वैश्य, and आनहुह ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yavan affix. The word आश्वेय is formed by अश्वि + टक् (IV. 1. 122 S. 1125). वैश्य = विलि (a Rajarshi) + ज्यह् (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189), and आनहुह = अनहुह + यञ् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). The word ह्य takes phañ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शाश्वानः, otherwise आश्विः, with इञ् or शायः with अण् ॥

Vṛtika.—The word जात takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्वपत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातिय with टक् ॥

The word आश्वेय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आश्वेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, S. 3399 leaving the form आश्वेयः ॥

The words भारद्वाज आश्वय of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. 1. 104.

- 1 अश्व 2 अश्वनम् 3 श्वेय 4 अश्वक 5 विद 6 पुत्र 7 रोहिण 8 खञ्जूर (खजूर)
9 खञ्जवार 10 वस्त 11 पित्रूल 12 भण्डिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भण्डिल 15 भण्डिल 16
प्रकृत 17 खमोद 18 ज्ञान 19 काय 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 मोलाक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट
25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन्द 28 पविन्द 29 मोनिन् 30 श्वान 31 घूम 32 घूम 33
पान्तिन 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आश्वेये 37 जन 38 अह 39 खड 40 श्रीध 41
अह 42 कित 43 विशप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 जुष 48 दासक 49 वैश्य
50 (वैश्य) प्राक्व 51 धर्म 52 आनहुह 53 पुंसि जाति 54 अह्नि 55 सुमनस 57 दुर्मेनस
58 नम 59 (मनस्) पान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आश्वेय भारद्वाजे 62 भारद्वाज आश्वेये 63 दास 64
आतव 65 कितव 66 वद 67 ध्वय 68 पाद 69 शिञ् 70 खदिर 71 भण्डिक 72 मोवा
73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76 तीक्ष्ण 77 वह 78 खड 79 नत्त 80 श्रीजस
81 नम ॥

१११४। भार्गवैगर्ते । ४ । १ । १११ ॥

भोवे फञ् । भार्गवैगर्ते । भार्गवैगर्ते ॥

1114. The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भार्गवणः = वैश्वर्कः; otherwise भार्गवः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095).

१११५ । शिवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । १ । ११२ ॥

मोच इति निवृत्तम् । शिवस्यापत्यं शैवः । गङ्गाः । पक्षे विकारित्वात् किम् । गङ्गायानिः ।
सुभादिभ्योऽदक् । गङ्गायः ॥

1115. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛtṭi of the word मोचि (IV. 1. 98 S. 1099) does not extend this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debars इन् &c. Thus शिव + अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'.

Note :—The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class. Being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इन् by IV. 1. 158; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of प्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. S. 1176. Thus तक्षन् + अण् = तक्षणः ॥ तक्षन् + प्य = तक्षण्यः ॥ The य is elided by VI. 4 134.

The word गङ्गा occurs in this class, as well as in the Śubhrādi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126) and the Tikādi (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178). There are thus three forms of this word :—गङ्गाः; गङ्गायानिः with किम् and गङ्गायः with इक् ॥

The word विषाक्ष occurs in this class as well as in the Kuñjādi class (IV. 1. 98 S. 1099). It has thus two forms : विषाक्षः and विषाक्षण्यः with chphañ.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river : the affix इक् (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) would have debarred the सप्तमिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113 1116) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river नाम्ना भियेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113 S. 1116), as वैदेहेः but this is replaced by विपणः ।

1 शिव 2 मोच 3 मोचिक 4 पण्ड 5 जम्ब 6 घृति 7 दण्ड 8 कुशा 9 ककुम्भ
(ककुभा) 10 चनभिम्बान 11 कौटिल 12 मुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुम्भस्य 16 कटोद्य
17 कौटिल 18 कटुय 19 कटय 20 रोधे 21 कार्ष्णिज (कुर्दिज) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड
24 सृजर्ग 25 सृजद 26 जलद 27 परिल 28 पथिक 29 विट 30 दैत्य 31 पार्थिका
32 गोविता 33 कविता 34 अतिथिका 35 अतिथिका 36 मंत्रिक 37 38 मंत्रिक 39
मंत्रिक 40 मंत्रिक 41 मंत्रिक 42 कर्मा 43 रण्य 44 छेत् 45 पालयन 46 विधायन 47
यन 48 पर्वणा 49 दीपय 50 विटव 51 विटव 52 विटव 53 सत्ताक 54 मन्त्रा
55 कर्मा 56 जलद 57 पृथ 58 दण्ड 59 सुविदितिका 60 सुविदितिका 61 सुविदिका

62 आर्यधेत (अर्यधेत) 63 सुपिठ 64 मयूरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 सयूरकर्ण 67 सयूरकर्ण
 68 सयूर 69 कटिपथ 70 मंगी 71 विषाध 72 यस्क 73 लक्ष 74 दुष्ट 75 अयः स्थूण
 76 वृणकर्ण (वृण कर्ण) 77 वर्ण 78 भलन्दन 79 विरूपाक्ष 80 भुमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी
 83 द्वयो नद्याः 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवर्ण च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कबोध 88
 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक, 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

१११६ । अयुद्धाम्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः । ४ । १ । ११३ ॥

अयुद्धाम्यो नदीमानुषीनामभ्योऽण् स्यात् । दकोऽपवादः । यामुनः । नार्मदः । चित्तिताया अपत्यं
 चैत्तितः । अयुद्धाम्यः किम् । वासवदत्तयः । नदीत्यादि किम् । यैनतेयः । तन्नामिकाभ्यः किम् । शोभनाया
 अपत्यं शोभनेयः ॥

1116. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vṛiddham words; and when they are used as names and not as adjectives.

इङ् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

Note:—The word Vṛiddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like IV. 1. 166, S. 1092 but means the Vṛiddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word whose first syllable is a Vṛiddhi letter (1. 1. 73 S. 523). The word अयुद्धाम्यः shows the orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदीमानुषीभ्यः declares the meaning of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vṛiddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā नार्मदः 'son of the Narmadā'. These are all names of rivers. Similary चैत्तितः 'son of चित्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vṛiddha word'? Observe वासवदत्तयः formed by इङ् (IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why do we say being 'names of rivers or women'. Observe यैनतेयः ॥ Why do we say "when it is a name?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शोभनेयः "the son of a beautiful woman".

१११७ । ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिह्रुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ११४ ॥

अपत्यो मन्त्रहृदारः । वासिष्ठः । वैश्वामित्रः । अन्धकेभ्यः, भ्याफलकः । वृष्णिभ्यः, पाण्डुदेवः ।
 अविश्रुतः । शौरिस्ति तु बाह्याविश्रुतिम् । क्रुधभ्यः, नाकुलः । सप्तदेवः । इन्द्र एवायमपवादो मध्येपवाद-
 न्यायान् । अविश्रुत्यानु परत्याइङ् । अत्रियः ॥

1117. The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of **Āndhaka**, **Vṛishṇi**, and **Kuru**.

This debars the affix **इम्** ॥ The Rishis are like **Vasishṭha**, **Viśvāmītra** &c. Thus **वासिष्ठः**, **वैश्वमित्रः** ॥ So also **आफल्कः**, **राम्भसः** being persons belonging to the family of **Āndhaka**; and **वामुदेवः**, **आमिरुद्धः** being persons belonging to the family of **Vṛishṇi**. The word **क्षौरिः** however, is formed by **इम्** because it belongs to **Bāhvādi** class. And **नाकुलः**, **साहदेवः** being persons belonging to the family of **Kuru**.

This sūtra debars **इम्** only, on the maxim **मध्येऽनवादः** ॥ The word **आदि** is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins **अण्**; but IV. 1. 122 S. 1125. enjoins **इक्**; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of **आदि** will be formed not by **अण्** but by **इक्** ॥ Thus **आदियः** ॥

Similarly **उपसेन** a person of **Āndhaka** family, forms its patronymic **श्रीपसेनः** IV. 1. 152 by **ण्य**; and not by **अण्**; so also **वैश्वकसेन्य** 'son of **Vaishvakseṇa**' a person of **Vṛishṇi** family; so also **भैमसेन्य** 'son of **Bhīmasena**' a person of **Kuru** family.

१११८ । मातुस्तस्यैवास्मिन्नपूर्वायाः । ४ । १ । ११५ ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्य मातृशब्दस्योदादेशः स्यादन्त्यत्र ॥ द्वैमातुरः । सांमातुरः । पाप्मातुरः । माद्वमातुरः ।
यादेशाद्यैः दत्तं, प्रत्ययस्मृतसंयोगे सिद्धः । स्त्रीलिङ्गनिर्देशोऽप्येषः । तेन धान्यमातुर्न । संख्येति किं ।
संज्ञापः । शुभादिष्वभिहितः ॥

1118. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word **mātri** when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words **सम्** or **भद्र**; and the letter **उ** is substituted for the final **ञ** of **mātri**,

Thus from **द्विमातृ** we have **द्वैमातुरः** "the son of two mothers i. e. the son of one and adopted by another". (**द्विमातृ** + **अण्** = **द्वैमान्** + **उ** + **अ** = **द्वैमान्** + **उ** + **रु** + **अ** I. 1. 5: § 79). Similarly **पाप्मातुरः**, **सांमातुरः** and **माद्वमातुरः** ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short **उ** for the **ञ** of **मातृ**: for the word **मातृ** would have taken the affix **अण्** by the general rule IV. 1. 103 S. 1073 The sūtra contains the word **पूर्वाया** in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word **मातृ** denotes a female.

Thus संमिमीते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be संमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'.

Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सौमात्रः 'son of Sumātri'. The word वैमात्रियः is formed by IV. 1. 123 S. 1126 as belonging to Śubhrādi class.

१११९ । कन्यायाः कनीन च । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

इकोऽपवादोऽण् तत्त्वन्नियोगेने कनीनादेराश्च । कानीनो व्यासः कर्णश्च । अनडाया एवा-
पत्यमित्यर्थः ॥

1119. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'kanyā'.

Thus कन्यायाः अपत्यं = कानीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz. Karṇa or Vyāsa. This debars the डक् of IV. 1. 121.

Note:—The word कन्या means 'a virgin' the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. सुनिवेष्टनागाद्वारस्याद् वा पुंयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

११२० । विकर्णशुक्लकुमलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

अपत्येऽण् । वैकर्णो वात्स्यः । वैकर्णिरत्यः । शौक्लो भारद्वाजः । शौक्लिरत्यः । कुमलो आत्रेयः । कुमलिरत्यः । केचित्तु शुक्लैवात्रन्तं पठन्ति तेषां डक् प्रत्युदाहरणम् । शौक्लेयः ॥

1120. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुक्ल, and कुमल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Atri respectively.

Thus वैकर्णः = वात्स्यः otherwise वैकर्णिरत्यः ॥ शौक्लः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौक्लिरत्यः ॥ कुमलः = आत्रेयः, otherwise कुमलिरत्यः ॥

In some texts the word शुभा ending with the feminine affix आच् is used and not शुभ ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौक्लेयः, by IV. 1. 120 S. 1123 when it does not mean a descendant of भारद्वाजः ॥

११२१ । पीताया वा । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

तन्नाविकर्णं वाचिष्या अचइति डकि प्राप्ते पक्षेऽण् विधीयते । पीताया अपत्यं पितः । पितेयः ॥

1121. The affix **अण्** comes optionally after the word **पौत्र** in denoting a descendant.

The word **पौत्र** being the name of a female would have taken **अण्** by IV. 1. 113 S. 1116; but this **अण्** would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 S. 1124 as it is a di-syllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus **पौत्रः** or **पौत्रेयः** 'son of Pitrā.'

११२२ । ढक् च मण्डूकात् । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

पादण् । पत्ते इम् । मण्डूकेयः । मण्डूकः । मण्डूकि ॥

1122. The affix **ढक्** comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word **मण्डूक** as well as the affix **अण्** ॥

Thus we get three forms, **मण्डूक + ढक् = मण्डूकेयः**; **मण्डूक + अण् = मण्डूकः**; **मण्डूक + इम् = मण्डूकिः** (IV 1. 95)

११२३ । स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् । ४ । १ । १२० ॥

स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो ढक स्यात् । विनतेयः । बाह्यादिभ्याम्सौमिभिः । शिवादिभ्याम्सापन्नः ॥

1123. The words ending in a feminine affix take the affix **ढक्** in forming their Patronymic.

The word **स्त्री** in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes **दा** &c.' That is, words ending in long **अ**, and **ई** of the feminine. Thus **विनता + ढक् = विनतेयः** (IV. 1. 2 S. 183) So also **सौपर्णेय** "the son of Vinatā or Suparni." But the son of **सुनिष्ठा** will be **सौमिभिः**, as it belongs to Bāhvādi class. (IV. 1. 96. S. 1096) Similarly the son of **सपत्नि** will be **सापन्नः** as it belongs to Śivādi class. (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115).

But **पेटविट** and **दारदः** formed by **अण्** meaning sons of **पेटविट** and **दारदः**, for though these words are feminine, they do not end in *feminine affixes*.

The affix **ढक्** comes after **पटप** when meaning **वृष** ॥ Thus **बाटदेव** = **वृषः** "bull" Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be **बाटप**: 'the son of a mare'

The feminine words **कुम्भ** and **कौकिल** take the affix **अण्** in forming the patronymic. Thus **कौम्भः** "the son of a curlew," **कौकिलः** "the son of a cuckoo."

११२४ । पृचः । ४ । १ । १२१ ॥

पृचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादप्य ढक् । रामाभिरामोऽवधवा । दासेयः । पार्थ इत्यत्र तु सप्तमिनिवर्ण ॥

1124. The affix 'dhak' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113. S. 1116.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दाक्षेयः 'the son of Dattā' But the son of पुत्र्या is however, पार्थः by अण् of IV. 3. 120 S. 1500.

Note:—Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe दाक्षेयः "son of दाक्षुना", which is a trisyllabic word and not disyllabic.

११२५। इतश्चानिजः। ४। १। १२२॥

इकारान्ताद् अचोऽपत्ये ढक् स्यात् न त्विजन्तात्। दैलेयः। नैषेयः॥

1125. The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a disyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इम् ॥

The anuvṛitti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word अचः of the last sūtra. Thus दैलेयः 'the son of Duli', नैषेयः 'the son of निषि' ॥

Note:—Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षिः "the son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a disyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इम्'? Observe दाक्षमण्यः 'the son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a disyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95. S. 1095); so also प्लाक्षायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचि" ॥

११२६। शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च। ४। १। १२३॥

ढक् स्यात्। शुभ्रस्यापत्यं शौत्रेयः॥

1126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = शौत्रेयः ॥

Note:—This debars इम् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक्, as it is an

आकृतिगणः ॥ For though the words संग्रह, पांडुर are not in the list, we find still forms like संग्रहेयः, पाण्डुरेयः &c.

1 शुभ्र. 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलायल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाधू, 7 लेखानू, (लेखाध्र). 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 ह्यमणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 विशु, 13 शालूक, 14 अजवन्ति, 15 राकाधि, 16 विमाह, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र, 19 विश, 20 श्वेतग, 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र, 24 शातल, (शतल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूकण्ड, 27 विसि, 28 अतिवि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशान्व, 31 मकण्ड, 32 शानाह, 33 पवन्दुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणयामयोर्वासिष्ठे। 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 चकण्ड, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 सालीव, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदन्, 49 सुवचस्, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कद्, 52 सुद, 53 अकणाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुमारिका, 56 किरीटिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिर, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदन्त, 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खड्ग, 64 कुचेरिका, 65 अयोका, 66 गन्धविह्वला, 67 खड्गोन्मत्ता, 68 अनुदष्टिन्, (अनुदष्टि) 69 जरविन्, 70 बलिबर्दिन्, 71 विश, 72 धीज, 73 जीय, 74 अन्, 75 अरमन्, 76 अन्ध, 77 अजिर, 78 शतावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकला, 81 भरत, 82 मयण्ड, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकयु, 86 यमण्ड, 87 कण्ड, 88 चकण्ड, 89 सुद, 90 हृद, 91 कुचेरिका, 92 शयल, 93 अजित ॥ The word Pravahana (39) which belongs to this class, is governed by the sūtra 1129 in forming its derivative.

११२७। विकर्णकुपीतकात्काश्यपे। ४। १। १२४।

अथसे ढक्। वैकरणेयः। कौपीतकेयः। अन्यो विकर्णिः। कौपीतकिः ॥

1127. The affix 'ढक्' comes after the words 'vikarna' and 'kushita', when they mean the descendants of Kāśyapa.

Thus वैकणेयः and कौपीतकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have विकर्णिः and कौपीतकिः formed by IV. 1. 95.

११२८। सुयो सुक् च। ४। १। १२५ ॥

पादढक्। धीयेयः ॥

1128. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word सु and the augment सुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus सु + ढक् = सु + ढक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46 8. 36) = सु + ढक् = धीयेयः (VII. 1. 2)

११२६ । प्रवाहणस्य ङे । ७ । ३ । २८ ॥

प्रवाहणस्यस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ङे परे ॥ प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं
प्रवाहणेति । प्रवाहणेति ॥

1129. Before the affix ङ (एय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रवाहणेति; or प्रवाहणेति ॥

Note:—The affix ङक् IV. 1. 123, S. 1126 is added, here. Similarly प्रवाहणेयी
भार्यास्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्याः (VI. 3. 89, masculination prohibited). Or we may translate the
sūtra as "Before the affix ङ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vṛiddhi", and
omit the rest. The masculination will still be prohibited by VI. 3. 41, S. 842 (आते) ॥

११३० । तत्प्रत्ययस्य च । ७ । ३ । २६ ॥

तत्प्रत्ययस्य प्रवाहणस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिः; पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ॥ प्रवाहणेयस्यपत्यं प्रवाहणेयिः ।
प्रवाहणेति ॥ बाह्यतद्धितनिमित्ता वृद्धिर्वाच्येण विकल्पेन बाधितुं न शक्यते इति सूत्रारम्भः ॥

1130. Even in a new derivative from प्रवाहणेय itself when formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ए or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member.

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रवाहणेयिः or प्रवाहणेयिः, ॥ In other words, the external vṛiddhi might have been caused by इङ् is not able to supersede the internal optional vṛiddhi dependent upon ङ ॥ Hence a separate sūtra.

११३१ । कल्याण्यदीनामिङ् । ४ । १ । १२६ ॥

एषामिङ्गदिरः स्याद् ङक् च । कात्याणित्वः । बान्धकित्वेनः ॥

1131. The affix 'ङक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इङ्क् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

Note:—In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इङ्क् for they would have taken the affix ङक् by IV. 1. 120, S. 1123. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इङ्क् and the addition of ङक् ॥

Thus कल्याणी + इक् = कल्याणिन् + इक् = कल्याणिनेयः 'the son of Kalyāṇī'
So also बान्धकिनेयः ॥

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अतुष्टि, 6 अतुष्टि (अतुष्टि)
7 जराती, 8 वलीवर्दी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्या, 12 परस्त्री ॥

११३२ । कुलदाया वा । ४ । १ । १२७ ॥

इनङ्मात्रं विकल्प्यते इक् तु नियः पूर्वैरेव । कौलदिनेयः । कौलदेयः । सती भिक्षुक्यत्र
कुलदा । वा तु व्यभिचारस्य कुलान्यदति तस्थः क्षुद्राग्नौ वेति पठे इक् । कौलदेरः ॥

1132. The affix 'इक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा has another meaning also of a nun. Literally it means one who wanders (अरति) from one family (कुल) to another. i. e. "a chaste woman but a beggar or (2) secondly an unchaste woman." This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have always taken इक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120 S. 1123. Thus कुलदा + इक् = कुलदिन् + इक् = कौलदिनेयः, or कौलदेयः 'son of a chaste woman who is a beggar'. This word कुलदा when meaning an unchaste woman, being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix इक् by IV. 1. 131 S. 1137. Thus कौलदेरः ॥ In this case there are two forms only कौलदेरः and कौलदेयः and never कौलदिनेयः ॥

Note:—See Amarakośha II 6, 26.

११३३ । हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

हृदोऽन्ते पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरप्यामादेरपी नृदिर्भिति स्थिति किति च । सहोऽपत्यं सौहार्दः
सुभगायाः अपत्यं सौभागिनेयः । सप्तपदानाः सिन्धवः सप्तसिन्धवः । तेषु भवः सप्तसिन्धवः ॥

1133. The Vṛddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ण, न्, or क् ॥

As सहोऽपत्यं = सौहार्दः, सौभागिनेयः (= सुभगाया अपत्यं), ॥

Note:—The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyāṇī class (IV. 1. 126 S. 113) and the affix इक् and इनङ् augment are added. सुभग also occurs in Uḍḍṛī class (V 1. 124). That word, however, does not get the Vṛddhi in the second member. As महं सौभाग्यं ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly.

Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धवः (= सक्तुप्रधानाः सिन्धवः) we have सक्तुसैन्धवः (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु भवः) ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādi class, and सैन्धवः is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed thereunder.

The words सुहृद् and दुहृद् are anomalously formed by V. 4, 150.
The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or an ocean'.

११३४ । चटकाया षेरक् । ४ । १ । १२८ ॥

चटकस्येति शीघ्रम् * ॥ लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्त्रिया अयि । चटकस्य चटकाया वा अपत्यं चाटकेरः ॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये ह्रस्वक्तव्यः * ॥ तस्येति स्त्र्यपत्यं चटका । अजादित्वाद्वाच् ॥

1134. The word चटका takes the affix षेरक् in forming the Patronymic.

Thus चाटकेरः 'son of Chaṭakā'

Vart :—It should be rather stated that the word चटकः (masc.) takes the affix षेरक् ॥ For if the rule be enunciated with regard to the word chaṭakā, it would be extended to the feminine chaṭakā also, by the maxim liṅgavishishta &c. Thus चाटकेरः 'son of Chaṭakā'.

Vart :—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-eli-sion of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका, will be चटका, the शच् being added, as it belongs to the Ajādi class IV. 1, 4,

११३५ । गोधया दूक् । ४ । १ । १२९ ॥

गोधेरः । दूभादित्वात्पक्षे ढक् । गौधेयः ॥

1135. The affix 'दूक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + दूक् = गौधेरः ॥

Of the affix 'dhrak,' the letter ह् is replaced by दू (VII. 1. 2 S. 475.), क् causes Vriiddhi (VII. 2. 118 S. 1976) and makes the udātta accent fall on the final (VI. 1. 165 S. 3712) Thus the real affix is एदृक्, but the दृ is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śūbhṛādi class IV. 1. 123, S. 1126 also, thus it takes the affix 'dhrak' as well. Thus गौधेयः ॥

११३६ । आरगुदीचाम् । ४ । १ । १३० ॥

गोधेरः । रक्तालिङ्गे आकारोद्यारणमन्यको विधानार्थम् । अटत्वापत्यं आदारः । दण्डस्यापत्यं पाण्डारः ॥

1136. The affix 'आरक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गोधाः ॥ It might be objected that the affix आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix, as जादरः, पण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

११३७ । धुद्राभ्यो वा । ४ । १ । १३१ ॥

अङ्गदीनाः शीलहीनाश्च धुद्रास्ताभ्यो वा इक् । पचे इक् । काणेः । काणेयः । दासेः । दासेयः ॥

1137. The affix 'इक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting contemptible objects.

The word धुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. The anuvṛtti of इक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. This sūtra debars इक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेयः, दासेः or दासेयः 'son of a female-slave'.

११३८ । पितृप्यमुदछण् । ४ । १ । १३२ ॥

अयोःपादः । पितृप्यमीयः ॥

1138. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-प्यस्' ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृप्यस् + छण् = पितृप्यमीय, 'the son of the father's sister'. The इ affix is replaced by ईय ॥

११३९ । दकिः लोपः । ४ । १ । १३३ ॥

पितृप्यमुदछणः । दकिः । अत एव लोपवान् इक् । पितृप्यमेयः ॥

1139. The final vowel of 'पितृ-प्वस्' is elided when the affix 'डक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृप्वस् + डक् = पितृप्वसेयः ॥ This sūtra teaches merely elision, but indicates by jāpaka that the word पितृप्वस् takes the affix 'dhak' also.

११४० । मातृप्वसुञ्च । ४ । १ । १३४ ॥

पितृप्वसुञ्चैतन्तं तदस्यापि स्यात् । मातृप्वसीयः । मातृप्वसेयः ॥

1140. So also, after the word 'मातृ-प्वस्' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'डक्' follows, in forming patronymies.

Whatever has been taught in the sūtras IV, I, 132, 133 S. 1138, 1139 above, as regards पितृप्वस्, apply to मातृप्वस् also. As मातृप्वसीयः or मातृप्वसेयः 'the son of a mother's sister.'

११४१ । चतुष्पादस्यो डक् । ४ । १ । १३५ ॥

1141. 'The affix 'डक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This declares अण् &c. Thus कम्पण्डलु + डक् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

११४२ । डे लोपाऽकट्टाः । ६ । ४ । १४७ ॥

कट्टन्निस्त्वोऽर्थात्तस्य अस्य लोपः स्यात् डे परे । कम्पण्डलेयः । कम्पण्डलुशब्दस्य तुष्पाज्जाति-विशेषे ॥

1142. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ड), but not of the stem 'Kadrū'.

Thus कम्पण्डलेयः, but कट्टवेयो गन्धमयय ॥ Here the word कम्पण्डलु means a certain quadruped.

११४३ । शृण्व्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

एभ्यो डक् स्यात् । अण्डकोरपचादः । गण्डियः । निर्विद्योऽप्ययम् । कण्ड्याणि प्राणि डक् ॥

1143. The affix 'डक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words, 'शृष्टि' &c.

This debars वञ् and ढक् &c. Thus गार्द्वयः; हार्द्वयः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix डम् by the last sūtra. The present sūtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 वलि, 4 हलि, 5 विन्धि, 6 कुन्धि, 7 अजवन्ति, 8 निवन्तु ॥

The word निवन्तु also belongs to this class and takes डम् instead of वञ् of Rishi (IV. 1. 113 S. 1116) Thus निवन्तोरपत्यम् = निवन्तु + डम् ॥ Now the following sūtra would apply causing the substitution of इय् for the यु of निवन्तु ॥

११४४ । केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः । ७ । ३ । २ ॥

एषां यकारादेरिय् आदेशः स्यात् । अति ष्यात् किति च तद्धिते षरे । इति इयदेशे प्राप्तिः ॥

1144. When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory ज्, ए or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As केकयः (= केकयस्यापत्यं), with the affix डम् (IV. 1. 168 S. 1168) : similarly मैत्रेयिका formed with युञ् (V. 1. 134 S. 1799) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया रत्नापते ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V. 1. 134 S. 1799 means a Rishi name, for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रालेयः (= प्रलयादागतं) ॥ As प्रालेयसुदृक् ॥

Thus मित्रयु + डम् = मैत्र + इय् + एष ॥ This would give the form मैत्रेयेयः ; which is wrong. Hence the following sūtra

११४५ । दारिडनायन हास्तिनायनाथर्षाण्येक जैष्ठाश्लिनेग वाशिनायनि धौणहत्य धैवत्य सारवेष्वाक मैत्रेय हिरण्मयानि । ६ । ४ । १७२ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । इति पुलोपः । मैत्रेयः । मैत्रेयी ॥

1145. The following are irregularly formed ; 1. Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstināyana, 3. Ātharvanika, 4. Jaihmāśineya. 5. Vāsināyani. 6. Bhraunahatya, 7. Dhaivatyā, 8. Sārava, 9. Aikshvāka, 10. Maitreya and 11 Hiraṇmaya.

Note:—These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दारिडनायन and हास्तिनायन from दण्डिर्दण् and हस्तिन् belonging to नटदि class. The affix is फक् (IV. 2. 91 S. 1310). If they do not belong to that class the affix is added irregularly : दण्डिनोऽपत्यम् =

दाण्डिनायकः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अयर्वन् belongs to Vasantādi class (IV. 2. 63 S. 1273). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvanika: the final is not elided before the इक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माग्निन् and वासिन् are Jaimināgneya and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix इक् of the -Subhārādi class (IV. 1. 123 S. 1126), and the latter with the affix क्तिन् of IV. 1. 157 S. 1181. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भूषहन् and धीवन् with the affix व्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त् = भूषणो भावः, धीनो भावः ॥ हन् takes त् before affixes having an indicatory न् or भ् by VII. 3. 32 S. 2574: it might be said त् would be added to भूषहन् before व्यञ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like धौवर्गः. वार्गः ॥ The व in Dhraunhatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सार्व is from सारू with the affix झण्, the final अयू being elided, सार्वो भवः = सारवसुदकं ॥ (9) The son of इक्ष्वाकु, with अञ् affix (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186), the final इ is elided, or ईक्ष्वाकु जनपदेभ्यः भवः = ऐक्ष्वाकः with झण् (IV. 2. 132 S. 1356). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final इ ॥ As one word is ऐक्ष्वाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकैः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐक्ष्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grīṣṭyādi class IV. 1. 136, S. 1143 and takes इञ् as मित्रयु + इञ्. Here VI. 4. 146, S. 84 requires Gaps, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of इ, but VII. 3. 2, S. 1144 required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the इ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, S. 311 before इय, as the lopa of यु is considered asidha VI. 4. 22 S. 2183; however the result is the same, for इ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97 S. 191; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The dual is मैत्रेयौः ॥ The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the plural by the following, sūtra.

Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2 S. 1144. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bīdādi class (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106), it would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु + अञ् = मित्र + इय (VII. 3. 2 S. 1144) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II. 4. 63 S. 1146) for then by II. 4. 63, S. 1146 अञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अञ् affix, as proposed, then the संज्ञ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with झण् affix under IV. 3. 127, S. 1507 and not with झञ् under IV. 3. 126 S. 1506; but

we require वृज्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्मयः ॥

११४६ । यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे । २ । ४ । ६३ ॥

एभ्योऽपरस्मयस्य लुक् स्यात्तल्लुक् बहुल्ये न तु खियाम् । मित्रयवः ॥

1146. After the words यस्क &c., there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word, takes the plural ; but not in the feminine.

Therefore the plural of मैत्रेय is मित्रयवः ॥

Note :—यस्क + वृज् = यस्काः, a descendant of Yaska not nearer than grandson. In the plural, the affix is elided and the form यस्काः, 'the descendants of Yaska.'

यस्कादयः ॥

1. यस्क ॥ 2. लख ॥ 3. ब्रह्म ॥ 4. अयस्युख ॥ 5. अयः स्तूय ॥ 6. वृज्कर्ण ॥ 7. सदांमत् ॥ 8. कम्बलहार ॥ 9. बहिर्योग ॥ 10. कर्णदिक ॥ 12. पिण्डि जड्य ॥ 13. वक्तव्य ॥ 14. वक्तव्य ॥ 15. विश्वि ॥ 16. कुद्रि ॥ 17. अजबस्ति ॥ 18. मित्रयु ॥ 19. रक्षोमुख ॥ 20. अहारय ॥ 21. दरकात ॥ 22. कटुक ॥ 23. मयक ॥ 24. मयक ॥ 25. पुष्करद् ॥ 26. पुष्करसद् ॥ 27. विषसुड ॥ 28. उपरिखल ॥ 29. कोष्ठकमान ॥ 30. कोष्ठमान ॥ 31. कोष्ठपाद ॥ 32. कोष्ठमाय ॥ 33. दीर्घमाय ॥ 34. श्वरप ॥ 35. पदक ॥ 36. वपुक् ॥ 37. भजन्य ॥ 38. मण्डिक ॥ 39. मण्डिक ॥ 40. मणिक ॥ 41. मणिक ॥

११४७ । अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोज्यश्च । २ । ४ । ६५ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् तल्लुक् बहुल्ये न तु खियाम् । अयवः । अयवः । कुत्सः । वसिष्ठाः । गोतमाः । अङ्गिरसः ॥

1147. And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतमा अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix, when the word takes the plural, but not in the feminine.

Thus the plural of अत्रेय (अत्रि + इक IV. १. 123 S. 1125), the descendant of अत्रि, is अयवः, the regular plural of अत्रि ॥ So also, singular अयवः, plural अयवः ; singular कोत्सः, plural कुत्सः ; so, वसिष्ठाः, गोतमा, अङ्गिरसः ॥

In all these the affix has been elided. Thus धृगु + भर्गश्च = भार्गवः 'the descendant of Bhṛigu'. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इङ् and अण् are elided, not in any other number; so we have in singular आत्रेयः, भार्गवः; dual आत्रेयो, भार्गवौ; plural आत्रेयः, भार्गवः &c.

Note.—But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियात्रेयाः or प्रियभार्गवाः ॥

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus :—आत्रेय्यः ॥

११४८ । चह्वच इजः प्राच्यभरतेषु । २ । ४ । ६६ ॥

चह्वचः परो य इङ् प्राच्यभोषे च वर्तमानस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पत्रागारः । युधिष्ठिरः ॥

1148. There is *luk*-elision of the Gotra-affix इङ् (IV. I. 95 S. 1095) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural.

The plural of पत्रागारः is पत्रागारः, there being elision of इङ्; so also मयरेदजाः plural of मयरेदजिः; so the plural of युधिष्ठिरः is युधिष्ठिरः 'the descendants of Yudhishtira.'

Note.—But त्रैक्षिः and पौण्ड्रः not being polysyllabic, their plural will be त्रैक्ष्यः and पौण्ड्र्यः ॥

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाक्यः plural of बालाकिः, इक्ष्वाक्यः plural of इक्ष्वाकिः ॥

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas, its specification here is to indicate that, wherever 'Prāchyas' will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V. 4. 60 S. 2131. Here the Yuran affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus प्रार्जुनिः father, प्रार्जुनायनः son.

११४९ । न गोपघनोदिभ्यः । २ । ४ । ६७ ॥

एभ्यो गोपघन्यस्य लुक् न स्यात् । विद्वन्तर्गोप्यः गोपघनाः । पौषपाः ॥

1149. After the words गोपघन, &c., there is not *luk*-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural.

This prevents the application of II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus गोपवन + अम् = गोपवन्, plural गोपवन्तः; singular शैषवः, plural शैषवाः ॥ The गोपवन् &c., belong to Bidādi class, *vide* IV. 1. 104. S. 1105 and are the following :—गोपवन्, शिशु, चिन्ह, भञ्जन्, अरव, अवतान, श्यामक and श्यापर्ण ॥ The remaining words such as हरित &c., should not be taken in this sub-class. In the case of हरित &c., the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by II. 4. 64 S. 1108. Thus हरिताः किंदासाः &c.

११५० । तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुव्ये लुक् स्थान् द्वन्द्वे । तैकायनयश्च कैतवायनयश्च । तिकादिभ्यः फिम् मस्य लुक् । तिककितवाः ॥

1150. After the words तिक-कितव &c. when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural.

Thus तिकां + फिम् = तैकायनिः (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178). Its plural is तैकायनयः । तैकायनयः + कैतवायनयः = तिककितवाः ॥ There is elision of फिम् ॥

So also बांसरिः plural बांसरयः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) + भण्डीरयः = बांसरभण्डीरयः; there is elision of इम् (IV. 1. 95, S. 1095). The following is a list of such compounds.

1. तिककितवा. 2. दहसत्भण्डीरयाः 3. उपकल्पकाः (शौपकायनाः + लामकायनाः, IV. 1. 99 S. 1101. elision of फक्). 4. पफकनरक्ताः (पाफकयः + नारकयः IV. 1. 95, elision of इम्). 5. दकनसहस्रपरिणद्धाः, 6. वस्त्रककुमाः (शौचमयः IV. 1. 95 S. 1095. + काकुमाः IV. 1. 112, S. 1115 then the elision of इम् and षण्). 7. लङ्घ्यानामुखाः (the elision of इम् IV. 1. 95 as in 4). 8. उल्लसत्तङ्क्याः or उल्लसत्तङ्कयः (शौरसायनः IV. 1. 154. + शङ्कयः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of फिम् and इम् ॥ 9. अष्टक कविद्वयाः (elision of इम् as in 4) 10. कृष्णाशिनकृष्णमुन्मत्ताः (elision of इम्) 11. आग्निविद्य-शस्त्ररक्षा (आग्निविद्यः IV. 1. 195 S. 1107 + शस्त्ररक्षकः IV. 1. 95, S. 1095 elision of both इम् and इम्) ॥

११५१ । उपपत्तिदिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६९ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुव्ये लुक् । शान् इन्दे पाइन्दे च । शौपकायनाश्च लामकायनाश्च नारादिव फक् मस्य लुक् । उपकल्पकाः । शौपकायनशौचमयकायनाः । आष्टककविद्वयाः । आष्टकिकविपटलयः । उवपत्तिः । शौचकः । अष्टकः । शस्त्ररक्षकः ॥

1151. After the words उपक &c. there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the words take the plural, whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately.

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika-kitavādi of the last sūtra. According to the Kāshikā the elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकायनः, or औपकायन-लामकायनाः ॥ भ्राटक-कापिटलः, or भ्राटकि-कापिटलयः ॥ कृष्णजिनकृष्णसुन्दरः ॥ But the plurals of औपकायनः, the Gotra-derivative of उपक (IV. 1. 99 S. 1101) is उपकाः or औपकाः (or औपकायनाः) of लामकायनः is लामकाः or 'लामकायनाः; of भ्राटक is भ्राटकाः or भ्राटकायः, or भ्राटकायनाः ॥ The plural of कापिटलिः is कपिटलाः or कापिटलयः ॥ The plural of काष्णोजिनः is कृष्णार्जिनाः, or काष्णार्जिनयः ॥ The plural of कृष्णसुन्दरः is कृष्णसुन्दराः or कर्णसुन्दरयः ॥

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow :—

1. षण्डारक ॥ 2. अण्डारक ॥ 3. गडुक ॥ 4. सुपर्क ॥ 5. सुषिट ॥ 6. मयूरकर्ण ॥ 7. स्यारीजड ॥ 8. शलाचल ॥ 9. पञ्चजल ॥ 10. कठेरणि ॥ 11. कुशीत्तक ॥ 12. काशकुल्ल ॥ 13. निराप ॥ 14. कलशीकण्ड ॥ 15. शमकण्ड ॥ 16. कृष्णपिंगल ॥ 17. कर्णक ॥ 18. पर्णक ॥ 19. जटिलक ॥ 20. वधिरक ॥ 21. जम्बुक ॥ 22. अनुलोम ॥ 23. अर्द्धपिंगलक ॥ 24. प्रतिलोम ॥ 25. प्रतान ॥ 26. अनभिहित ॥ 27. चूडारक ॥ 28. दण्डू ॥ 29. सुधायुक ॥ 30. अग्रन्धक ॥ 31. पञ्चजल ॥ 32. अनुपद ॥ 33. अपजग्ध ॥ 34. कमक ॥ 35. लेखात्र ॥ 36. कमन्दक ॥ 37. पिञ्चल ॥ 38. मयूरकर्ण ॥ 39. नदाप ॥ 40. करान्त ॥ 41. शमकण्ड ॥

११५२ । आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच् ॥ २ । ४ । ७० ॥

एतयोरयवस्य गोत्रमलवस्थाऽणौ यमश्च बहुलु लुक् स्यादकौण्डित्व प्रकृतिभागास्य यथासंख्यमगस्तिकुण्डिनच् एतावदेषौ स्तः । अगस्तयः । कुण्डिनाः ॥

1152. There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and यच् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural; and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्तयः (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्य is कुण्डिनाः ॥ The affix अण् (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117), after आगस्त्य and the affix यच् (IV. 1. 105 S. 1105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

११५३ । राजभ्वशुराद्यन्त ॥ ४ । १ । १३७ ॥

राज्ञो जातवेषेति वाच्यम् * ॥

1153. The affix यन् comes in the sense of the descendant after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर' ॥

This debars अण् and इञ् respectively.

Vart:—In the case of राजन्, the affix यन् would be added, if the word so formed denotes a caste (Jāti). Thus राजन् + यन् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra which prevents the elision of अन् before यन् ॥

११५४ । ये चाभावकर्मणोः । ६ । ४ । १६८ ॥

यद्यौ तद्धिते परे अन् पठ्यता स्वान् तु भावकर्मणोः । राजन्यः । श्वशुर्यः । जातिग्रहणाच्छूद्रादा-
शुल्लन्नो राजनः ॥

1154. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus राजन्यः (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word ; it does not mean 'the son of a Rājā' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

As the word Jāti is used in the vārtika under IV. 1. 137 S. 1153, a son born of a Śūdrā wife by a Kshatriya will be राजनः ॥

११५५ । अन् । ६ । ४ । १६७ ॥

अणि अन्पठ्यता स्यादिति लिख्यते न । अभावकर्मणोः किम् । राज्ञः कर्म भावो वा राज्यम् ॥

1155. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामान्यः, वैमनः, ईश्वर्यः, जैत्यनः, from सामन्, वैमन्, सुत्यन् and जित्यन् ॥

Thus सामन्यं सामुः—सामान्यः, साहचर्यः ॥

Why have we used the words "when it does not denote an abstract noun or an avocation" in the sūtra VI. 4. 168 S. 1154. ? Observe राज्यम् meaning the "royalty," the state of being a king or the avocation. But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा • राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to his Purohitādi class and takes यञ् (V. 1. 128).

११५६ । संयोगादिश्च । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

इन्मकृत्वा स्यादणि परे । चक्रिणोऽपत्यं चाक्रिणः ॥

1156. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus चक्रिणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रिणः ॥

११५७ । न मपूर्वोऽपत्येऽवर्मणः । ६ । ४ । १७० ॥

मपूर्वोऽन्मकृत्वा न स्यादपत्येऽणि । भाद्रसामः । मपूर्वः किम् । सौत्वनः । अपत्ये किम् । चर्मणा परिवृतश्चर्मणो रथः । अवर्मणः किम् । चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

वा हितनाम्न इति वाच्यम् * ॥ हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं हैतनानः । हैतनामनः ॥

1157. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म्, with the exception of चर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus भाद्रसामः from भाद्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म्'? Observe सौत्वनं, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चर्मणा परिवृतो रथः = चार्मणः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167 S. 1155. Why do we say 'with the exception of चर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vart :—Optionally so in हितनानन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हैतनानः or हैतनामनः ॥

११५८ । ब्राह्मोऽजाती । ६ । ४ । १७१ ॥

योगविभागोऽत्र कर्तव्यः । ब्राह्म इति विवाचने अन्पत्येऽणि । ब्राह्मं इति । ततोऽजाती । अपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणदिलोपो न स्यात् । ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं ब्राह्मणः । अपत्ये किम् । ब्राह्मी शीपथिः ॥

1158. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a caste or jāti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मं इतिः ॥ (2) अजाती, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix; as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jāti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी शीपथिः ॥ ब्राह्मोऽहर्त्तः । ब्राह्मः रयाजीपाकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it denotes a caste'? Observe ब्राह्मोऽनारदः 'Nārada the son of Brahma'.

११५६ । औक्षमनपत्ये । ६ । ४ । १७३ ॥

अथि विलोपो निपात्यते । औक्षं पत्यम् । अनपत्ये किम् । उक्ष्योऽपत्यम् ॥

1159. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पत्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning a descendant'? Observe औक्षः=उक्षोऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided by VI. 4. 135 S. 1160 as given below.

११६० । पूर्ववहन्धुतराजामणि । ६ । ४ । १३५ ॥

पपूर्वो योऽन् सस्य इनादेश भत्यातो लोपोऽङ्गि । औक्षः । ताक्षः । औणक्षः । धूमराक्षोऽपत्यं पार्श्वपक्षः । अपूर्वोति किम् । सामनः । अथि किम् । ताक्षण्यः ॥

1160 Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding प, as well as of हन् and धुतराजन् the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्षः, ताक्षः, औणक्षः, पार्श्वपक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a प'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्यः formed by the affix ण्य under IV. 1. 152 S. 1176 added to the artisan denoting word takshan.

११६१ । क्षत्रादः । ४ । १ । १३८ ॥

अथि । जातान्तरे । क्षात्रित्यः ॥

1161. The affix 'gha' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'Kshattra.

Thus अथि 'a Kshatriya'. This is also a *class* name. The son of अथ will be अथि. ॥

Note:—The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes ताण् and सप्त (I. 1. 22)

११६२ । कुलाप्यः । ४ । १ । १३९ ॥

कुलीय । तन्नामापि । वक्ष्यतेऽनुवक्ष्यतिर्नाम्नाम् । आदप्युच्यते ॥

1162. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula'.

Thus कुलीनः ॥ The affix applies to compounds ending in कुल ॥ Because in the next sūtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakañ'. That indicates by implication that the present sūtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus वाद्यकुलीनः ॥

११६३ । अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां बहुकञ्चौ । ४ । १ । १४० ॥

कुलादिष्वेव । पक्षे खः । कुल्यः । कौलेयकः । कुलीनः । पदमहणे किञ् । बहुकुल्यः । बाहुकुलेयकः । बाहुकुलीनः ॥

1163. The affixes 'यद्' and 'द्वकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula', when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally', we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

Why do we say 'पद'? The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14 S. 29. The word बहु is not a pada but an affix (see V. 3. 68. S. 2023). Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बाहुकुलीनः ॥

११६४ । महाकुलादञ्सञ्चौ । ४ । १ । १४१ ॥

अन्यतरस्थानित्यनुपसर्गश्च । पक्षे खः । महाकुलः । महाकुलीनः । महाकुञ्जीनः ॥

1164. The affixes 'अञ्' and 'सञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahākula'.

The word anyatarsyām 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra is understood here also. So we have ख also in the other alternative.

Thus महाकुलः, महाकुलीनः and महाकुञ्जीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139 S. 1162.

११६५ । दुष्कुलाद्वक् । ४ । १ । १४२ ॥

पूर्ववत्पक्षे खः । द्विष्कुलेयः । दुष्कुलीनः ॥

1165. The affix 'दक्' comes optionally in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkula.'

Thus दूष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get छ also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

११६६ । स्वसुशब्दः । ४ । १ । १४३ ॥

स्वस्रीयः ॥

1166. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars सञ् ॥ Thus स्वस्रीयः 'the sister's son'.

११६७ । भ्रातृव्यञ्च । ४ । १ । १४४ ॥

भातृव्यः । भ्रातृव्यव्यञ्चः । भ्रातृव्यः । भ्रातृव्यः ॥

1167. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sôtra, we get the affix छ as well. This debars सञ् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रातृव्यः 'the brother's son'. The

ह of व्यञ्च regulates the accent, making it svarita.

११६८ । व्यन्तसंपदे । ४ । १ । १४५ ॥

भ्रातृव्यञ्चः स्वस्रीयञ्चः प्रहृष्टिप्रत्ययसमुच्चयेन संपदो वाच्ये । भ्रातृव्यः सञ्चुः । वाच्यता भ्रातृव्येणेति दृष्टान्तात् ॥

1168. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'सातृ' when the sense is that of 'a brother's son who is an enemy

The word सञ्चु means 'enemy'. The difference between सञ्चु and व्यञ्चु is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197) Thus सञ्चुः nephew who is an enemy सञ्चुः भ्रातृव्येन "by the 'infu' enemy". Here, of course, there is no sense of patronymic, and भ्रातृव्यः means 'an enemy' simply, but this is an extended figurative use of the word, rather than its original meaning. According to Kâshikâ, the भ्रातृव्यः with acute on the first, means brother's nephew, but 'an enemy' pure and simple. The force of the affix is not that of a patronymic.

११६६ । रेवत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १४६ ॥

1169. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars इक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also आश्वत्थिकः (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170). The ठ is replaced by इक् by the next sūtra.

1 रेवती, 2 आश्वत्थी, 3 मणिपानी, 4 क्षारपाली, 5 वृक्षवज्जिन्, 6 वृक्षवज्जुः, 7 वृक्षमाह, 8 कर्णमाह, 9 वण्डमाह, 10 कुक्कुटाक्ष, 11 (ककुटाक्ष) 12 चानरपाह,

११७० । ठस्येकः । ७ । ३ । ५० ॥

आश्वत्थस्य ठस्येकविंशः स्यात् । रैवतिकः ॥

1170. For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक् ॥

Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिकः 'the son of Revati'.

११७१ । गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च । ४ । १ । १४७ ॥

गोत्रं वा स्त्री तद्वत्तत्त्वात्कुत्सने ण च । कुत्सने स्तः कुत्सत्याम् । सामर्थ्यादिति । गोत्रात्तत्त्वात् सामर्थ्ये गोत्रिको वा जायते ॥ अस्यादे तद्विधि इति पुंस्रजावाङ्मार्थेनान्वयः । अस्त्विति स्त्रीषः । आपत्यत्येति स्त्रीषः ॥

1171. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix इक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy; hence such an epithet is a कुत्स or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गोत्री is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गोत्रिकः, as गोत्रः जायते ॥ By the vārtika अस्यादे &c. (VI. 3. 35 S. 836), there is masculinisation, and so the affixes ण and इक् are added to गोत्रिकं and not गोत्री ॥ Then by the sūtra VI. 4. 148. S. 311 the च of गोत्रिकं is elided. Then by VI. 4. 151. S. 1082, the र् is elided. Thus we get the form गोत्रिकः ॥ So also गोत्रिकः ॥ Similarly the son of गुरुकुलायनी will be गुरुकुलायनिकः and गुरुकुलायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix.

Note:—Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant.' Observe कारिकीयो जात्यः (formed by टक् IV. 1. 120 S. 1123). Why 'do we say female descendant? Observe सौवरादेश्जात्यः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe मागैयो माखदकः (which is to be explained) as माग्या अपत्यं पुमान् पुत्रा भवति ॥ मातामहादेश्पत्य-सुपार्योयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

११७२ । वृद्धाटक् सौवीरेषु बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १४८ ॥

सुवीरेषोरुवाः सौवीराः । वृद्धात्सौवीरयोश्चायानि बहुलं टक् स्यात् कुत्सायात् । मागवित्तेर्भा-
गवित्तिकः । पक्षे फक् । भागवित्तायनः ॥

1172. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'टक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant, after a Vṛiddha word denoting Sauvira Gotras.

Thus मागवित्तिकः 'the son of Bhāgavitti.' In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) as भागवित्तायनः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed we have भागवित्तायनः only.

११७३ । फेइछ च । ४ । १ । १४९ ॥

किञ्चान्तात्सौवीरयोश्चापत्ये छः टक् च कुत्सने गम्ये । यमुन्त्यापत्यं यामुन्त्यायनिः । तिकादिवात्
किम् । मत्वापत्यं यामुन्त्यायनीयः । यामुन्त्यायनकः । कुत्सने किम् । यामुन्त्यायनिः । भौस्तर्गिकस्याने
प्यक्षुभियेति टुक् । सौवीरेति किञ्च । तिकायनिः ॥

1173. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix टक्) comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix किञ्च and denoting a Sauvira Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्त्य will be यामुन्त्यायनिः formed by the affix किम् (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178) as this word belongs to the Tikādi class. The son of YāmundaYani will be either यामुन्त्यायनीयः or यामुन्त्यायनकः ॥

Why do we say 'contempt'? For when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्त्यायनिः will be यामुन्त्यायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्त्यायनि + अण् = यामुन्त्यायनि + ० (II. 4. 58 S. 1276) = यामुन्त्यायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Sauvira country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तिकायनिः ॥

Note:—The छः of the sūtra refers to किम् and not to किञ्च, for a stem formed by किञ्च will not have a Vṛiddha letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛiddham'; the enunciation of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to a Kārikā, three क्तिन्नन्त stems, all belonging to Tikādi class, are only governed by this sūtra, viz. वसुन्द्, कुसुमा and वार्ष्णीयनिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vārshyāyani.

११७४ । फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णक्तिञौ । ४ । १ । १५० ॥

सौमित्रेण । नेह यथासंख्यम् । फाण्डाहृतस्य परनिपाताद्विज्ञाविति वृत्तिवारः । भाष्ये तु यथासंख्यमेवेति स्थितम् । फाण्डाहृतः । फाण्डाहृतायनिः । नैनतः । नैमतायनिः ॥

1174. The affixes ण and क्तिन् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvīra country, after the words Phāṇṭāhrita and Mīmata.

This debars फक् ॥ The Sauvira is understood here also. The rule of I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply. For according to Kāśikā the reason is this, "By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, S. 905 the word मिनत् consisting of less syllables than फाण्डाहृत, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 S. 128 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and क्तिन् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively." But according to the Mahābhāṣya. The rule I. 3. 10 S. 128 applies, and ण and क्तिन् are added respectively. Thus फाण्डाहृतः or फाण्डाहृतायनिः ; नैनतः or नैमतायनिः ॥

Note :—When not denoting Sauvira Gotras, we have फाण्डाहृतायनः and नैमतायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 S. 1103 and IV. 1. 99 S. 1101). The word मिनत् belongs to the Naḍādi-class (IV. I. 99).

११७५ । कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । ४ । १ । १५१ ॥

अपत्ये । कौरव्या ब्राह्मणाः । वावदुष्याः ॥ साधोजः क्षत्रिये * ॥ साम्राज्यः । साम्राज्योऽन्यः ॥

1175. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also वार्वदः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 so that the form कौरव्यः is evolved both under the present sūtra and sūtra IV. 1. 172 S. 1190; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV. 1. 172, S. 1190 loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV. 1. 172 S. 1190 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4. 62 S. 1193); but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्याः ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV. 1. 154 S. 1178), and it takes as such the affix क्तिन् ॥ As कौरव्यायनिः ॥ So also वावदुष्याः ॥

*Note :—*The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yajnyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix थ् not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

*Note :—*The word कैशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be कैशिन्यः ॥ There will not be पुनर्वद्धभावा as required by VI. 3. 34 S. 83 &c. For had there been पुनर्वद्धभावा, then by मय्येते सद्धिने, all Bha bases will become पुनर्वद् before a taddhita affix except ण् ॥ Therefore कैशिनी + थ् = कैशिन + थ् ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 S. 1059 will appear and cause the elision of टि and we shall have कैश् + थ् = कैश्यः ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word कैशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

*Note :—*The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore the form वेन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

*Note :—*The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kanvādi class, a subdivision of Gargādi (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107). Thus the pupils of वामरथः will be formed by the affix वण् (IV. 2. 111 S. 1332). As वामरथ + वण् = वामरथः (VI. 4. 151 S. 1082). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 65 S. 1147). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16 S. 471) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV. 1. 17 S. 473). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103). So also it will take वण् when the sense of collection &c. is expressed (IV. 3. 127 S. 1507): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kanvādi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यम् will have udātta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 107 S. 8686) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by थ्, that is, it will have udātta on the last syllable.

*Varṭ :—*The word सयाज takes the affix थ् when denoting a Kshatriya. Thus सायाजः; otherwise सायाजा, ॥

1 कुट, 2 गौर (गौर K.), 3 गह्वर, 4 घञकार (घञकारक K.), 5 रथकार, 6 वामरथ, 7 सयाजः यक्षिणे, 8 करि, 9 विकसि (वसि K.), 10 काविष्मन्नादि, 11 वाक् (or वाक्), 12 वामरथ, 13 विष्णु, 14 इन्द्रजाति, (इन्द्रजाति K.), 15 एजि, 16 वासकि, 17 वामोष्णीदि, 18 गह्वरि, 19 कैशरि, 20 कुट, 21 घञका (घञकारक), 22 गुर, 23 पूर, 24 एका (एक K.), 25 शुभ, 26 अथ, 27 कर्म, 28 कैशिनी, 29 वेनाथञ्जलि, 30 वामरथ, 31 वामरथ, 32 वामरथ, 33 वामरथ, 34 सत्यकार, 35 वामरथ, 36 वामरथ, 37 कुट, 38 घञकार, 39 घञ, 40 वाक्, 41 वाक्, 42 वाक्, 43 वामरथ, 44 वामरथ, 45 वामरथ, 46 वामरथ (वामरथी K.), 47 वामरथ, 48 वामरथ, 49 वामरथ, 50 वामरथ, 51 वामरथ, 52 वामरथ, 53 वामरथ ॥

११७६ । सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १५२ ॥

एभ्यो ष्यः । एति संज्ञायामिति सस्य षः । हारिवेण्यः । लाक्षण्यः । कारिः शिल्पी तस्मात्
तान्नुवाच्यः । कौम्भकार्यः । नापितः ॥

1176. The affix 'ष्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c. Thus हारिवेण्यः (स is changed to ष by VIII. 3, 99. S. 1023) लाक्षण्यः तान्नुवाच्यः, कौम्भकार्यः, नापितः ॥

११७७ । उदीचाभिञ् । ४ । १ । १५३ ॥

हारिवेण्यः । लाक्षणिः । तान्नुवाचिः । कौम्भकारिः । नापितास्तु परत्वात् फिञेव । नापितादिः ॥ तद्वर्गोऽयं उपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ ताक्ष्यः । पक्षे लाक्षण्यः ॥

1177. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus हारिवेण्यः, लाक्षणिः, तान्नुवाचिः, कौम्भकारिः ॥ The word नापित being a Vridhdha, non gotra word, will take णिञ् under IV. 1. 157 S. 118 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायानिः ॥

Vartika:—The affix शेष comes after तद्धन् carpenter.' (IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 and VI. 4. 65 S. 1160. Thus it will have ताक्ष्यः or लाक्षण्यः but will not take इञ् ॥

११७८ । तिकादिभ्यः फिञ् । ४ । १ । १५४ ॥

सैकायनिः ॥

1178. The affix 'फिञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c.

Thus सैकायनिः ॥

The word दूय occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as दार्वायानिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya : because it is immediately preceded by the word श्रीरथ=वररा रोने=वरराः सपितः, his son will be aurava with añ, which end in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168 S. 1186). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ष्य of IV. 1. 159 S. 1175

will take the affix इप् and not फिप् of this Sātra. See IL. 4, 58 and 68 S. 1276, 1150.

1 विक 2 किव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाला, (बाल K.) 5 भिला, 6 उरस् (उरश्), 7 गाल्य (गाल्य K.) 8 वैन्धव, 9 वसुन्ध, 10 रुध्य, 11 घाम्य, 12 नील, 13 आदिष, 14 गौकश्य, 15 कुरु (कुरु K.) 16 देवरय, 17 तैनज (तैविक K.) 18 भौरस (भौरश्), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिक, 21 भौरिक, 22 चौरयत्, 23 चैदयत्, 24 शीकयत् (शीकयत् K.) 25 चैनयत्, 26 वाजवत् (वाजवत् K.) 27 चन्द्रगम्, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वीर्य, 31 सुषामद्, 32 आरब्ध (आरब्ध), 33 प्रक्षका, 34 खल्यका (खल्यः; खल्य K.) 35 ह्य, 36 लोचक, 37 वदत् (वदन् K.) 38 यत्, 39 सुयामन्, 40 कश्य (कश्य), 41 भीत, 42 आजय, 43 रत्, 44 लायक, 45 चवजवद्, 46 वसु, 47 बन्ध, 48 आबन्धका (as well as आबन्धका) ॥

११७६ । कौशल्यकार्माया च । ४ । १ । १५५ ॥

अपले फिप् । इमोऽपवादः ॥ परमप्रकृतेरेवायिन्यते * ॥ प्रत्ययसंनियोगेन 'प्रकृतिरूपं' निपातते । कुशलस्यापले कौशल्ययनिः । कर्मरस्यापले कार्मायायनिः ॥ छागवृषयोर्धि * ॥ छाग्ययनिः । चार्मायनिः ॥

1179. The affix फिप् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kauśalya, and Kārmārya.

This debars इप् ॥ Thus कौशल्ययनिः and कार्मायायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौशल्य or कार्मा", but they mean "the son of कौशल्य, and कर्मर," because of the following Ishti.

Ishti:—The affix however denotes the descendant of the first original words कुशल and कर्मर ॥

Pāri:—The words छाग and वृष take the augment वृ before the affix फिप् ॥ Thus छाग्ययनिः and चार्मायनिः ॥

११८० । अक्षो घञः । ४ । १ । १५६ ॥

अपले फिप् । इमोऽपवादः । चार्मायनिः । अज इति फिप् । आक्षायनिः । अक्षयः फिप् । अक्षयः ॥ अक्षयः फिप् वा गाल्य * ॥ आक्षयनिः । अक्षयः ॥

1180. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अप्'.

This debars इप् ॥ Thus चार्मायनिः 'son of Kātra', आक्षयनिः 'son of Hātra'.

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अप्"? Observe आक्षायनिः 'son of Dākṣhi (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say 'dissyllabic word'? Observe आक्षयनिः 'son of अक्षय' ॥

Vart:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix किम् ॥
Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, यादायनिः or यादः, तादायनिः or तादः ॥

११८१ । उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात् । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

आश्वशुभायनिः । मायां तु । आश्वशुभिः । वृद्धात्किम् । दात्तिः । अगोत्रात्किम् । औपगविः ॥

1181. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, after a word with a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आश्वशुभायनिः "son of आश्वशुभ", ॥

But according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians the form will be आश्वशुभिः ॥ Why do we say 'after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable'? Observe दात्तिः 'son of दत्तः' ॥ Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥

११८२ । वाकिनादीनां कुक् च । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

अपत्ये किम् वा । वाकिनस्यापत्ये वाकिनकायनिः । वाकिनिः ॥

1182. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vākina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

Thus वाकिनकायनिः ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of उदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः ॥

१ वाकिन- २ गोधेर (गोरेय K.). ३ कार्कष (कार्कष्य K.). ४ भाक, ५ लङ्का, ६ अनिर्वीजोपच ॥

११८३ । पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ११९ ॥

अस्याश्च किम् सिद्धस्तत्किन्परे पुत्रान्तस्य वा कुक् विधीयते । गार्गीपुत्रकाययिः । गार्गी-पुत्राययिः । गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

1183. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pūtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

Note:—The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read

into this sūtra. Of course a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिन् by IV. 1. 157 S. 1181; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कृक optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥

११८४ । प्राचाभट्टदास्तिन्वहुलम् । ४ । १ । १६० ॥

ग्लुचुकायनिः ॥

1184. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनि. or ग्लुचुकि 'son of Gluchuka'.

Note—Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजदन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाभ, बटुलं and अन्यतरत्त्वम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sūtra viz प्राचा and बटुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect and बटुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of sūtra construction. In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as दास्तिन्व, पयसिः ॥

११८५ । मनीज्जातायज्यनीमुक च । ४ । १ । १६१ ॥

मनुवायादीं जातिः । मानुषः । मनुष्यः ॥

1185. The affixes अम् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक is added when these affixes follow, provided that the whole word so formed denotes a class (jāti).

Thus मनु+पुक्+अम्=मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥

Note—These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix यत् as मनु+यत्=मानुष्यः 'son of Manu', as in मानसीयम् ॥ So also the word मानुष, when यत् changed into य् denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dislike implied.

११८६ । जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् । ४ । १ । १६८ ॥

जनपदक्षत्रियोर्वाचकादञ् स्यादपत्ये । दायिजनान्वनेति सूत्रं निपातनाहिलोपः । ऐश्वकाः । ऐश्वकाक्षौ ॥ क्षत्रियसमावशब्दात्जनपदशब्दस्य राजन्यपत्ववन् । तद्राजनाच्चत्वात्तद्राज इत्यम्बुर्दत्तावाप्त्यर्थः । पञ्चालानां राजा पाञ्चालः ॥ पुरौरण्यं वक्तव्यः * ॥ पौरवः ॥ पायडोर्लण्यं * ॥ पायड्यः ॥

1186. The affix *ञञ्* comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which, while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus ऐश्वकाः, dual ऐश्वकाक्षौ, plural इश्वकाक्षः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. The final *ङ* of इश्वकाङ् is elided before this affix *ञञ्* and we get the form ऐश्वकाक्षः because this anomalous form is so shown in VI. 4 174 S 1145.

Note :—Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriyas, but not of the name of a country, *ञञ्* will not be used but *अञ्*; the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रौह्यः 'the son of Drūhiya'; पौरवः 'the son of Pura'. Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriya? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वेदेहिः ॥

Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king there of. Thus पञ्चालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas'. So also विदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

Vart :—Let the affix *अञ्* come after पुरु ॥ Thus पौरवः ॥ "The king of the Pūrus." The word *pūru* is not the name of a country. The form would have been evolved by Pragdiyaṭīya अञ्, the present *vārtika* is made in order to give it a *tadrāja* designation.

Vart :—The affix '*द्याञ्*' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पंडितः, otherwise it will be पंडवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

Note :—The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of the Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them' is elided by IV. 2 81 S. 1293. Thus the same word पाञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as *original* (not derivative) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV 2 81 S. 1293. These words when denoting a country are always in the 'land', as पाञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya it is in the singular.

११८७ । साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६६ ॥

आभ्यामपत्येऽम् । वृद्धेदिति व्यङ्गोऽपवादः । साल्वेयः । गान्धारः । तस्य राजन्यव्येवम् ।

1187. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhâri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 S. 1189 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'āyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sâlveya', or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gândhâri or the king of Gândhâri?' The vārtika under sūtra IV 1. 168 S. 1186 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'.

११८८ । अङ्गमगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादया । ४ । १ । १७० ॥

अप्योऽपवादः । अङ्गः । मागधः । कालिङ्गः । सौरमसः । तस्य राजन्यव्येवम् ॥

1188. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars चम् ॥ Thus अङ्गः, मागधः, कालिङ्गः, and सौरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Vanga, Suhma, Magadha, Kalinga and Sûramasa.' The Vārtika 'तस्य राजने' given above applies to this also, as अङ्गो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c.

११८९ । वृक्षेत्कोसलाजादाभ्यङ् । ४ । १ । १७१ ॥

दृक्षात् । आभ्यङ्द्वयः । कोशीर्षः । इत् । आभ्यङ् । कोसल्यः । अजादस्यापत्यं आजायाः ॥

1189. The affix 'अभ्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajāda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars चम् ॥ Thus, to give an example of Vṛiddha words आभ्यङ्द्वयः, कोशीर्षः 'the sons or kings of Ambaśṭha and Sauvira'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आभ्यङ्गः 'the sons or kings of Avanti' which is a word ending in short इ ॥ So also कोशरवः and आजायाः, which are neither Vṛiddha nor end in short इ ॥

११६० । कुरुनादिभ्य एव । ४ । १ । १७२ ॥

कौरव्यः । नैषधः । स नैषधस्वार्थपतेरिलादौ तु सैषिकोऽन् ॥

1190. The affix एव comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'an' and 'añ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥

Note:—How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति चैषधम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्वार्थपतेः सुतायां? This is a poetic license, or the एन् affix added here to form the word नैषध is the śaishika an of IV. 2. 92 S. 1312.

११६१ । सालवाययचप्रत्यग्रचकलकुटाश्मकादिभ्य् । ४ । १ । १७३ ॥

साल्वो जगदस्तद्वयवा उदुम्बराद्यस्तेभ्यः प्रत्यगयादिभ्यश्चिभ्यश्च इम् । अमोऽनवादः । औदुम्बरिः । साल्वयिः । कालकुलिः । आशमकिः ॥ राजन्यविवक् ॥

1191. The affix इम् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakūṭa', and 'Aśnaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriyā woman, her son will be साल्वेयः (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124) formed by इङ्; also साल्वः formed by एन् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country:

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz, Udumbarāḥ, Tilakhaṭāḥ, Madrakāṭāḥ, Yugandharāḥ, Bhulingāḥ, and Śaradaṇḍāḥ. The patronymic from these will be: औदुम्बरिः, तैलखलिः, माद्रकारिः, यौगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शरदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'in' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As साल्वयिः, कालकुलिः and आशमकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to the Mahābhāṣya, the words Būsa, Ajamiḍa, and Ājakanda also take this affix, as बौसिः, आजमीडिः and आजकन्दिः ॥

११६२ । ते तद्राजाः । ४ । १ । १७४ ॥

अमादय एतस्तेषां ह्युः ॥

1192. These (viz. the affixes अन् IV. 1. 168 S. 1186. &c) are called Tadrāja ('the king there of') affixes.

Note:—The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of

before IV. I. 168 S. 1186; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan. See II. 4. 62 S. 1193. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

११६३ । तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवाखियाम् । २ । ४ । ६२ ॥

बहुष्वर्येषु तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात्तदर्थकृते बहुष्वे न्तु खियाम् । ईश्वराक्षः । पञ्चाला इत्यादि । कथं तर्हि कौरव्याः पञ्चवः । तस्यामेव रषीः पाण्डवा इति च । कौरव्ये पाण्डवे च साधव इति समाधेयम् । रष्यान्वयं वक्ष्ये, निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथंचिदिति तु रघुयदुशब्दयोस्तदपत्ते लक्षणया ॥

1193. There is *luk*-elision of the तद्राज (IV. I. 174 S. 1192) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that, the plural number is taken by the तद्राजा-modified base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that, the base is not used in the feminine.

राज्ञः = राज + ञ् (IV. I. 170 S. 1188) 'a prince of Aṅga'; plural राज्ञाः 'the princes of Aṅga.' The affix ञ् is elided by the present rule, and the Vṛiddhi vanishes with it too (I. I. 63 S. 263); but राज्ञ्यः 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of राज्ञी 'a princess of Aṅga' But प्रियवर्गः 'he to whom the prince of Vāṅga is beloved' forms its plural सिद्धवर्गाः 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vāṅga,' there being no elision.

Thus ईश्वराक्षः the princes of Ikshwāku tribe; plural of ईश्वराक्षः; the तद्राजा affix राज् (IV. I. 168 S. 1186) is elided in the plural and so also पञ्चालाः (plural of पाञ्चालः) the princes of the Pāñchalās.

(Why are the तद्राजा affixes not elided in the plural of कौरव्य and पाण्डव, in the following phrases :—"कौरव्याः पञ्चवः" ॥ "तस्यामेव रषीः पाण्डवा" ॥

The affix व after कुरु and पाण्डु in the above is not the तद्राजा affix व, but the नञ्साधुः (IV. 4. 98 S. 1656) affix ध्व ॥ We should explain the above forms by कौरव्य or पाण्डवे च साधवः = कौरव्याः or पाण्डवाः ॥

Why are the affixes elided in the plural in the case of रघु and यदु in the following, for these words not being names of countries, the *apatya* affixes added to them can never get the designation of तद्राजा, and so the rule of elision can not apply to them, but we see them elided in "रघुयदुशब्दयोस्तदपत्ते लक्षणया" ॥ "निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथंचिदम्" ॥ In other words, why have not the forms been रघवराजं and यदुरी ? Ans. Here the words रघु and यदु have been used by a figure of speech or indirect application for the descendants of रघु and यदु ॥ So the words have taken no *apatya* affix, and so there is no occasion for eliding any affix in the plural.

११९४। कम्बोजाल्लुक् । ४। १। १७५ ॥

अस्मात्तद्वाजस्य लुक् । कम्बोजः । कम्बोजौ ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ ॥ पोलः । शकः । झञ्जल्लुक्स्याणो लुक् । कैरलः । यवनः । अजो लुक् । कम्बोजाः समरे इति पाठः शुभमः । दीर्घादपाठे तु कम्बोजोऽभिजनो येषामित्यर्थः । सिन्धुसन्धिलालिखोऽणभाविष्य ॥

1194. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrāja affix.

Namely, the affix लुक् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided even in the singular and dual. Thus कम्बोजः 'The king of Kamboja', कम्बोजौ "the two princes of the Kambojas".

Vart :—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholā' &c. Thus चोलः 'the king of the Cholas'. Here as well as in शकः the लुक् (IV. 1. 121. S. 1124.) that comes after a dissyllabic word is elided. So also शकः, कैरलः, यवनः ॥ The elision in the last two is of अज ॥ "कम्बोजाः समरे" is a better reading than कम्बोजाः समरे ॥ (If, however, the second reading be taken, we explain the form by saying that कम्बोजाः is formed by अण् of the sūtra IV. 3. 93 S. 1473 : in the sense of "whose native land is Kamboja"; and as it is not a Tadrāja, it is not elided in the plural.)

११९५। स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुञ्च । ४। १। १७६ ॥

तद्वाजस्य लुक् स्यात् । अवन्ती । कुन्ती । कुरुः ॥

1195. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrāja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru.

That is to say the affix 'स्यात्' (IV. 1. 171 S. 1189) after the word Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'ण्य' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरुः 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. S. 521.

Note :—Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्यः, कौन्त्यः and कौरव्यः ॥

११९६। अतश्च । ४। १। १७७ ॥

तद्वाजस्यकारस्य स्त्रिया लुक् स्यात् । शरसेनी । मन्त्री । कथं भाषीष्यतामिति । इत्य एव पाठ इति हरदत्तः । भर्गदित्थं वा कल्प्यम् ॥

1196. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrāja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided,

Thus *m.* शौरसेनः, *f.* शौरसेनी; *m.* नादः, *f.* नद्री ॥

The word *अनः* of the *sūtra* should not be construed by the rule of *tadanata vidhi* (I. I. 72 S. 26). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrāja affix ending in *अ* is elided". There have been taught five Tadrāja affixes, namely 'अं (अ)', 'अः (अ)', 'अणं (अ)', 'अणः (अ)' and 'अं (इ)' ॥ Of these the first four all end in *अ*; therefore, all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity for the previous *sūtra*, for then the present *sūtra* would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kuntī', and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this *sūtra* IV. 1. 176 S. 1195 indicates by *ज्ञापक*, that the *tadanata vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore the feminine of *आन्वयः* is *आन्वय्या*, of *सौदीर्यः* is *सौदीर्या* ॥

How do you explain the form *नद्री* in *नद्रीसुतौ*? According to Haradatta it is wrong, the proper form is *नद्रीसुतो* ॥ Or the form *नद्रीसुतौ* is valid under the Bhargadī class (IV. 1. 178. S. 1197) and so the Tadrāja affix is not elided.

११९७ । न प्राच्यभर्गादि यौधेयादिभ्यः । ४ । १ । १७८ ॥

पश्चिमव्राजस्य न लुक् । पान्चाली । वैदर्भी । चाङ्गी । वाङ्गी । मागधी । एते प्राच्याः । भार्गी । पाण्डुरी । केकेयी । केकेयीत्यत्र तु जन्यजनकभासलक्षणे पुंयुगे ङीप् । युधा । शुका । अत्रार्थाः प्राच्य इति ङक् । ततः स्वार्थे ण्यार्थादेशेयादिभ्योऽणमादिसम् । चाङ्गीत्याद्यम् इति ङीप् । अतश्चेति लुकि तु अगन्तव्यात् ङीप्पुनश्चनित्स्वरः स्यात् । यौधेयी शीकेयी ॥

1197. The Tadarāja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c. and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This *sūtra* debar the elision of the Tadrāja affix *ङ्* (required by the last *sūtra*). Thus पान्चाली, वैदर्भी, चाङ्गी, वाङ्गी, मागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in the countries east of the Sarasvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, पाण्डुरी, केकेयी ॥ The form केकेयी without *vridhhi* is formed by the feminine affix *ङीप्* added to केकेय with the force of showing the relation of father and daughter. So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, शीकेयी and शीकेयी ॥ The forms are thus derived. To युधा and शुका is added the affix *ङक्* because they are dissyllable words (IV. 1. 121 S. 1124). Then is added to them *अम्* without change of signification, by V. 3. 117 S. 2070 This *अम्* is a Tadrāja affix by virtue of V. 3. 119 S. 2072. Thus we get यौधेयः and शीकेयः ॥ Their feminine is formed by *ङीप्* as they end in the affix *अम्* ॥ (IV. 1. 73. S. 127). Now had we elided the affix *अम्* (V. 3. 117 S. 2070) which is a Tadrāja, by the last *sūtra* IV. 1. 178 S. 1196; the words would have been *ङङ्*-ending nouns, and would have formed their feminines in *ङीप्*, which being *anudatta* would have been destroyed by its coalition with the

final udātta by VI. 1. 161 S. 3651. and so ङीप् would become udātta, and the feminines would be final acute. But it is desired that the final should not be udātta. Hence अम् is not elided. Thus we have यौधेयी and शौकेयी with udātta on the initial as formed by ङीप् (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686), and not यौधेयी* and शौकेयी* ॥

The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the Fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अम्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 S. 1196 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119 S. 2066 &c. Thus the Tadrāja affix अम् in (V. 3. 117) added to पर्यु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पर्युवः । पर्यु, m. आसुरः । आसुरी—&c.

1 मर्ग, 2 कर्कश (कर्कष K.) 3 केकय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 लाव, 6 सुस्थाल, 7 वरम् (वरश and वरस K.) 8 कौरव्य ॥

1 यौधेय, 2 शौकेय, 3 शौत्रेय, 4 व्यावर्णेय (व्यावर्णेय K.), 5 धौतैय (धातैयः धातैय K.) 6 विगर्ह, 7 भरत, 8 दधीनर ॥ K. 9 धौतैय ॥

११९८ । अणिजोरनार्षयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ७८ ॥

अयादीनामन्यग्रजं तस्य समीपमुपोत्तमम् । गोत्रे वाच्यिजौ विहितानार्षौ तपन्तोर्युद्धरो-
त्तमयोः प्रतिपत्तिकयोः स्थिरा प्यङ्गविशः स्यात् । निर्दिष्टमाणस्त्वादेशा भवेन्तीत्यभिप्रेत्येव । यद्वदिते ।
यद्वद्भा । कुमुदगन्धेरपत्यं स्त्री कौमुदगन्ध्या । वाराह्या । अनार्षयोः किम् । गामिणी । वैश्वामिनी ।
गुरुपोत्तमयोः किम् । औपगन्धी । जातिज्ञानो ङीप् । गोत्रे किम् । अहिच्छन्ने जाता आहिच्छन्ती ॥

1198. Of the affixes अण् and इञ् used in denoting a Gotra descendant there is the substitute य (प्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes in the feminine, and there is added the long औ under IV. 1. 74 S. 528; provided that, they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable.

Note:—The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिजोर: 'of अण् and इञ्,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non-rishi,' (3) युद्ध-पोत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *apollama* i. e. last but one,' (4) प्यङ् 'the substitute is ayañ.' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotrā' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by प्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denote non-rishi gotras, and have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tanay*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like वारुचि &c.

Pañibhāṣā :—Substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule. (See p. 117). Therefore the substitute व्यङ् replaces अण् and इञ् only.

(Of the substitute व्यङ् the letter ञ् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ञ् differentiating this affix from व्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both).

In forming the feminine we shall have to add चाप् by IV. 1. 74 S. 528. Thus कुसुदगन्धि 'having the smell of the white-lotus', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus कुसुदगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92 S. 1088). Now we replace this affix by व्यङ् and have कौसुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इञ् (as taught in Sūtra अतदम् IV. 1. 75 S. 529): as वाराहः gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'of अण् and इञ्' ॥ Witness चार्तभाग from ऋतभाग ॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to त्रिवादि gāṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अण् in forming the gotra patronymic: this affix अण् is not replaced by व्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15 S. 470); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-riśhi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इञ् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-riśhi gotras'? Witness चापिही and येन्यापिही ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe कौदगन्धि which is formed by हीङ् denoting jāti. (IV. 1. 63, S. 518). Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness चादिच्छत्री 'a woman born in Ahiśhihātra'.

११६६ । गोत्राचययात् । ४ । १ । ७९ ॥

गोत्राचयया गोत्राभिमतः कुलाद्यास्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोः शिष्योः त्रिणां व्यवहारः स्यात् । अयुक्तयोश्चार्थं अस्मत्तः । पंक्तिवत् । भौतिकवत् ॥

1199. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, व्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इञ्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase अशिष्योः of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अयुक्तयोश्च ॥ The phrase गोत्राचयया means insignificant or non-famous gotras, i.e. names of kulas i.o. कुलाद्या, such as families like वसु, सुविश्व, दुन्दुभ which are not famous and are not included in the gotra t (Bravara-adhyāya). भौतिकवत् and भौतवत् ॥

Note :—The word अचयय in the sūtra has various significations, one meaning 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like देवदेवा चतुदया ॥ The

forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the कौटुम्बिक class of the next aphorism. In short those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant which means a grandson and down, can also do so.

In fact the word भोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhāraya sabdāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the गोत्रपराध्याय ॥ These are however, technically called कुल ॥

१२०० । कौटुम्बिकश्च ॥ ४ । १ । ८० ॥

स्त्रियां व्यङ् मलयः स्यात् । अयुक्तोत्तमार्थोऽनभिज्ञैर्बाह्यः । कौटुम् । व्याख्या । सप्त पुत्रस्य * ॥ सत्या ॥ भोज क्षत्रिये * ॥ भोज्या ॥

1200. The affix व्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words कौटि and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is no heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix कण् or इम् ॥ In fact व्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus कौट्या 'a female krauṭi' So also व्याङ्या 'a female vyādi'.

1 कौटि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याङि, 4 आपिप्राजि, 5 आपक्षिति, These are formed इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). 6 भोजयत्, 7 वैद्ययत् (वेद्ययत्), 8 सैकयत् (सैकयत्) वैश्वयत् (कल्पयत्), These are formed by the affix कण् ॥ 10 सौधातकि ॥ This formed by इम् with the substitute अकट् (IV. 1. 97 S. 1097) added to सुधात् ॥

11 सप्तपुत्रस्याव Vārtika :—The word सप्त takes व्यङ् when denoting grown-up maiden, as सत्या ; otherwise सप्त 'a daughter', formed by षप्, or by स्त्रीय denoting a jāti.

12. भोजक्षत्रिये Vārtika :—This debars स्त्रीय of jāti as भोज्या, (others दाप् as भोजाः भोजयतीति), 13 वौलकि, 14 कौटि, 15 भौतिकी, 16 भौलिकी, 17 शास्त्र 18 शास्त्रास्याज, 19 काविक्षिप्त 20 नौकाक्ष्य (नौकाक्ष्य) ॥ All these except the last formed by य of Gargādi class.

१२०१ । दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षिसात्यनुम्रिकाण्डविस्त्रिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

१ । ८१ ॥
एभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः व्यङ् । जगोभार्यभिर्दे गोत्रेऽपि परस्वात्मवर्तते । पक्षे इतो मनुष्यस्यैः दैवयज्ञां । दैवयज्ञी । इत्यादि ॥

1201. The affix व्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यनुम्रि and काण्डेयिस्त्रि ॥

Thus दैवयज्ञ्या or दैवयज्ञी ॥ These words end in the affix इम्, and the gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendant substitute shyañ would have come by that sūtra, it would have

by IV. 1. 78, but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. (But if the sūtra be taken to apply to immediate descendants, as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87 S. 1079.) In the alternative when पृह् is not added, ङीप् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 S. 520.

अथ तद्धित चातुरर्थिक प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE QUADRUPLÉ SIGNIFICANT AFFIXES.

१२०२ । तेन रक्तं रागात् । ४ । २ । १ ॥

रक्तयेऽनेनेति रागः । कपायेन रक्तं वस्त्रं कापायम् । माङ्गिष्ठम् । रागात् किम् । देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम् ॥

1202. The affix **अण्** already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the name of a colour, in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb **रञ्ज्** means to change the white color into another color. That by which a thing is colored is called रागः 'color', तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कपायेन रक्तं वस्त्रं = कापायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also माङ्गिष्ठम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix **अण्** will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

Note :—In the sentence "कापायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हस्त्रौ कुक्कुटस्या पादौ" the words कापायौ and हस्त्रौ are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 S. 1213 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word, which is in the instrumental case in construction, in a sentence (IV. 1. 83 S. 1072); as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

१२०३ । लाक्षाद्येचनादृक् । ४ । २ । २ ॥

लाक्षिकः । रोषाङ्कः ॥ शकलकर्दमाभ्यामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ ॥ शाकनिकः । कार्दमिकः । चाभ्यामल-
पीति वृत्तिकारः । शाकलः । कार्दमः ॥ नील्यां अङ् ॥ ॥ नील्या रक्तं नीलम् ॥ पीताक्षम् ॥ ॥ पीतकम् ॥
हस्त्रिभङ्गजनाभ्याम् ॥ ॥ हस्त्रिभङ्गः । नाटारजनेषु ॥

1203. The affix **डक्** comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words *lākṣhā*, and *rochanā*, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars षण् ॥ Thus काश्या रक्तं वधं = शास्त्रिकम्, so also रीचनीकम्, *Vartika* :—So also after शकल and कर्कसम् ॥ Thus शाकलिकः and कर्कसिकः ॥

According to the opinion of the author of *Kāśikā* the affix षण् also comes after शकल and कर्कसम् : Thus शाकलः and कर्कसः ॥

Vart :—The affix अन् comes after नीलीः as नील्य रक्तं = नीलं वधं ॥ This debars षण् ॥

Vart :—The affix क् (1. 3. 8 S. 195) comes after वीत, as वीतेन रक्तं = वीतकम् ॥

Vart :—The affix अञ् comes after हरिद्रा and महारजन, as हरिद्रा^{हरिद्रा} and महारजनम् ॥

१२०४। नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः । ४ । २ । ३ ॥

पुष्येण युक्तं वीरमहः । वीदी रात्रिः ॥

1204. The affix अण् already ordained by IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

Note :—A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms ; when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism, in order to denote the time of such conjunction.

Thus पुष्य + अण् = वीरः (VI. 4. 149, S. 499) e. g. वीरमहं, and वीदीरात्रिः " the night in which the moon is in the Pushya ".

Notes :—Why do we say नक्षत्रेण 'connected with the asterism' ? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्तं रात्रिः ॥ Why do we say काल 'time' ? Observe पुष्येण युक्तमहमहः ॥

१२०५। लुपविशेषे । ४ । २ । ४ ॥

पूर्वेण निर्दिष्टस्य लुपस्याह पठित्वास्तस्य कालस्यावान्तरविशेषेण गद्यते । अथ पुष्यः । कथं तर्हि पुष्यपुनरा वीरमहो वीदीति । विधाया फाल्गुनीश्वराकार्तिकीयेष्वीभ्य इति निर्दिष्टेन वीर-मास्यामर्थे लुप् वेति शास्त्रिकेणाह । अथपुष्यास्तु अत एव लुप् युक्तमहमाभावः । अत्रापकान्यादि विधानमिति । आग्नी ॥

1205. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification of any particular portion of a day consisting of twenty-four hours.

That is, the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided, if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of the day and night which consists of 60 dayas (24 hours) such as night &c. A full day and

night of 24 hours is the period (Kāla) which the moon takes (or is conventionally supposed to take) in crossing an asterism. To denote this full time of 24 hours by an affix is to denote a time *generally* (avīśeṣha). To denote a portion of this 24 hours, is to express it specifically. This can be done by affixes. Thus अद्य पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya; but by 'to day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular, nor any hour in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

If the full day of 24 hours, being avīśeṣha, is denoted by the mere name of the asterism in which the moon happens to be that day, why is an exception made when that day happens to be a *full-moon day*? In other words, though it is correct to say अद्यपुष्यः पञ्चमी, &c for all days (*tithis*) generally, yet it is not correct if the day happens to be *full moon day*; for then we must say अद्यःपौषी वैर्णमासी and not अद्यपुष्यः वैर्णमासी ॥

Why is the affix not elided in वैर्ण in the sentence पुष्यपुष्या वैर्णमासी वैर्ण (Amara Kosha I. 26). by the present sūtra? The affix denoting day (24 hours) in general is not elided after an asterism giving its name to that day, if it is a *full-moon in that asterism*. This rule we deduce by inference from the sūtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225, where Pāṇini has exhibited the words Phālgunī, Kārtikī, and Chaitrī without the elision of the case-affix.

The words Phālgunī &c there mean "the day in which the full moon is in the asterism Phālgunā, Kṛittikā, or Chitrā" That sūtra relates to the naming of months after full-moon-asterism, see IV. 2. 21. S. 1221.

That sūtra IV. 2. 23 S. 1225 teaches also that in the case of the asterism अश्वि there is *lup-elision* of the day-denoting affix, even when such day is the full-moon day. For the full-moon day would have been अश्विणी like फाल्गुणी, but that sūtra shows it as अश्वि ॥ The word अश्वि means that Purnamāṣī day when the full moon is in Śravanā. Not only this, but there is further anomaly, that though the affix is elided by lup after अश्वि yet the rule I. 2. 51 S. 1294 does not apply. (That rule declares that where there is a lup-elision of a Taddhita affix there is concordance between the gender and number of the derivative word with those of the original.) The form ought to have been अश्विः and not अश्वि had I. 2. 51 S. 1294 applied; as we find मूलः and अश्विः in मूलोत्तराश्विनौ वैर्ण अश्विणं दिक्कयेत् see II. 3.45 S. 642.

The form अश्विणी without lup-elision is also valid, on the maxim अनाथकाम्यपि विधातवानि "The anomalous forms (nīpātanas) are also non-deterrents i. e. they do not debar the regular forms". Therefore the irregular अश्विण

and the regular श्रावणी both meaning "the day when the full-moon is in Śravaṇā" are valid.

Any conjunction of the moon with an asterism measures a period of time of 24 hours. Such a time is expressed by a derivative formed from the name of the asterism. (1) As पौषीरात्रिः 'the night in which the moon is in the asterism Pushya.' पौषमहर् 'the day in which &c.' (2) But when the *full* period of such conjunction is denoted, without specifying whether it is day or night, then the name of the asterism without any modification denotes such time also. As अद्यपुष्यः "Today is the day when the moon is in the asterism Pushya or shortly, today is Pushya." In other words, days are named directly, after the asterisms. (3) But to this there is an exception in the case of that day when the moon is full. There the affix must be added. As अद्यपौषी. "today is the day when the *full*-moon is in Pushya."

Not only days are named after asterisms, but months also, (In the case of months, that asterism gives the name to it, in which the moon is full. As वैश्वे मासः "that month in which the full moon occurs in the asterism of Pushya.")

१२०६ । संज्ञायां अक्षणाश्वत्थाभ्याम् । ४ । २ । ५ ॥

विशेषार्थोऽयमात्मः । अक्षणा रात्रिः । अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः । संज्ञायां किम् । आदन्तः । आश्वत्थी ॥

1206. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Śravaṇā and Aśvattha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

This sūtra applies where there is specification of the portion of the day, of 24 hours, such as night or day or prahara &c.

Thus अक्षणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇā; the Muhūrta called Aśvattha". Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sanjñā?' Observe आदन्तः or आश्वत्थी ॥

१२०७ । द्वन्द्वान्तुः । ४ । २ । ६ ॥

नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वान्तुः काले तः स्याद् विशेषे उत्तररात्रि च । निष्यदुत्तररात्रिः । अश्वत्थरात्रिः ।

1207. The affix उ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, to signify the time of the moon's connection with those asterisms; whether there be a specification or not of any particular portion of that time.

Thus राधातुराधीया वदि; तिभ्यपुनर्वसवीयमहः ॥

Note :—See also when there is no specification of any portion of the day, as अथ राधातुराधीयम्, अथ तिभ्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4. S. 1205 which ordains लृप् (1. 4. 2 S. 175). Kāśikā; Or the ह्र is not elided on the maxim नद्येऽपवाद, “an apavāda rule in the middle, debars the rules that precede and not those that succeed it.” Therefore अण् which precedes IV. 2. 4 S. 1205 will be debarred and not ह्र which succeeds it.

१२०८। इष्टं साम। ४। २। ७ ॥

तेनेलेव । वसिष्ठेन इष्टं वासिष्ठं साम ॥ अस्मिन्नर्थेऽण् दिङ्मावन्तस्यः * ॥ वयनसा दृष्टमौशनम् ॥ औशनसम् ॥

1208. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of “seen”—the thing seen being the Sāma Veda.

Thus वसिष्ठेन इष्टं = वासिष्ठं साम “the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Vasishṭha”.

Vart :—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of “the Sāma-Veda seen.” Thus वयनसा इष्टं साम = औशनसम्, or औशनम्, (the force of दिङ् being to elide the दि portion; VI. 4. 143. S. 316).

१२०९। कलेदेक् । ४। २। ८ ॥

कलिना इष्टं कालेयं साम ॥

1209. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen, after the word ‘Kali’, being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना इष्टं साम = कालेये ॥ “The Sāma Veda revealed to Kali”. This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vart :—The affix ‘ḍhak’ comes always after अग्नि and कलि; not merely in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना इष्टं साम = जात्रेयम् ‘the Sāma-Veda revealed to Agni’. अग्नी भवे = अत्रेयम् ‘who stays in Agni’ (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428) अत्रेयमहं, “what has come from Agni” = अत्रेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कलिना इष्टं साम means ‘the Sāma-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vart :—The affix अण् in the sense of ‘born’, is optionally treated as दिङ् provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, S. 1281 is reordained by IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 S. 1550 by

force of IV. 1. 83. ; but it is debarred by डम् of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus घातभिषजि आनः = घातभिषः or घातभिषजः ॥

Vart :—The affix ईकम् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तार्तीयकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vart :—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vart :—The affix डम् IV. 3. 126 has the force of “the Sama-Veda seen” when it comes after a Gotra-word. Thus औपगवकम् or कपटवकम् ‘the Sama-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṣava’. The affix डम् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charana. The following Kārikā sums up the above vārtikās,

एते सामनि जाते च द्विरण्डित्वा विधीयते ।

जीयादीकम् न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्गुर्वाच्यते ॥

१२१० । वामदेवाद् ड्यङ् ड्यौ । ४ । २ । ९ ॥

वामदेवेन एदं साम वामदेव्यम् ॥

सिद्धं यद्येतिलेपेन किमर्थं ययत्तौ त्रितौ ॥

महर्षि गान्धर्वे भूषामन्द्यत्य नमस्त्वरे ॥

1210. The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come after the word Vāmadeva, in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन एदं साम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यैः ॥ The indicatory न् in ‘dyat’ shows that व has svarita accent (VI. 1. 185 S. 3729).

Kārikā :—Why the affixes य and यत् have an indicatory ड्, when the elision of the final णि would have taken place by यत्येति च (VI. 4. 148. S. 311) even ? Ans. They are णि in order to prevent the final of वामदेव्य becoming udatta when a negative particle is added to it. It serves the purpose of regulating नम् accent.

Q. The final य of वामदेव्य would have been elided by the rule VI. 4. 148 S. 311, without making this affix णि, then what is the use of making this affix णि ?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jānapaka, the existence of these two maxima of interpretation, viz. Paribhāṣā निरनुबन्धकमदने न साधुबन्धकस्य “when a term void of anubandha is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it”. सदनुबन्धकमदने नानुबन्धकस्य “when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it”.

१२११। परिवृतो रथः । ४ । २ । १० ॥

वस्त्रैः परिवृतो वस्त्रो रथः । रथः किम् । वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः । समन्ताद्घोटितः परिवृत उच्यते ।
सैन्यं न । छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

1211. The affix अण् comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded'; the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रैः परिवृतो रथः = वासः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth.' The word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used, if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः "the chariot surrounded by pupils."

१२१२। पाण्डुकम्बलादिनिः । ४ । २ । ११ ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलेन परिवृतः पाण्डुकम्बली । पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दो राजास्त्वरणवर्णकम्बलस्य वापकः ।
कल्पयित्वेन सिद्धे यच्चनमणी निवृत्तर्यम् ॥

1212. The affix इनि comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debar अण् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means a white royal blanket used as the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V. 2. 115, which has the sense of matup, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

१२१३। द्वैपचैयाम्रादञ् । ४ । २ । १२ ॥

द्वीपिनो विकारो द्वैपम् । तेन परिवृतो द्वैपो रथः । एवं द्वैयाम् ॥

1213. The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyāghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also द्वैयाम् ॥

Note :—This affix अञ् debar अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

१२१४। कौमारपूर्वचने । ४ । २ । १३ ॥

कौमारैश्चविभक्तिको निर्देशः । अपूर्वत्वे निपातनमिदम् । अपूर्वपतिः कुमारो पतिरुपपन्नः कौमारः पतिः । यद्वा । अपूर्वपतिः कुमारो पतिरुपपत्ता कौमारी भार्या ॥

1214. The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'

Thus कौमारः पतिः = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin', i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

Note :—The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याय भावः = कौमारः ; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

१२१५ । तत्रोद्धृतममंत्रेण्यः । ४ । २ । १४ ॥

यद्यपि उद्धृतः शराव भोदनः । उद्धृतिरिहोद्धरणपूर्वके निधाने वर्तते । तेन सप्तमी । उद्धृत्य विहित इत्यर्थः ॥

1215. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon', after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अण् means 'vessels': उद्धृत्य means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse of dinner'. Thus वागदेवुद्धृतः = शराव भोदनः "boiled rice placed on an earthen dish." That is, the uchchishṭa or leavings of food already eaten; or the remainder of food that remains after dinner. So also माञ्जिक, कार्पूरः ॥ The word uddhṛitam here means being taken out first from one vessel and then placed on another. Hence the Locative. In other words uddhṛita means here "placed"

Note :—Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe वागदेवुद्धृत्य शरावः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 §. 1223 inclusive.

१२१६ । न्यषिष्टान्तरादितरि ऋते । ४ । २ । १५ ॥

न्यषिष्टं । अपरमिव शेषात् न्यषिष्टं । न्यषिष्टं तेन न्यषिष्टं निरुद्धं ॥

Thus स्याण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्याण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i.e. an ascetic or a Brahmachâri.

Note:—Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्याण्डिले शेने ब्रह्मदत्तः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रतं means a 'vow or an observance ordained by the religious codes'.

१२१७ । संस्कृतं भक्षाः । ४ । २ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तादिण स्यासंस्कृतेऽर्थे यसंस्कृतं भक्षाचिते लुः । आट्रे संस्कृता आट्रा यवाः । अट्ट कपालेण संस्कृतोऽटाकपालः पुरोडाशः ॥

1217. The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus आट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा = आट्रा 'barley fried in the pan'. Similarly अटाकपालः पुरोडाशः here अण् is elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080

Note:—Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृती मास्यगुणः ॥

१२१८ । शूलोखाद्यत् । ४ । २ । १७ ॥

अणोपवादः । शूले संस्कृतं शूलं मांसम् । उखा वावदिवेषः । तस्यार्थं संस्कृतम् उख्यम् ॥

1218. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As अग्ने संस्कृतं = शैलं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also उख्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot'. For accent see VI. 1. 213 S. 3701.

१२१९ । दध्मष्टक् । ४ । २ । १८ ॥

दधि संस्कृतं दधिकम् ।

1219. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधि संस्कृतं = दधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'.

Note:—This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3 S. 1551, but the दधिकम् formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd; while the दधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

१२२० । उद्धृषितोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १९ ॥

उद्धृष्यात्वेण ॥

1220. The affix **उक्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word **उदभित्** ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus **औदभित्कम्** (VII. 3. 51), or **औदभितम्** by **अण्** ॥ The word **औदभित्कम्** is thus formed. **उदभित्+उक्** ॥ Here applies the following rule.

१२२१ । इत्सुसुक्तान्तात्कः । ७ । ३ । ५१ ॥

इत् **उस्** **उक्** स एतदन्तात्परस्य उदभित् कः स्यात् । उदकोन भवति वर्धते इत्युदभित् । तेषां संस्कृतः औदभित्कः । औदभितः । इत्सुतोः प्रतिपद्योक्तयोर्महानेह । आशिषा अरति आशिषिकः । एषा अरति औदिकः ॥

सोप उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ औदिकी अरति औदिकः ॥

1221. **क** is substituted for **उ** after a stem ending in **इम्**, **उस्**, **उक्**, (**उ**, **ऊ**, **ऋ**) and **त्** ॥

This word *udaśvit* literally means that which grows by water. It is the name of whey in which *half* is water and *half* curd. Thus **औदभित्कम्**, or **औदभितः** by **अण्** ॥ The **इत्** and **उस्** are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, **आशिषिकः** (= **आशिषा अरति**), **औदिकः** (= **उषा अरति**) ॥

Vart:—So also after **दोस्**, as **दोष्कः** (**दोर्धोपपत्तिः**) ॥

१२२२ । क्षीरादृढम् । ७ । २ । २० ॥

यस्य संस्कृतमित्येव संबध्यते ननु भजा इति । तेन यथाग्यामवि भवति । क्षैरेवी ॥

1222. The affix **ढम्** comes in the sense of 'prepared', after the word 'kshira', ending in the locative case in construction.

The word 'prepared' only is applicable here, and not 'food'; and therefore the derivative applies to **यथागम्** (which is not an article of food, ?).

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **क्षीरे संस्कृतः** = **क्षैरेवी यथागम्** 'milky gruel'.

१२२३ । सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीनि । ४ । २ । २१ ॥

इतिगम्यासंज्ञायागमि सभवे । पौर्णे पौर्णमासी गमिन् पौर्णे मासः ॥

1223. The affix **अण्** comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. *पौर्णमासीति* "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after *पौर्णमासी* is used for the sake of reading the word *संज्ञायाम्* in the sūtra. It does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini; but is added by the author of the Kāśikā from a Vārtika; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year".

Thus *पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन्* = *पौषी मासः* 'the month Pausa i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'.

Note :—Similarly *पौषाऽर्द्धमासः* and *पौषः संवत्सरः* ॥ But not so in the following *पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे*, because *daśarātra* is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and *संज्ञायाम्* have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word *संज्ञायाम्* added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

Note :—The word *पौर्णमासी* is formed by adding अण् to *पूर्णिमा* ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way :—*पुर्णी माः* = *पूर्णिमा*, *पूर्णिमा* इयम् = *पौर्णमासी* ॥ The word माः means "moon".

१२२४। आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाह् ४।२।२२॥

अग्ने ग्रहयमस्य इत्याग्रहायणी । प्रज्ञापकृतिमगत्याहम् । पूर्ववदाश्वत्थाहिति जलम् ।
आग्रहायणी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् आग्रहायणीको मासः । अश्वत्थे तु पुनः पौर्णमासी अश्वत्थः । निवासना-
श्वत्थीतिस्वादि लृप् । आश्वत्थिकः ॥

1224. The affix अह् comes, in the sense of the locative case, after the words '*āgrahāyaṇi*' and '*aśvattha*' ending in the first-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words *सुस्मिन्पौर्णमासीति* of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ The word *āgrahāyaṇi* is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning *agre hāyanam asyāh* : "that which has the year (*hāyana*) before it"—or with which the year commences. It takes the affix अण्, because it belongs to *Prajñādi* class which is an *ākṛitigaṇa* (V. 4. 38 S. 2106). Thus अग्र + हायन + अण् = *आग्रहायण* ॥ The न is changed to ज by VIII. 4. 3. S. 857. Thus *आग्रहायणिको मासः* 'the month called *Āgrahāyaṇika* i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of *Āgrahāyaṇa*. Similarly the day in which the full moon occurs in the asterism *aśvattha* is called *aśvattha*. The affix denoting time is elided as *nipātana*. From it we have *आश्वत्थिकः* ॥

१२२५ । चिमाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः । ४ । २ । २३ ॥

एभ्यश्चा षष्ठेऽण् । फाल्गुनिकः । फाल्गुनो नासः । श्रवणिकः । श्रवणः । कार्तिकिकः । कार्तिकः । चैत्रिकः । चैत्रः ॥

1225. The affix ठक् optionally comes after the words 'Phālgunī', 'Śravanā', Kārtikī' and 'Chaitrī' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full in those asterisms.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रवणः or श्रवणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् which also comes in the alternative

१२२६ । साऽस्य देवता । ४ । २ । २४ ॥

इन्द्रो देवताऽस्येति ऐन्द्रं इविः । पाशुपतम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । त्वज्यमानद्रव्ये उद्देयविशिष्यो देवता मन्त्रस्तुत्या च । ऐन्द्रो मन्त्रः । आश्रियो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतयेति तु वैयिकेऽयं सर्वव्याप्तिरिति ठक् ॥

1226. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of "as his".

⟨स= 'after a word in the first case in construction' यस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case'. देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus इन्द्रो देवताऽस्य = ऐन्द्रम् इविः 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly पाशुपतम् 'oblation belonging to Paśupati'. So also बार्हस्पत्यम् ॥

Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥

In the sentence ऐन्द्रो मन्त्रः the word *indra* means the *kyapa* by which Indra is praised while oblation is offered. The affix is added, therefore, to, denote the mantra by which a devatā is praised, and who is referred to, while the offering is thrown into fire. (Mantra-stutyā = mantrēṣa stutyā. Stutyā is a feminine word in apposition with devatā, and formed by *kyap* and *ṭāp*. See III. 1. 109. S. 2857). And in आश्रियो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतयेति the affix ठक् is added by IV. 2. 33 S. 1236 in the *śāisika* sense to *agni*. It is added by analogy.

Note:—The whole phrase साऽस्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV. 2. 35 S. 1238. Although the word स was understood in this sūtra by *anuvṛtti* from sūtra IV. 2. 21 S. 1223, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛtti* of देवता does not

extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puroḍaṣa &c offered in a sacrifice'.

१२२७ । कस्येत् । ४ । २ । २५ ॥

कस्येदस्य इति वाः स्वात्मस्य सन्निधौ नेम । यस्येति लोपात्वरत्नासादिवृद्धिः । को ब्रह्मा देवतास्य कायं हविः । श्रीदेवतास्य आयम् ॥

1226. The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added.

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं "oblation sacred to Ka". As कायं हविः ॥ Similarly आदे from श्री "the oblation sacred to Śrī". (The rule VI. 4. 148. S. 311 required the elision of इ before अण्; but it is prevented by the rule of vṛiddhi VII. 2. 117 S. 1075 which is subsequent to it.)

१२२८ । शुक्रादन् । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

शुक्रियम् ॥

1228. The affix वन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'śukra'.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073). Thus शुक्र + वन् = शुक्रियम् हविः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra'. Thus शुक्रियोऽध्यायः ॥

१२२९ । अपोनप्तपात्राप्तृभ्यां घः । ४ । २ । २७ ॥

अपोनप्त्रियम् । अपात्राप्तियम् । अपोनपात् अपात्रपाद्य देवता । मलयसन्निधौ नेम तृक्तं रूपं निपात्यते । अत एवापोनपाते अपात्रपातेऽनुवृद्धिर्हि त्रैषः ॥

1229. The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptri' and 'apānnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपानप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपानपात् are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्त् when the affix is to be added, otherwise they retain their form. As in the directory sentence : अपोनपाते अपात्रपातेऽनुवृद्धिः ॥

१२३० । छ च । ४ । २ । २८ ॥

योगविनामो यथाखंखनिवृत्त्यर्थः । अपोनप्त्रीयम् ॥ अपानप्त्रीयम् ॥

सत्तत्त्वाद्य * ॥ चाच्छः । सत्ते रुद्रा देवता अस्य सत्तत्त्वाद्यम् । सत्तत्त्वीयम् । पञ्चमो विधानसाधनार्थाद्वृद्धिर्गोर्लुगनपते इति न लुक् ॥

1230. Also 'Chha.' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apānnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptṛi and Apānnaptṛi. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्वीयं or अपानप्त्वीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apānnapât'.

Note :—This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule I. 3. 10 S. 128. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus : "The affixes ष and छ come after Aponaptṛi and Apānnaptṛi", the meaning of which according to I. 3. 10 S. 128 would have been "the affix ष comes after Aponaptṛi, and छ after Apānnaptṛi". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

Vart :—The word सतरुद्र takes ष and छ both in the sense of 'that its deity,' e. g. सतरुद्रीयम् and सतरुद्वेयं ॥ The luk-elision of taddhita after Dvigu words taught by IV. 1. 38 S. 1080 does not take place here; for then the Vārtika would have become useless. The very fact that affixes are ordained after the Dvigu word satarudra sets aside the rule of elision by implication.

१२३१ । महेंद्राद्याणौ च । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

आच्छः । महेंद्रियं इति । महेंद्रम् । महेंद्रीयम् ॥

1231. The affix छ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेंद्रीयम् इति : = महेंद्रम् and महेंद्रियम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

१२३२ । सोमाब् व्यण् । ४ । २ । ३०

सौम्यम् । दिशान्दीप् ॥ सौमी ऋक् ॥

1232. The affix व्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ (The छ of व्यण् causes Vṛddhi. The ष causes the affixing of ङीप् in the feminine.) Thus सौम्यं इति; सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + ङीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470) = सौम + ई (VI. 4. 150 S. 472) = सौमी ॥

१२३३ । वाय्वृतुविब्रुपसो यत् । ४ । २ । ३१ ॥

वायव्यम् । ऋतव्यम् ॥

1233. The affix यत् comes after the names of 'vāyu', 'ritu', Pitrī' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम् ॥ The next form विहृ + यत् requires the following sūtra for its evolution.

१२३४ । शिङ्गुतः । ७ । ४ । २७ ॥

अङ्गुलकोऽसर्पधातुके यकारे व्यौ च परे ऋतुनाहृत्य शिङ्गुदेशः स्यात् । यद्वेति च । विज्यम् च परस्यम् ॥

1234. री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Kṛit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix द्वि ॥

The anuvṛtti of किरृति is, however, not understood in this sūtra; (that of चै and अकृत्स्नार्थादुक्तयोः is present.) The किरृत् and द्वि not being understood here, we have पितृदेवताभ्यः = पित्र्यप् which is thus formed विन् + यन् = पित्री + वै = पित्र् + य (इ being elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311). So also उपस्यम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say short इ? Observe चेकीर्षते, from कृ विक्षिपे, with यश् षतदृष्ट पातोः and हलिच् lengthening. विजेगिस्वते from कृ and गु ॥

१२३५ । यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमेवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाञ्छ च ।
४ । २ । ३२ ॥

यावात् । यावापृथिवीभ्यः । यावापृथिव्यम् । शुनासीरीभ्यः । शुनासीर्यम् ॥

1235. The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvā-Prithivī', 'Śunāsira', 'Marutvat', 'Agnishoma', 'Vāstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अञ् and ष्य ॥ Thus यावापृथिवीभ्यम् or यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीभ्यम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Śuna (Wind) and Śira (Sun)' (VI. 3. 26 S. 922 for the lengthening of the अ of शुन.) मरुत्वतीभ्यम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीभ्यम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीभ्यम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीभ्यम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

Note :—According to Haradatta, Śunāsira is an epithet of Indra, Marutvā is also a name of Indra, meaning 'Lord of Maruts'. Agnishoma is formed by VI. 3. 27. S. 923. Vāstoshpati is an irregularly formed word = Vāstunah pati.

१२३६ । अग्नेदेक् । ४ । २ । ३३ ॥

अग्नेयम् ॥

1236. The affix दक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निर्वचसास्त्व = अग्नेयः ॥

१२३७ । कालेभ्यो भववत् । ४ । २ । ३४ ॥

कालिकम् । प्रापृषेण्यम् ॥

1237. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 to IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 (read with IV. 3. 53 S. 1428), the affix **इञ्** comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there.' The same affix will also come in the sense of **सास्यदेवता** ॥ Thus **मासे भवे** = **मासिकम्** (**मास** + **इञ्** = **मास** = **इक** VII. 3. 50 S. 1170); **प्रावृत्तेऽयम्** (IV. 3. 17 S. 1388) meaning 'monthly' and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as **मासे देवतास्य मासिकम्** ॥ &c.

१२३८ । महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाद्वञ् । ४ । २ । ३५ ॥

महाराजिकम् । प्रोष्ठपदिकम् ॥

1238. The affix **उञ्** comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahārāja' and 'Proshṭhapada'.

Thus **महाराजो देवतास्य** = **महाराजिकम्**, **प्रोष्ठपदिकम्** ॥

१२३९ । द्येताद्वन्द्वे च । ७ । ३ । २१ ॥

अथ दृष्टौ चरपदयोराद्यर्थो वृद्धिः स्यात् त्रिविधं णिति किति च परे । आग्निमारुतम् ॥

1239. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्**, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of the both members of a Dvanda compound of the names of Devatas.

As **आग्निमारुती** in **आग्निमारुतीः** = **अङ्गुलीमालमेव** ॥ **आग्निमारुतं** कर्म ॥

Note :—The rule applies to Devatas relating to hymns (**सूक्त**) and sacrificial offerings (**हवि**) ॥ Therefore, not here. **स्कान्दविशाखी देवतेऽस्य** = **स्कान्दविशाखः** (IV. 2. 24 S. 1226). So also **ब्राह्मणजापयम्** by **व्य** from **ब्राह्मणजापती** ॥ See VI. 3. 28 S. 922.

The short **इ** in the **आग्नि** in **आग्निमारुत**, **आग्निवाहयम्** is by VI. 3. 28 S. 922.
 < A compound relates to a śukta, which worships a deva through hymns; and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to the sacrificial offering >

१२४० । नेन्द्रस्य परस्य । ७ । ३ । २२ ॥

परस्तेन्द्रस्य वृद्धिर्न स्यात् । सीमेन्द्रः । परस्य क्तिन् । देन्द्राग्रः ॥

1240. But the Vṛiddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **ञ्**, **ण्** or **क्** ॥

As **सीमेन्द्रः**, **आग्निन्द्रः** ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe **देन्द्राग्रमेकादशकपालं पदं निर्वपेत्** ॥

Note :—There are two vowels in the word **इन्द्र**, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i. e. the **ण्** or the last vowel is elided by VI. 4. 148 S.

311. and the other (i. e. the इ) coalesces with the last vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण् = सोम + इन्द्र + अ = सोमे + इन्द्र + अ ॥ Now, (no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form इन्द्र) so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim: बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्व कार्यं भवति, पश्चादिकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तरमिति सकार्यान् पूर्ववत्तरङ्गाऽप्येकाद्विती न ॥ "The substitution of one vowel of the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does not, even when it is antarangā, take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound" (It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वोदुक्तमक्षयम् (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इदु having merged in पूर्व), would have been viddhi'd.

१२४१ । दीर्घाच्च वक्ष्यस्य । ७ । ३ । २३ ॥

दीर्घत्वरस्य वक्ष्यस्य न वृद्धिः । ऐन्द्रावरुणम् । दीर्घात्त्वम् । आग्निवारुणीमन्त्रादीनामेत ॥ सप्तमिस्वर्गत् इति स्वयन्तादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ माययाज्ञिकः कालः । पाकयज्ञिकः ॥ पूर्णमासादण् वक्ष्यः * ॥ पूर्णमासोद्भवां वर्तते इति पूर्णमासी तिथिः ॥

1241. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the viddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वक्ष्य, when a long vowel precedes it.

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैचावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणौ &c (VI. 3. 26 S. 922). Why do we say 'a long vowel'? Observe आग्निवारुणीम् in आग्निवारुणीमन्त्रादीनामेत where a short vowel precedes it.

Note:—This word is derived from the compound word एग्नीवरुणौ the इ of एग्नि being lengthened by VI. 3. 27 S. 923. But in forming a Taddhita-derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI. 3. 28 S. 925, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वक्ष्य ॥

Vart:—After the words नक्षत्रम् &c the affix टण् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नक्षत्रोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = माययाज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः ॥

Vart:—After the words पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोद्भवां वर्तते = पूर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

१२४२ । पितृव्यमातृलमातामहपितामहाः । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

एतेनिवात्यन्ते ॥

पितृर्नातरि व्यन् * ॥ पितृर्नातो पितृव्यः ॥ मातृर्लक्ष्ण * ॥ मातृर्नाता मातृलः ॥

मातृर्विदुर्मां पितरि ब्राम्हण्य ॥ शत्रुः पिता मातामहः । पित्रः पिता पितामहः ॥ मातरि पितृ * ॥ मातामही । पितामही ॥

अवेदुंये सोढदुसमरीसचो वक्तव्याः * ॥ सकारपाठसामर्थ्यात् षः । अविशोढम् अविदुसम् ।
अविमरीसम् ॥

तिलानिष्फलानिष्फलेपजी * ॥ तिलविष्जः । तिलपेजः । वन्धस्तिल इत्यर्थः ॥

विष्जगच्छन्ति विष्ज * ॥ तिलविष्जः ॥

1242. The words *pitrivya*, 'a father's brother', *mâtula*, 'a mother's brother', *mâtâmaha*, 'a mother's father' and *pitâmaha*, 'a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following.

Vartika:—विह्वलभ्यां श्रान्तिर्यच्च दुलभौ "the affixes व्यञ् and दुलभ come respectively after the words *pitri* and *mâtři* in the sense of his or her brother'. Thus *विह्वल* and *मत्तुल* respectively.

Vartika:—पतृणां पितरि ङामहश्च, मातरिदिष ॥ The affix *ḍāmahach* comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ष् ॥ Thus *पितामहः* (f. *पितामही*), *मातामहः* (f. *मातामही*) ॥

Vart:—The affixes सोढ, दूस्, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेदुंये=अविशोढम् or अविदुसम् or अविमरीसम् ॥ The स is not changed to ष in these; for if it was so changed, the author would have read दोढम् &c in the rule, in order to shorten the process. The fact of his using सोढम् &c shows that the स is not to be changed to ष in these examples.

Vart:—The affixes विष्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्फलस्तिलः=तिलविष्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

Vart:—The affix विष्ज् is treated like ङित् in the Chhandas. As तिलविष्जः ॥

१२४३ । तस्य समूहः । ४ । २ । ३७ ॥

काकाणां समूहः काकम् । बा हम् ।

1243. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

Thus काकाणां समूहः = काकम् ॥ So also बाहम् ॥

Note:—The affix सम् (IV. 1. 83 §. 1073) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction in the sense of collection. What is the example

of this ? (In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply.) In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udatta accent on the first syllable, which does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix इत् by IV. 2. 47 S. 1256, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अण् IV. 3. 44 S. 1419, a Gotra word will take इम् IV. 2. 39 S. 1246 and especial words like कैदार &c take यम् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we get is :—काकानां समूहः = काकम् 'a collection of crows' शकम् ॥ The phrase सत्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up of sūtra IV. 2. 51 S. 1260 inclusive.

Vārt.—The affix भानच् comes after the words सुण् &c. As सुणभानः 'a collection of qualities', करणभानः &c. The following are some of such words—सुण्, करण, सत्य, शब्द, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an śkritigana.)

१२४४ । भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ३८ ॥

भिक्षानां समूहो भैक्षम् । गर्भिणीनां समूहो गार्भिणम् । इह भत्याह इति पुनश्चापे कृते ॥

1244. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshā' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षानां समूहः = भैक्षम् "what is collected in the shape of alms". So also गार्भिणम् ॥ It is thus formed गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिणम् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory इ, भत्याह सङ्क्षिप्ते See VI. 3. 35 S. 836 Vārtika) Now the sūtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679 requires the elision of the syllable इन् of गर्भिन्, but the following sūtra prevents that

१२४५ । इन्नयनपत्ये । ६ । २ । १६४ ॥

अनपत्यायेऽणि परे इन् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । तेन नस्तद्धित इति विलोपी न । पुनस्तीनां समूहो यौवनम् । शब्दनादश्रुताच्चादेशेन यौवनम् ॥

1245. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Therefore there is not the elision of the final syllable, though required by VI. 4. 144 S. 679. Thus we get गार्भिणम् ॥ Similarly यौवनम् from युवति ॥ This word is anudatta-accented on the first syllable, and would have taken

यम् (IV. 2. 44 S. 1253) but takes अण्, and hence it is included in the Bhikshādī class. When युवति becomes masculine, the ति ceases, and we have युवन् + अण् = यौवनम् "a collection of young women."

The word यौवनम् however is another form. Here the affix added is यम् (IV. 2. 44 S. 1253) and not अण्, and it is added to युवन् ending in यत् affix; which has anudatta on the first syllable.

१२४६ । मोक्षोक्षोष्टोरस्रराजराज्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद्वुम् । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

एभ्यः समुद्धे वुम् इत्यत् । जैत्रिकमिह मोक्षं तस्यापत्यमात्रम् ॥

1246. The affix वुम् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputra', 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word मोक्ष is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. The वृ of the affix वुम् is replaced by अक्ष by the following sūtra.

१२४७ । युवोरनाफौ । ७ । १ । १ ॥

यु यु एतयोरनुनासिकयोः प्रमाणेन अक्ष एतावादेकौ स्तः । अनुयुक्तायनीनां समुद्धे ग्लौयुक्तायनकम् । मोक्षकदित्यादि । आपत्यस्य चेति दलावे गति ॥

प्रकृत्याऽके राजन्यमनुष्यपुत्रानः * ॥ राजन्यकम् । नातुष्यकम् ॥

पुत्राद्येति यत्प्रत्यय * ॥ वार्धकम् ॥

1247. For यु and वु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

Note :—(यु and वु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi-vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised.) The अन replaces यु, and अक replaces वु ॥ Thus एयु (III. 1. 134 S. 2896) = अन. as नन् + एयु = नननः रमणः ॥ So also द्यु and द्युल (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391), as सार्धतनः धिरतनः ॥ वु we find in वुम् (III. 1. 133 S. 2895), as कृ + वुम् = कारकः, दारकः ॥ So also वुम् (IV. 3. 28 S. 1478) as वामुदेवकः वामुतकः ॥

Thus अनुयुक्तायनीनां समुद्धः = ग्लौयुक्तायनकम् । So also यौवकम् from वुत्, वीष्टकम् from वृत् ; शौरकम् from वृत् and राजकम् from राज ॥ But राजन्य + वुम् requires the elision of य by VI. 4. 151 S. 1032. This, however, is prevented by the following vārtika.

Vārtika :—The anasay of अनुयु and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक्ष is added (VI. 4. 150 S. 472). Thus राजन्यक्षम्, नातुष्यकम् ॥

The other words of sūtra IV. 2. 39. S. 1246 exhibit no irregularity. As राजपुत्रकम्, वात्सकम् and चात्रकम् ॥

Vārtika:—The affix युञ् comes also after the word वृद्ध e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men.

Why do we say nasalised यु and यु? Observe कर्णाय युञ् (V. 2. 123. S. 1929). Here the यु is not replaced by ण, and we have कर्णायुः ॥ So also in मुजिह्वन्त्या युञ् ॥ Here the यु of युञ् and खुञ् (Up III. 21) are not replaced by ण; as मुज्युः and वृष्युः ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal. There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रविहानुनासिकयाः पाणिनीयाः ॥

१२४८ । केदारघञ् ४ । २ । ४० ॥

चाद्रुञ् । केदारघञ् । केदारकम् ॥

गणिकाया यमिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गणिक्यम् ॥

1248. The affix यञ् as well as the affix युञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof.'

This debars इक् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदारघञ् समूहः = केदार्यम् or केदारकम् ॥

Vārt:—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गणिक्यम् ॥

१२४९ । कवचघञ् ४ । २ । ४१ ॥

कावेकवारघञ् । कवचिनां समूहः कावचिकम् ॥ केदारिकम् ॥

1249. The affix ङञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'kedāra', and also after the word 'kavachin'.

We read the anuvṛtti of केदार in this Sūtra, by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus कवचिनां समूहः = कावचिकम् (VI. 4. 164 S. 1245); and केदारिकम्

१२५० । ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाघञ् ४ । २ । ४२ ॥

ब्राह्मण्यम् । माणव्यम् । वाडव्यम् ॥

पुत्रादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पुत्रव्यम् ॥

1250. The affix यञ् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof,' after the words 'brāhmaṇa', 'mānava', and 'vādava'.

(The indicator य् of यञ् makes the word take udātta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197)) Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vārt:—Also after the word पुत्र e. g. पुत्रव्यम् ॥

१२५१ । ग्रामजनबन्धुभ्यस्तल् । ४ । २ । ४३ ॥

ग्रामता । जनता । बन्धुता ॥

गजसहाय्यां येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गजता । सहायता ॥

अहुः सः क्रतौ * ॥ अहीनः । अहर्गणसाध्यमुत्थाकः ऋतुविर्यः । कर्तृ किम् । आहुः । इह
खण्डिकादित्याहम् । अदृश्योरेयेति गियानाहिलोपो न ॥

पश्चां भन् वक्तव्यः * ॥

1251. The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'grāma', 'jana', and 'bandhu'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages.' (The words ending in तल् are all feminine.) So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives'.

Vart:—The affix 'tal' comes after गज and सहाय also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants', सहायता 'a collection of allies.'

Vart:—The affix स is added to अहर्गु, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. अहीनः 'a Soma sacrifice lasting for several days,' (Kratu means a Soma-sacrifice extending over several days.) Otherwise the form is आहुः by भन् (see IV. 2. 45. S. 1254.) The final अर् here is not elided because of the restriction enunciated in VI. 4. 145 S. 789.

Vart:—The affix तल् comes after पशु, e. g. पार्श्वम् 'a collection of axes'. The final र् of पशु, is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पशु is treated as a pada-word and not a Bha-word by the next sūtra :—

१२५२ । सिति च । १ । ४ । १६ ॥

सिति परे पुं पदवत्त्वं त्वात् । अनल्लक्ष्यो न । पशूनां समूहः पार्श्वम् ॥

1252. When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

Therefore the र् of पशु does not take guṇa substitution. So we have पशूनांपशुदः = पार्श्वम् and not पार्श्वम्.

१२५३ । अनुदात्तादेरञ् । ४ । २ । ४४ ॥

कापोतम् । नायूरम् ॥

1253. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudātta on the first syllable.

Thus कापोतानां समूहः = कापोतम्, नायूरम् ।

१२५४ । खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४५ ॥

अम् स्यात् । खण्डिकानां समूहः खण्डिकम् ॥

1254. The affix अम् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'khāṇḍika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having āudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things, e. g. खण्डिकम्, पादवम् ॥

१२५५ । चरणेभ्यो धर्मेवत् । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

काठकम् । छान्दोग्यम् ॥

1255. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

Note :—The Vedic Schools or Charaṅgas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtras IV. 2. 126, S. 1506 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, S. 1506 or any where else, but it occurs in the following *iṣṭi* under that Sūtra :—चरणद्वर्गपाययोः ॥

Thus कठानां धर्मः=काठकम्, so also कलानां समूहः=कलापम् ॥ Similarly छान्दोग्यम् ॥

१२५६ । अचिच्छहस्तिधेनोष्ठम् । ४ । २ । ४७ ॥

साक्षुकम् । हास्तिकम् । धेनुकम् ॥

1256. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of non-living things and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars अक् and अम् ॥ The उपानां समूहः=अपुनिकम् । साक्षुकम् ॥ (The affix ठक् is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170) or क (VII. 3. 50 S. 1170)) Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, साक्षुजिकम् ॥

१२५७ । केशाश्वभ्यां यञ्छाचन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । ४८ ॥

पक्षे ठगणौ । कैश्यम् । कैशिकम् । अश्वीयम् । आश्वम् ॥

1257. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः=कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256), अश्वानां समूहः=आश्वम् (IV. 1. 63 S. 518) or अश्वीयम् ॥

१२५८ । पाशादिभ्यो यः । ४ । २ । ४९ ॥

पायसा । तुण्या । धूम्या । वन्या । वास्या ॥

1258. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus वास्या, मृग्या, धूम्या, वन्या and वास्या. (These words are feminine)

1 वास, 2 मृग, 3 धूम, 4 वान, 5 भक्षार, 6 पाटल (पाटलका K.), 7 पोष, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 गट (गड K.), 14 वन 15 बालक ॥
१२५६। खलुगोरथात् । ४ । २ । ५० ॥

खल्या । गव्या । रथ्या ॥

1259. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the वासादि class, in order that the next rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

१२६०। इनिप्रकटयच्च । ४ । २ । ५१ ॥

खलादिभ्यः क्रमास्त्युः । खलिनी । गोवा । रथकट्या ॥

खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ० ॥ डाकिनी । कुडुम्बिनी । प्राकृतिगयोऽयम् ॥

1260. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोवा रथकट्या ।

Vart :—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुडुम्बिनी, ॥ This is an ākpitigāṇa.

Vart :—The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As वामलखण्डम्, अम्बोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल, अम्बोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद, सरोज, नलिनी, कैटिपद्मी belong to this class. These are प्राकृतिगणः ॥

Vart :—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नारस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

Vart :—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, क्षरकाण्डम् ॥

१२६१। विषयो देशे । ४ । २ । ५२ ॥

पद्यन्तत्पदादयः स्युस्तन्तपरिशीतिदेशे स चदेशः । सिन्धीनां विषयो देशः शीतः । देशे किम् । देशस्य विषयोऽनुपाकः ॥

1261. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

Thus सिन्धीनां विषयो देशः—शैतः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibis'. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देशस्य विषयोऽनुपाकः ॥

Note :—The anuvṛtti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) does not extend further, but the anuvṛtti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37 S. 1243) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशः 'his sphere—in denoting a country.' (The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometimes it means an estate, as विषयो ग्रामः

'a village has been acquired.' Some times it means an object of perception, as **वक्ष** विषयो ह्रस्व 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word **देश** has been used in the *Sūtra*, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word **विषय** ॥

१२६२ । राजन्यादिभ्यो वुष् । ४ । २ । २३ ॥

राजन्यकः ॥

1262. The affix **वुष्** comes after the words *rājanya* &c, in the same sense.

This *debars* वृष् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः—राजन्यकः, ॥ It is an *आकृतिगणः* ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाधव्य*, 4 शासकायन, 5 देवदात (देवदातव; देवदान), 6 शत्रुदि, 7 वृत्ता*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन*, 10 वेत्तु*, 11 आत्मज्ञानेय, 12 अम्बरीष-उक्, 13 वसति, 14 देवदान, 15 शैल्य, 16 उद्गम्य, 17 तीव्र*, 18 वैतन्त्रज (वैतन्त्र्य) 19 आर्तनायन, 20 संश्रिय, 21 दासि, 22 कर्णनार्थ, 23 क्षात्रीय, 24 वीरिण, 25 वाचक, ॥

१२६३ । भौरिक्यवैधुकार्योद्विभ्यो विधलभक्तलौ । ४ । २ । २४ ॥

भौरिकीणां विषयो देशः भौरिकीविधम् । भौरिकिविधम् । ऐयुकारिभक्तम् । सारस्थानभक्तम् ॥

1263. The affixes '*vidhal*' and '*bhaktal*' come respectively after the words '*Bhauriki*', and '*Aishukāri* &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This *debars* वण ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधम् भौरिकिविधम् &c. ऐयुकारिभक्तम्, सारस्थानभक्तम् &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौरिकि, 3 चौरयत*, 4 चैवयत (चौरयत), 5 काणेय, 6 वाणि-जक, 7 वालिकाज्य (वाणिजाज्य; वालिज, वीरिज्यक), 8 सैकयत (सैकयत), 9 वैकयत, 10 वैषय ॥

1 ऐयुकारि, 2 सारिस्थान (सारस्थान), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 ब्राह्मणायन (ब्राह्मण), 6 शौडायन, 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासमिचि, 10 दासमिचयन, 11 शौडायन (शौडाय), 12 दाक्षायण, 13 सायणदायन*, 14 नाक्षत्रायण, 15 शीघ्रायण, 16 शौवीर, 17 शौवीरायण*, 18 शयण, 19 शौर्य, 20 शौर्यद, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्व-धेनव, 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डव, 25 विश्वेदेव (विश्वदेव and वैश्वेदेव), 26 सारिदि, 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 अन्नायत, 30 औलानायत ॥

१२६४ । सोऽस्यादिरिति क्न्दतः प्रगाधेषु । ४ । २ । २५ ॥

अण् । पङ्क्तिरादिरस्येति पाङ्क्तः प्रगाधः ॥

स्वार्थ उपसंख्यानम्* । विष्णुदेव अण्डुमे ॥

1264. The affix **अण्** (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) added to the names of *Metres*, indicates a *Pragātha* beginning there-with.

Note :—The words of this *sūtra* require a little explanation. <सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning

of the affix. (आदि: 'beginning', this qualifies the base or prakṛiti.) The word इति is added for the sake of precision. अनुत्तः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेयु (in the sense of Pragātha.) This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragātha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragātha beginning with that metre.

Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तिः which means "a Pragātha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागृतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragātha', the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragātha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragātha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvāka &c and not of a Pragātha. Pragātha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यत्र द्वे ऋषौ प्रगाथनेन विसः क्रियन्ते "प्रगाथनात् पङ्क्त्येवमात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vart :—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रिष्टुभः 'the metre Trisṭubha', जागृतः &c.

१२६५ । संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोज्यः । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

सौदस्यकुरुते । सुभद्रा प्रयोजनस्य संग्रामस्येति सौभद्रः । भरता सौदस्यस्य संग्रामस्य भारतः ॥

1265. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

Note :—The phrase सौदस्य is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case; and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योज्यः ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This सुभद्रः प्रयोजनस्य संग्रामस्य = सौभद्रः "A battle fought for Subhadrā". Similarly भारतः ॥

Note :—Why do we say "in the sense of a battle"? Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनस्य दानस्य 'Subhadrā is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा शेरिकास्य संग्रामस्य ॥

१२६६ । तदस्यां महत्त्वमिति क्रीडायां णः । ४ । २ । ५७ ॥

दण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां दण्डा । मौष्टा ॥

1266. The affix **य** added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means : 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play ; the affix **य** is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction, denoting the name of a weapon ; **य** is added to denote a play. Thus दण्डः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दण्डा "a game played with sticks". So also मौष्टा "a game played with fists".

Note :—Why do we say 'a weapon' ? Observe नाला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to नाला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game' ? Observe :—खड्गः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (1V. 1. 4 S. and 15), the feminine being formed by **या** ॥

१२६७ । घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः । ४ । २ । १८ ॥

पञ्चन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रपञ्चान्तादस्यमिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे ञप्रत्ययः स्यात् । घञ इति कृद्प्रहणादितिकारकपूर्वस्यापि महत्याम् ॥

1267. The affix **ञ**, added to a noun of action ending in the affix **घञ्** denotes an action occurring in that.

(These words are also feminine.) The meaning of the words of the aphorism is :—घञः "after a word ending in the affix घञ्"; सा 'that' अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. (क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix.) To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix **ञ** is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

The **घञ्** formed word may be preceded by a *gati*, or a *kāraka*, or an *upapada*, and the rule will still apply, as घञ् is a Kṛit affix. As an example under this sūtra, let us take the घञ् formed word पातः preceded by the upapada इयेन ॥ Thus इयेन + पात + ञ ॥ Now applies the following.

१२६८ । इयेनतिलस्य पाते ञे । ६ । १ । ७१ ॥

इयेन तिल एतयोर्द्विषागमः स्यात् अमलये परे पातशब्दे उच्यते । इयेनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते इयेनपातः शुभम् । तिलपातोऽस्यां वर्तते तैलपाता स्वरथा । इयेनतिलस्य किम् । दण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौ वर्तते दण्डपाता तिथिः ॥

1268. **सुप्** is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix **ञ** is added.

Thus इयेनपातोऽर्थो वर्तते—इयेनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ Thus इयेनपाता शुभम् । 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वरथा "an

oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown". Why do we say श्येन and तिल only? Observe दण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौवर्तते = दण्डपातः तिथिः; मौसलपाता तिथिः ॥

Note :—Why do we say before अ? Observe श्येनपातः ॥

१२६९. तदधीते गङ्गेद् ४।२।५६ ॥

व्याकरणमधीते वेद वा वैद्याकरणः ॥

1269. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In other words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As व्याकरणमधीते = वैद्याकरणः (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098) 'who knows grammar'. The word अह् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

१२७०। कृत्यथदिसूत्रान्ताह् ४।२।६० ॥

कृत्यविषयवर्धनमिषेद् अहन् । तेषां मुख्यार्थिभ्यो वेदितरि तत्प्रतिपादकमन्यपरेभ्यस्त्वयेतरि । प्रामिष्टोक्तिकः । शृङ्गपयिकः । उक्थं सामविष्टोपस्तुतक्षणपरो ग्रन्थविशेषो ज्ञान्ययोक्यम् । तदधीते वेद वा औपयिकः ॥

सुखाध्यायार्थान्यशब्दाङ्गमणौ नेष्टेते ० ॥ न्यायम् नैयायिकः । वृत्तिम् वार्तिकः । लोकायतम् लोकायतिक इत्यादि ॥

सूत्रान्तात्प्रकृत्योदेवेष्टेते ० ॥ सांभदसत्रिकः । अकम्पादेः कित् । कान्त्यसूत्रः ॥

विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तापोति वक्तव्यम् ० ॥ वायसविधिकः । गौतमनिकः । आश्वलमनिकः । पातञ्जलनिकः ॥

चक्रसमर्थगर्भपूरीद्विद्यान्तान्नेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आह्वयिकः । स्तान्नयिकः । धार्मयिकः । त्रिविधा विद्या त्रिविधा तानमिषे वेद वा वैविद्यः ॥

वाक्यानां वाक्याधिकोतिहासपुगलेभ्यश्च ० ॥ दयस्तीतमधिकृत्य कृतमाख्यानमुपपाराम्यपक्षीतं तदधीते वेत्ति वा वाक्यनिकः । वाक्यवृत्तानामधिकृत्य कृतं वाक्याविज्ञां वाक्यवदत्ता । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यर्थे वृत्तादर्थः । तस्य लुपाखयादिकाभ्यो बहुवचनमिति सूत्रं । ततोऽन्येन वृत् । वास्तववृत्तिकः । ऐतिहासिकः । सौराणिकः ॥

सर्षपेः सारिषं लुपन्क्तव्यः * ॥ सर्ववेदानधीते सर्ववेदः । सर्वसन्तः । सर्वाधिकः । द्विगोलुगिति लुक् । द्वितन्त्रः ॥

इकन्वदोत्तरपदाक्षरवष्टेः दिकन्वयः * ॥ पूर्वपरदिकः । उत्तरपरदिकः । शतपरदिकः । शतपरदिकी । षट्षपरदिकः । षट्षपरदिकी ॥

1270. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word sūtra.

This debars अण् ॥ When the base has the primary sense of 'sacrifice', then the force of the affix is 'he who knows that sacrifice'; when it means the book treating of that sacrifice, then the force of the affix is, 'he who *studies* that book.' Thus आग्निहोत्रिकः 'who understands Agnishōma Sacrifice or studies the book teaching it'. राजपेयिकः, औन्नयिकः ॥ Uktha is a kind of sāma. The book treating of it is also called Uktha by a figure of speech. लोकायनिकः, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकः, संहसूत्रिकः, ॥

Isthī :—The affixes इक् and अण् do not come after the word वक्ष्य when used in its primary sense. Therefore औन्नयिकः always means 'one who studies the prātisākhya of the Sāma Veda' and never means 'he who understands वक्ष्य' ॥

Similarly न्याय्य or नैयायिकः, वृत्तिम् or वार्त्तिकः; लोकायनम् or लोकायनिकः &c. All these are words of the उक्तादि class, for a list of which see below.

As regards सूत्रान्त words to which also this sūtra is applicable, we must remember the following.

Isthī :—The affix इक् comes after a stem ending with the word सूत्र when the preceding word in composition is not कल्प ॥ Thus संहसूत्रिकः from संहसूत्र meaning 'one who studies Sangraha sūtra.' Why do you say 'when the preceding word is not सूत्र'? Observe कल्पसूत्रः 'one who studies Kalpa sūtra'; formed by the affix अण् and not इक् ॥

Vdr :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसपिथिकः, मौलसूत्रिकः, भाष्यलक्षयिकः पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

Vart :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, सूत्र, धर्म संसर्ग and वि ॥ As अंगविद्यामधीने = आङ्गविद्या, क्षात्रविद्या, धर्मविद्या, संसर्गविद्या, वैविद्या ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not इक् ॥

The word त्रैविद्यः; has this peculiarity that it is formed from the word त्रिविद्य meaning "three sorts of knowledge" (त्रिविधविद्या) ॥ If we analyse the word as त्रिविद्योऽधीने then, the form would be त्रिविद्यः and not त्रैविद्यः for it would be then हस्तितर्यद्विद्यु in which the affix would be elided by IV. 1. 88. S. 1080,

Vart :—The affix इक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यानिका), and after the words हस्तिहास and दुराण ॥ As यावकृतिकः, वासवदत्तिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, वैराणिकः ॥

The story describing the adventures of Yavakṛta, is called by a figure of speech Yavakṛta. He who studies or knows the work यवक्रीतम् is यावक्रीतिकः ॥ Similarly the story relating to Vāsavadattā is वासवदत्ता ॥ Here the affix इक् is ordained by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337 with the force of the sūtra IV. 3. 87 S. 1467.

But this affix is elided by the *Vartika* लुप्तस्यपिक्वांशो बहुलम् 'there is diversely the elision of the affix after words denoting 'narratives'. So छ being elided, the form remains as वासवदत्ता to which is added टक् ॥ So we get वासवदत्तिकः ॥

Vart:—This affix is elided after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, 'one who studies all the Vedas'; So also सर्वतन्त्रः। सर्वार्तिकः, ॥

He who studies two Tantras will be called द्वितन्त्रः Here the samāsānta affix is elided by IV. 1. 88 S. 1080.

Vart:—The affix इकम् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद् ; as, पूर्वपदिकः and उत्तरपदिकः ॥

Vart:—The affix पिकम् comes in the same sense, after the compound words शतपद्य, and शट्पद्य ॥ As शतपद्यिकः f. शतपद्यिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498), शट्पद्यिकः (f. शट्पद्यिकी) ॥

1 उक्थ्य, 2 लोकायत, 3 म्याय, 4 म्यात, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त
8 द्विपदा, 9 व्योतिष (द्विपदी, व्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद्, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 पश्चा, 15 क्रमेतर, 16 उत्तर, 17 संहिता, 18 परक्रम (पद। क्रम) 19 संघट्ट (संपात also संपट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिवद्, 22 संघट्ट, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणाद्युप st. गण, गुण), 25 आधुर्वेद, 26 अनुगुण ॥

१२७१। कमादिभ्यो वुन्। ४। २। ६१ ॥

कमकः। कम, पद, विद्या, मीमांसा, इति क्रमादिः ॥

1271. The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कमकः (VII. 2. 1 S. 2297) पदकः &c. The words 1 कम, 2 पद, 3 विद्या, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

१२७२। अनुब्राह्मणदिनिः। ४। २। ६२ ॥

अधीने सहेत्यपि। ब्राह्मणपदो मन्थोऽनुब्राह्मणं तदधीते अनुब्राह्मणी। मन्थयिनेषु सिद्धे अण्वाध्वार्थमिति ॥

1272. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrāhmaṇa'.

This debars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brāhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनी, &c. The affix इति also has the force of गतृ, and by Sūtra V. 2. 115 S. 1932 गतृ इति एवो, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इति and ट् in the sense of गतृ; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इति in that sense. Though it would have taken इति by the V. 2. 115 S. 1922; its separate

mention here is for the sake of preventing the application of अण् । In the Bhāṣya however this Sūtra is declared superfluous, which implies that अण् also is added.

१२७३ । वसन्तादिभ्यष्टक् । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

वासन्तिकः । अथर्षाणमधीति आथर्वणिकः । दण्डिदनायमेति खदे निपातनाहिलोपो न ॥

1273. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or who knows,' after the words 'vasanta' &c.

This dabars अण् । As, वासन्तिकः 'one who studies the book relating to the Spring.' आथर्वणिकः &c । The final अण् of अथर्वन् is not elided because the form is so exhibited in the sūtra VI. 4. 174 S., 1145.

1 वसन्त, 2 व्रीह, 3 वर्षा, 4 शरद, 5 हेमन्त, 6 शिशिर, 7 मयन, 8 शुण, 9 परन, 10 अनुशुण, 11 अथर्वन्, 12 आथर्वन् ॥

१२७४ । प्रोक्ताल्लुक् । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

प्रोक्तार्थकप्रत्ययात्परस्याध्वेयैवैवद्विभक्तवस्य लुक् स्यात् । पणर्न पणः । पण्यै कविधानमिति च । सौप्त्यास्तीति पणी, तस्यै गौत्रापत्यं पाणिनः ॥

1274. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting 'one who studies or who knows that' are elided by 'luk.'

Note :—This sūtra may be rendered in the following way also :—“There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer.” The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम्, 'the system of Grammar enounced by 'Pāṇini.' पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also कविशालः । The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning 'the system of Grammar,' and पाणिनीयै formed with ण्य, meaning 'who studies that Grammar' would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी । For, had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, ण्यै would be required by VI. 1. 15 S. 2409, as the word would end in ण्यन्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (ण्यन् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 8 S. 3708). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by ण्य, and the accent is on the middle, owing to the लुक् affix. (Phit Sa 11. 19).

The word पाणिनी is thus derived : पण has the same meaning as पणन; this last word is formed by the addition of the affix क् having the force of the affix ण्य (See the *Vārtika* under III. 3. 58 S. 3234). One who has पण 'wealth' is called पणिन् which is formed by adding the affix णिन् to पण by V. 2. 115. S. 1922 The gotra 'descendant' of पणिन् will be पाणिनः formed by the affix अण् । Thus पणिन् + अण् = पाणिन ॥ The final ण्य of पणिन्यै is not elided by the following sūtra :—

१२७५ । गायिचिदधिकेशिगायिपणिनश्च । ६ । ४ । १८५ ॥

एतेऽणि प्रकृत्या स्युः । इति दिनेषो न । सतो यूनि इम् । पाणिनिः ॥

1275. गायिन्, विदधिन्, केशिन्, गयिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गायिनोऽपत्यं = गायिनः । So also, वैदधिन्, कैशिन्, गायिन्, and पाणिन् । This sūtra applies to Patronymics. To the word गायिन् thus formed, we add the युवन् Patronymic affix इम् । Thus we get गयिनिः । Then applies the following sūtra :—

१२७६ । प्रत्यक्षत्रियार्पणितो यूनि लुगणितोः । २ । ४ । ५८ ॥

प्रत्यक्षत्वान्तात्त्रियर्णोऽप्रत्ययान्ताद्दक्षिणधायिनो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताद् भित्तश्च परयोर्गुणभित्ति-
नोरणिमोर्लुक् स्यात् । कौरव्यः पिता । कौरव्यः पुत्रः । स्वाफल्कः पिता । स्वाफल्कः पुत्रः । यासिष्ठः
पिता । यासिष्ठः पुत्रः । तैकायनिः पिता । तैकायनिः पुत्रः । एभ्यः किम् । त्रियायणः । कौटिल्यः पिता । तत
इम् । कौटिल्यः पुत्रः । युनि किम् । वामरघ्यस्य छात्राः वामरधाः । इति ऋणो लुक् तु न भवति ।
सार्धमहणेन प्रतिपेक्षस्य श्रव्यण एव महणात् । पाणिनिना मेक्तं पाणिनीयम् । बृहदारण्यकः । इमं श्रवणं
तु न । गोत्रे य इम् संप्रदानादिति यदयमाशङ्क्यात् । सतोऽप्येतद्वेदिनोर्लुक् । स्वर भिदां च विभक्तः ।
पाणिनीयः । पाणिनीयाः ॥

1276. After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्य (IV. 1. 151 S. 1175) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi 'seer,' and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicative अ्, the affix अण् and इम् employed in forming युवन् (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendants,' are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1. Thus by IV. 1. 151 S. 1175 (the affix ण्य comes after कुरु &c., in denoting descendant) we get कुरु+ण्य=कौरव्यः (VII. 2. 117 S. 1075) 'a grandson of Kuru.' This is a Gotra word (IV. 1. 162 S. 1089). Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix. Thus कौरव्य+इम् (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095). Now this इम् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्यः which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV. 1. 163 S. 1090) 'descendant of Kuru.' So that कौरव्यः is the name both of the father and the son.

Note:—Now it may be objected : the word कौरव्यः belongs to the तिक्तादि class and by IV. 1. 154 S. 1178, it will take the affix किम् । Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यादिकिः (VII. 1. 2 S. 457). To this we reply, the word कौरव्यः which we see in that list of तिक्त् &c., is not the word कौरव्यः which we formed by adding ण्य under rule IV. 1. 151 S. 1175; that Tikādi word is formed by अण् under rule IV. 1. 172 S. 1190, and is confined to Kshatriya. The कौरव्यः which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV. 1. 151.

2. Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya. We take IV. 1. 114 S. 1117 which tells us that 'the affix ण्य may

be added to the words which are the names of Rishis or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishni or Kuru.' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and **अफल्कः** is a person of that family. Then **अफल्क+अण्=आफल्कः** 'a descendant of Svaphalka.' This is a Gotra descendant. In forming Yuvan descendant we have **आफल्क+इम्**. Now this **इम्** must be elided by the present sūtra. So that **आफल्कः** means both father and the son.

3. Now to give an example of Rishi family. The sūtra last mentioned (IV. 1. 114 S. 1117) will also hold here. We take the word **वासिष्ठः**; and **वासिष्ठ+अण्=वासिष्ठः**; the Yuvan affix **इम्** will similarly be elided after this; and thus the word **वासिष्ठः** means both the father and the son.

4. Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicative **म्**. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 104 S. 1106. declares 'the affix **अम्** comes after the words **विद्** &c., in denoting Gotra descendants.' Thus **विद्+अम्=वेदः**. Then add **इम्** to denote Yuvan descent, and we have **वेदः+इम्**. By the present rule this **इम्** is elided and thus we have **वेदः** both for the father and the son.

The above examples show the elision of the affix **इम्**. Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix **अण्**. The rule IV. 1. 154 S. 1178 says 'the affix **किम्** comes after the words **सिक्** &c. in denoting descendant.' Thus **सिक्+किम्=सैकायनिः** (VII. 1. 2. S. 475). Then to form the Yuvan descendant we add **अण्** by IV. 1. 83. Thus **सैकायनि+अण्**. By the present sūtra, this **अण्** is elided and we have **सैकायनिः** both applicable to the father and the son.

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words. Thus rule IV. 1. 112 S. 1115 says:—'The affix **अण्** comes after **शिक्** &c., in forming Gotra.' **कौहृक्+अण्=कौहृक्**. Now this is neither a word formed by **अण्** nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi; nor any affix having **म्** goes to form it. Therefore the Yuvan affix **इम्** will not be elided after this. Thus **कौहृक्+इम्** (IV. 1. 95 S. 1195) = **कौहृदिः** 'son of Kauhada.'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendant is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendant will not be elided. Thus the pupils of **वामरथ्य** are called **वामरथ्याः** which word is thus formed: **वामरथ्य+अण्=वामरथ्याः** 'a descendant of Vāmaratha' (IV. 1. 115 S. 1118). Then to denote pupils we add **अण्** by IV. 2. 111 S. 1332. Thus **वामरथ्य+अण्=वामरथ्याः** 'a pupil of Vāmarathya.'

Note:—Why do we say 'Yuvan affix **अण्** and **इम्** are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided. Thus the Yuvan descendant of **शशि** 'grandson of शच' will be **शशायणः**. Here the affix **फल्** (IV. 1. 101 S. 1103) is not elided.

In forming the word पाणिनि, the ञ् which went to form the word पाणिनः is not elided because the elision taught by the present sūtra refers to the ञ् denoting the 'Rishi' as specifically mentioned in the sūtra and not the gotra ञ्, for the ञ् in पाणिनः is the general ञ् and not the particular ञ् denoting ञ्. The work enunciated by Pāṇini is Pāṇiniyam, which is formed by the addition of the affix ह्य by IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. and not by the affix ञ् of IV. 2. 112. S. 1333. For, though the word पाणिनि ends with the affix इम् and so *prima facie* the sūtra IV. 2. 112. S. 1333 ought to apply to it, yet it is not so, because the इम् referred to in that sūtra is the gotra affix इम्, as will be explained hereafter; while the इम् in पाणिनि is the सुप् affix इम् ॥

He who studies पाणिनीयम् is called पाणिनीयः formed by adding ञ् to पाणिनीयम्. This ञ् is elided and so the resultant word is the same in form. The difference is only in accent and in the formation of the feminine. Thus पाणिनीयः and पाणिनीया ॥

१२७७ । सूत्राच्च कोपधात् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

सूत्रपाणिनः ककारोपधात् ण्येत्पेति नूनम्यम् लुक् स्यात् । अष्टोत्तार्य आरम्भः । अष्टावध्यायाः परिमाणस्य अष्टकं पाणिनेः सूत्रम् । तदधीयते विनक्ति वा अष्टकाः ॥

1277. The affix denoting 'one who studies that or who knows that' is elided by *luk*, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकाः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Aṣṭaka.' So also दशका वैशाखपरीयाः, चिन्ताः काशिकाः ॥

Note:—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः । So also कातावकाः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe अष्टकमधीते = आतुष्टकाः ॥

१२७८ । छन्दोदाहणानि च तद्विषयाणि । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

छन्दास्तं ब्राह्मणानि च धेनवमयजमानानि तद्विषयाणि इतः । आभेदेति श्रुत्यर्थं विना न प्रकीर्यमस्ति । कठिनं श्रितमधीते कदाः । वैशाखादयानेति विषयानि । तस्य कठमवकाविति लुक् । मनीषा तस्य प्रकाशकः ॥

1278. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word श्रोक् is to be read into this sūtra. (The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing 'one who studies' or 'one who knows.' <तद्विद्वान्नि means 'this relation,' i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अध्येतृ or वेदिन्. In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer,' have the force of 'one who studies or one who knows' when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a श्रोक् affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an अध्येतृ or वेदिन् affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a श्रोक् affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means 'he who studies or knows the Veda announced by.' (In fact, there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.)

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Kāṭha Veda.' The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix शिनि denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104 S. 1484: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107 S. 1487, leaving the bare word कठ; then we add ञ्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64 S. 1443. कठ + शिनि = कठ + ० (IV. 3. 107 S. 1487); = कठ + ञ् = कठाः (IV. 2. 64 S. 1443) Plural कठाः 'those who study the Veda announced by Kāṭha.'

Note:—Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājñavalkya. Thus वाङ्मनस्येन श्रोक्ताणि ब्राह्मणानि = वाङ्मनस्येनानि। Similarly श्रौतानि। These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them. See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning 'and' is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus शास्त्रादिभिः, कौशिकैः 'those who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kūśika.' So also with regard to Sūtra texts: as, पाराशरियो भिक्षवः 'the Bhikṣus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parāśara.' शैलानिनो नराः, कर्मविनः, कृपाश्रिनः &c.

Why do we say 'Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas'? Because the श्रोक् affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple; as, पठितवीर्यं व्याकरणम्। वैदिकम्. ॥

CHAPTER XXVII—(Continued).

The Quadruply-significant Affixes.

१२७६ । तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तत्रास्ति । ४ । २ । ६७ ॥

वदुम्बरः सन्त्यस्मिन्नेषे षौदुम्बरः ॥

1279. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of 'that thing is in this,' the place taking a name therefrom.

Note:—The words, of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that,' i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् 'in this'—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति 'is' this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशे तत्रास्ति 'a country having that name'; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—^{१६}the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists.^{१७}

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चातुरर्थिक 'quadruple significant.'

Thus वदुम्बर अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = षौदुम्बरः । Audumbara 'the country in which there are glomerous fig trees,' formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

१२८० । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

कुषाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता कुषाम्बी नगरी ॥

1280. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him,' when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तत्रास्ति of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुषाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता—कुषाम्बी नगरी 'the city of Kausāmbi, completed by Kusāmba.' A place is named after the means by which or the person through whom, it is established.

१२८१ । तद्व निवृत्तः । ४ । २ । ६९ ॥

विश्वामित्रो देवः वैश्वः ॥

1281. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place;' the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means 'his dwelling place.' A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus *सैव*: 'the country of the Sibis.'

१२८२ । अदूरभवञ्च । ४ । २ । ७० ॥

विदिशाया अदूरभवं नगरं वैदिशम् । चकारणं प्रादुक्ताञ्चोऽर्थः संनिधान्यन्ते । तेन वक्ष्यमाण-
प्रत्ययानां प्रादुर्धिक्यं सिध्यति ॥

1282. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. (The word *तस्य* must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra.) It means, therefore, 'an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off,' the whole word being the name of a place. Thus *विदिशाया अदूर भवं*—*वैदिशम्*. Vaidīśam is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vīdiśā flows.

(The *च* has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 1279 to 1282 form but one complete sūtra and hence) the affixes to be taught hereafter are called *chāturarthika* or quadruply significant.

१२८३ । ओरञ् । ४ । २ । ७१ ॥

नद्योपवाहः । कञ्चतु,—काञ्चतवम् । नद्यो ह्युपरिस्थानवृक्ष । इक्षुमती ॥

1283. The affix *अञ्* comes after a stem ending in *उ* or *ऊ*, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix *अण्* (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073).

Thus *काञ्चतवम्* from *कञ्चतु* ! But from *इक्षु* we have *इक्षुमती* 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugarcane near it.' Here we add the affix *मत्* taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85 S. 1304, which debars *अञ्* by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2. S. 175). The affix *अण्* governs the six sūtras up to IV. 2. 77. S. 1289. The difference between *अञ्* and *अण्* consists in the accent. The *अञ्* is first-acute (IV. 1. 197 S. 3686).

१२८४ । मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् । ४ । २ । ७२ ॥

बहुष्व् अङ्गं तस्य मत्पुस्तदन्तादङ् मङ् । बहुजङ्गलम् । बहुजिति क्तिप् । आदिनतम् ।
अङ्गपङ्कणं बहुजिति तद्विधेयं यथा स्थान्मत्वन्विधेयं ना भूत् ॥

1284. The affix *अञ्* comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix *मत्*, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word *बहुजङ्गः* is a compound of *बहुष्व्* meaning literally 'many vowels' *i*, *r*, polysyllabic, and of *अङ्गः* meaning, 'stem.' A word which,

exclusive of the affix मनुष्य, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अण्. This debars अण्. Thus सैधकादत्तम्. ॥

Why do we say 'after a polysyllabic stem'? Observe आहिमर्तम्, धीवर्तम्. Here though the word अहिमर्तु ends in the affix मनुष्य, yet the अह or the stem viz. अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming the names of countries. In fact, the word अहण् qualifies the word अह, as it stands without the affix मनुष्य, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मातावर्ता निवासः = मातवर्तम् by अण् ॥

१२८५ । बहुचः कृपेष्टु । ४ । २ । ७३ ॥

अणोऽप्यवादः । दीर्घवरणेन निर्वृत्तो दीर्घवरणः कृपः ॥

1285. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars अण्. Thus दीर्घवरणेन निर्वृत्तः कृपः = दीर्घवरणः 'a well completed by Dīrghavaratra.'

१२८६ । उदङ्च विपाशः । ४ । २ । ७४ ॥

विपाश उतरे कुले ये कृपास्तेष्वम् । अण्द्वयार्थ आरम्भः । इत्थेन निर्वृत्तो शशः कृपः । उदङ्च विष् । इतिपातः कृपेष्पणेष ॥

1286. The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem, in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipāśā.

This debars अण्; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus शैतः 'a well completed by Datta.'

Why do we say on the 'northern bank'? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipāśā, then the affix अण् will apply; as शशः, the difference being in the accent.

१२८७ । सङ्कलादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ७५ ॥

कृपेभ्यो निर्वृत्तम् । सङ्कलेन निर्वृत्तं सङ्कलम् । षोष्कलम् ॥

1287. The affix अण् comes after the word 'saṅkala' &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars अण्. The word सङ्कलः is equivalent to सङ्कला कलः । Thus सङ्कलम्, षोष्कलम् &c.

१२८८ । स्त्रीषु सौवीरसात्वप्राप्तु । ४ । २ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गेषु एषु देशेषु धार्यध्वम् । सौवीरे । दत्तामित्रेण निर्बुक्ता दत्तामित्रो नगरी । सात्ये (धुमाग्री) । प्राप्ति, माकन्दी ॥

1288. So also the affix अञ् comes when the place is situate in the lands of the Sâuvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people ; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c. are attributes of देशे तत्ताम (IV. 2. 67) : so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दत्तामित्रो 'the city founded by Dattâmitra' (in Sauvira). So also धुमाग्री (in Sâlva), माकन्दी, (in the Eastern countries).

१२८९ । सुवास्तुवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ७७ ॥

अभ्योऽण्वादः । सुवास्तोरदूरभव सौवास्तवम् । वरुणं । वार्यवम् । (अण्प्रवर्णं नद्यां सत्त्वो धावना-
र्थम् । सौवास्तवी ॥

1289. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c. in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. S. 1283 and 1285. Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभव नगरं—सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्यवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvritti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sâtra debars 'matup' of IV. 2. 85. S. 1304, in the case of river names even. Thus सौवास्तावी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु. 2 वरुणं. 3 भण्डम् 4 वार्यवम् (कण्ड), 5 सेवासिन् (संचालिन्), 6 कर्णुरे, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्ग, 9 कर्करा, 10 शकरीकर्ण (शरीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 ककम्पुमरी (कर्कम्पु), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 आदिषक्य 16 वृह ॥

१२९० । रोणि । ४ । २ । ७८ ॥

रोणीशब्दात्तत्ताम अर्थः । कृषाग्रीऽण्वादः । रोणः ॥ आभक्तरीणः ॥

1290. The affix अण् comes after रोण in the fourfold sense.

This debars अञ् of IV. 2. 74 S. 1286. This sâtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule, all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in the sâtras. (The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound.) Thus रोणः, भाजकरोणः ॥

१२९१ । कोपधाञ् । ४ । २ । ७९ ॥

अण् । अभ्योऽण्वादः । कार्यण्डिकः कृषः । कार्यकाकम् । प्रेमकृषम् ॥

1291. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अम् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. S. 1283 and 1285 Thus कार्यच्छिद्रकः कृपः ॥ कार्यवेष्टकः ॥ कार्यताकवम् । वैशङ्खवम् ॥

१२६२ । घुञ्छकठजिलसेनिरदभ्ययफक्फिञ्च्यकवठकोऽरीहणकृशाभ्यर्थकुमुदकौशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसंखिसंकाशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिभ्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः । ४ । २ । ८० ॥

एभ्यः सप्तदशभ्यः सप्तदश क्रयोरस्य संतुल्यार्थम् । अरीहणादिभ्यो घुञ् । अरीहणेन निर्वृत्तमारीहणकम् । कृशाभ्यादिभ्यश्छण् । कार्याभ्याम्यम् । क्खरादिभ्यः कः । क्खरयकम् । कुमुदादिभ्यश्छ । कुमुदिकम् । काशादिभ्य इलः । काशिलः । तृणादिभ्यः साः । तृणसंभः । प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिः । प्रेक्षी । अश्वरादिभ्यो रः । अश्वररः । सख्यादिभ्यो ढम् । साख्यम् । सङ्गाद्यादिभ्यो ण्यः । साङ्गारयम् । बलादिभ्यो यः । बल्यम् । पक्षादिभ्यः फक् । पक्षाक्षयः । पयः पन्थ च । पान्यायनः । कर्णादिभ्यः फिञ् । कर्णायनिः । सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इम् । सौतङ्गनिः । प्रगणादिभ्यो ञ्यः । प्रागण्यः । भ्राराहादिभ्यः कक् । बाराहकः । कुमुदादिभ्यश्छक् । कुमुदिकः ॥

1292. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1 घुञ् (=अक) after अरीहण &c. 2, छण् (=ईय) after कृशाभ्य &c. 3 क after कृप्य &c. 4 ङक् (=इकौ) after कुमुद &c. 5 इल after काश &c. 6 स (or ष) after तृण &c. 7 इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8, र after अश्वरम् &c. 9 ढम् (=एय) after सख्या &c. 10, ण्य (=य) after संकाश &c. 11, य after बल &c. 12 फक् (=णायन) after पय &c. 13, फिञ् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c. 14, इम् (=इ) after सुतङ्गम &c. 15, ञ्य (=य) after प्रगदिभ्य &c. 16, कक् (=कौ) after बराह &c. 17, छक् (=ईकौ) after कुमुद &c.

Note :—The above affixes घुञ् &c. are applied to the above classes of words, आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sūtra upto ङक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-classes. The allotment or designation of affixes is made by I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

(1) अरीहणकम्, (2) कार्याभ्याम्यम्, (3) कपटवैयम्, (4) कुमुदवैयम्, (5) काशिलः, (6) कृपवैयम्, (7) प्रेक्षिव, (8) अश्वररः, (9) साख्यम्, (10) साङ्कारयम्, (11) पयम्, (12) पक्षाक्षयः, पान्यारयः, (13) कर्णायनिः, (14) सौतङ्गनिः, (15) पयम्, (16) बाराहकः, and lastly (17) कुमुदिकः ॥

Note :—The word सिधिय will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes, viz. अरीहणादि, (86), कुमुदादि (14) and बराहादि (3). Moreover it is governed by the general affix ङक् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the भ्रगणादि class (IV. 2. 82 S. 1301) therefore this universal ङक् (IV. 1. 82) will be eluded after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when सिधियन् was formed from सिधियः ॥

(1). 1 कथीदम्, 2 दृश्यम्, 3 दृष्टम्, 4 भग्नम्, 5 उलम्, 6 किरणम्, 7 सांप्रसायम्, 8 मोष्टम्, 9 भोष्टादनम्, 10 वेगमोदनम्, 11 वेगवायम्, 12 भाषादनम्, 13 वेगमायनम् (also वेगपायनम्), 14 मोषमायनम् (वे). 15 मोषमायनम्, 16 सौषादनम्, 17 भीषमायनम्, 18 मोषायनम्, 19 दम्भादनम्,

20 कोन्हायण,* 21 खाडायन, 22 शाशिडल्यायन, 23 रायस्वोप, 24 विषय, 25 विषास, 26 उष्ण, 27 उष्ण, 28 खाण्डीरीय (खाण्ड), 29 दीरज, 30 काशकृन्त (काश), 31 याम्यवत (यन्त) 32 विमदा, 33 रेषत (रेवत), 34 विल्व (वैल्व K.) 35 सुयज्ञ, 36 शिरीष, 37 वधिर, 38 जम्बू, 39 खादिर, 40 सुशर्मन् (सुशर्म K.), 41 एलह,* 42 भलान्न,* 43 खण्ड,* 44 कनल,* (कजन), 45 यहादत्त,* 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन ॥

(2). 1 कुप्राश, 2 सरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 चेरमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश,* 7 रोमश,* 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक,* 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 वृषल,* 13 सुवृषल,* 14 सुकर, 15 सुकर, 16 प्रसर (मासर), 17 सदश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुरग,* 20 सुस, 21 पून, 22 वाजिन, 23 विनस (विमता, वनिता), 24 वनगन्त, 25 विजुव्यास (च. l. कुविद्यास; विजुवास), 26 पराधर,* 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस्,* 29 मौद्गल्य, 30 शूकर,* (मौद्गल्याकर), 31 रोमन् 32 बर्बर, 33 अय्यास and लयावन् ॥

(3). 1 सुयज, 2 न्यमोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 मिलिन, 5 निवास, 6 निवास, 7 निधान, 8 नियन्ध निधन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगूह, 11 उपगूह 12 अस्ति, 13 सित, 14 मत,* 15 चेशमन्,* 16 उत्तरादमन्, 17 अदमन्,* 18 स्थूल, 19 बाह (स्थूलबाह), 20 खादिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह, 23 अरुड,* 24 पर्वश, 25 वेष्ट, 26 दीरय, 27 खण्ड, 28 इण्ड,* 29 परिष्ट, 30 कर्दम, 31 संयु ॥

(4). 1 कुसुह, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यमोध, 4 इकट (इल्कट, उल्कट), 5 सट्ट, 6 कट्ट, 7 गर्भ, 8 बीज, 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास,* 11 शकट,* 12 कच,* 13 मधु,* 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व,* 16 अश्वय, 17 बल्लज, 18 यवाप, 19 कूप, 20 विकट्टस, 21 दवागान, 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाय, 24 विक, 25 कत ॥

(5). 1 काश, 2 वाश (वाश), 3 अश्वय, 4 पलाय, 5 धीयुला (धूप), 6 चरण, 7 बाल, 8 मड, 9 वन 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छुड,* 12 कट्ट, 13 युहा, 14 विस (विषा and विस) 15 वृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर,* 18 मधुर,* 19 मड (सुड) 20 काविश्व,* 21 जटु, 22 शीपाल: 23 नर, 24 कंटक ॥

(6). 1 वृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल,* 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण, 7 वराण,* 8 विल, 9 पुल,* 10 फल,* 11 अर्जुन,* 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण,* 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 सुस, 17 जन, 18 लप ॥

(7). 1 प्रेक्षका, 2 इल्का (कलका), 3 अश्वका, 4 धुवका, 5 चिपका, 6 न्यमोध, 7 इकट (इकुट), 8 कट्ट (कर्कटा), 9 संघट, 10 कट,* 11 कूप,* 12 कुक,* 13 पुक,* 14 पुट,* 15 मड (मडा), 16 परिवाप,* 17 यवाप,* चवाप), 18 धुवका,* 19 गर्द,* 20 कूपक (कूपका), 21 शिष्य,* 22 धुवका, 23 शुकटा, 24 मट्ट, 25 हुक ॥

(8). 1 अश्मन्, 2 यूय, (अ० यूय), 3 ऊप (रूप and रूप), 4 मीन, 5 नर, 6 र्म, 7 वृष्ट, 8 सुड,* 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिला, 12 कोट (काट), 13 पान (पान?), 14 कन्द,* 15 कान्द,* 17 गह,* 18 सुड,* 19 कुण्डल,* 20 पीन,* 21 सुड,* ॥

(9). 1 सलि, 2 अग्निश्च, 3 सायुदत्त, 4 सजिवन्त, 5 गोपिन् (गोहित and गोहित), 6 भल, 7 बाल (भलपाल भल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक,* 10 ह्याल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासव,* 14 बीर,* 15 पूर,* 16 वज्र,* 17 कुशीरक,* 18 सहिर (गहिर, सीकर), 19 सरक (सकर), 20 सरस, 21 सगर,* 22 सनल, 23 सुस्व, 24 भद्र, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सल्ल, 28 चक्रपाल, 29 चक्रवान, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 बसौर ॥

(10). 1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कर्मीर (कदमर), 4 समीर, 5 सस्तेग (सुड), 6 सरक, 7 सुड,* 8 सुपन्विन (rightly सुपन्विन्), पन्थ (सक्य:) च, 9 यूप (यूप), 10 मंश, 11 अन्न,* 12 वासा,* 13 पलिन,* 14 मडनाश,* 15 नरधन, 16 कूट, 17 गालिन, 18 दफ,* 19 कुम्भ,

20 श्रीर्ष,* 21 विरत (विरत्त; विरत !). 22 समल,* 23 सीर,* 24 पञ्जर,* 25 नन्य,*
 26 गल,* 27 रोमन्,* 28 लोमन्,* 29 पुलिन्,* 30 सुपदि,* 31 कटिप,* 32 सकार्यक,*
 33 वृद्धि,* 34 श्रीर्ष,* 35 जगस्ति, 36 विकर,* 37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40
 पिरह ॥

(11). 1 घन, 2 पुल (पुल), 3 गल,* 4 एल,* 5 पट,* 6 सकुल,* 7 उरल,*
 8 पुल,* 9 मूल,* 10 रल,* 11 पुल,* 12 वन, 13 कुल,* 14 तुल 15 कयल ॥

(12). 1 पञ्च, 2 तुष्ट,* 3 तुप,* 4 कुण्ड,* 5 क्षण्ड,* 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बलिक),
 7 पलिक,* 8 चित्त, 9 जगस्ति,* 10 पयिन् पय्य च (also पान्यायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक
 (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल (सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिवन् (स्वन्), 18
 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्,* 21 मकर,* 22 लोमक, 23 श्रीर्ष,* 24 निवात,* 25 पाक,*
 26 सिंहक, 27 ककुष,* 28 सुवर्षक, 29 ईसक (ईसका), 30 हिंसक,* 31 कुस्त,* 32
 विल,* 33 खिल,* 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कल,* 37 सकार्यक (सकण्डक), 38 अयमन्,
 39 मस्तिषल ॥

(13). 1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 वर्क, 4 अर्कल्लप (लप), 5 सुपह (दुपह), 6 आनहुल (अन),
 7 पाञ्चजान्य, 8 ई कञ्ज, 9 कुम्भी,* 10 कुन्ती,* 11 जित्यन् (जित्य), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13
 कुलिघ, 14 आगुलीवत (आगुलीवन्), 15 अज,* 16 जैघ,* 17 आनक,* 18 अलुघ, 19
 गज, 20 स्थिर ॥

(14). 1 सुतंगम, 2 पुनिधिन (चिन्त), 3 विमथित (चिन्त), 4 महाचिन्त,* 5 महापुत्र,
 6 स्वन्,* 7 ध्वन्, 8 खडिक (गडिक), 9 शुक्, 10 विम, 11 धीजयाविन्, 12 अर्जुन्, 13 द्यन्,
 14 गजिर, 15 जीर, 16 खरिडन,* 17 कर्ण,* 18 विमह,*

(15). 1 मगविन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 मगविन् (गदिन्), 4 कथिल (कथिन्), 5 खाडिडत
 (खाडिड), 6 गदिन् (गदिन्), 7 चूडार, 8 गडार (गजार), 9 मन्दार,* 10 कोयिसर ॥

(16). 1 वराह, 2 पराघ, 3 गिरीर, 4 विनद्ध, 5 निवद्ध, 6 बलाह,* 7 स्थूल (स्थूल),
 8 विदग्ध, 9 विजग्ध, 10 विमग्ध, 11 निमग्ध,* 12 बाहु, 13 खरिन्, 14 शर्करा, 15
 विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

(17). 1 कुपुष, 2 रोमय 3 रघुचार 4 वसयाम, 5 जगन्मय, 6 गाल्मलि (ली), 7 गिरीर्ष,
 8 गगिस्मल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डन, 10 कूट, 11 मधूकर्ण, 12 पाचकुन्, 13 हाधिकर्ण, 14
 उधुकर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

१२९३ । जनपदे लुप । ४ । २ । ८१ ॥

जनपदे राज्ये चातुर्गर्षकस्य लुपवान् ॥

1293. The name of a kingdom is formed by the
 lyp-elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people
 without the change of number and gender, is at the same
 time the name of the kingdom).

Note:—The words within bracket, in the above sūtra are added by the reading
 together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. 31 §. 1299. Dr. Otto Böhlingsk the learned
 translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is
 necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra, The aphorism literally means: (The

quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पंचालानां नद्यासौ जनपदः=पंचालाः ॥ So also कुरुवः, मल्लवः, मज्जाः, मगधाः, सुह्राः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no *lup*-elision of the affix in the following examples: औदुम्बरं जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees,' वैदिशो जनपदः &c? Because here the words औदुम्बरः and वैदिशः are not names of kingdoms, but are used merely as epithets. (In fact the phrase सन्नद्धि is understood here also.)

१२९४ । लुपि युक्तव्यक्तिवचने । १ । २ । ५१ ॥

लुपि सति प्रकृतिव्यक्तिवचने स्तः । पञ्चालानां नद्यासौ जनपदः पञ्चालाः । कुरुवः । मज्जाः । यज्ञाः । कलिङ्गाः ॥

1294. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

Note :—This sūtra consists of four words: लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवद् 'appropriate to the same.' 3 व्यक्ति, 'gender,' 4. वचने 'number.' The form 'vyakti vachane' is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is elided by *lup* then the derivative word retains the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct notion of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by *luk* rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by *lup*-rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word चिरिपाः meaning 'a village not far away from चिरिप trees' the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पञ्चालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as is mentioned by Pāṇini in I. 2. 53 following, and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पञ्चालाः are a class of Kshatriyas; as such the word is of masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Panchālās live is also called Panchālās; similarly कुरुवः, मज्जाः, यज्ञाः, कलिङ्गाः ॥

१२९५ । तद्विशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

युक्तवद् वचने न कर्तव्यं संज्ञायां प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

1295. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes

substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of sañjñā (or conventional term or idiom).

Note:—The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word स्त्रियः 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to female singular; similarly जलः 'water' is always feminine plural in form; so also वृक्षः, वर्षा, शिकताः ॥ This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like Pañchālā, Kaurava &c., should not be considered as derivative words formed by the *lup* elision of a Taddhita affix, but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of Grammar.

१२९६ । लुप्योगाप्रख्यानात् । १ । २ । ५४ ॥

लुपि न कर्मण्योऽप्यवर्षास्त्वेहामतीतिः ॥

1296. The sūtras declaring *lup*-elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by *lup*-elision.

Note:—In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a needless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus वरुणः Varuṇa is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरुणः 'a kind of tree' because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no वरुण trees at all near the town Varuṇa. Let us therefore call words like वरुणः, वरुणाक्षः, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 S. 1281 and '82 (तत्र निवासः, वायुमयः), relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to '*lup*' elision as laid in IV. 2. 81 and 82 S. 1293 and 1291 (अवर्षे लुपः । वरुणादिषु) ॥

१२६७ । योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शने स्यात् । १ । २ । ५५ ॥

यदि हि योगस्यावधार्यत्वेनैव बोधकं स्वासदा तदभावे न दृश्येत ॥

1297. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

Note.—This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by sup-*er*-elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पंचालः &c. are not derivative words, but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Panchālās be the name of the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañchālās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchālās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called *रूढि* words.

१२६८ । प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५६ ॥

प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवैकं वचनमप्यभिप्रेतम् । कुतः भर्तृस्य लोकत एव हेतुः ॥

1298. The proposition (vachanam) that the meaning of the affix (pratyārtha) is the chief factor (pradhānam) in determining the sense of a word should not also be made; because the authority for the meaning of a word consists in something else.

Note.—The translation according to Kāshikā is as follows:

(Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhāna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

Note.—This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; 1. Pradhāna: 'Principal in a compound.' 2. Asin

the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana and पुरुषः is pradhāna 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. नार्थः 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the affix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the affixes &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Rāja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an रौप्यम् he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

१२९६ कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् । १ । २ । ५७ ॥

भारतीत्याद्याः शब्दैः पञ्चार्थेनागमिष्याः पूर्वापेक्षं च तस्मिन् दिवसोऽप्यतः । विशेषणद्वयसर्जनं नित्यमपि पूर्वापार्यः परिभाषितं सदाप्यस्मिन्त्यर्थं समानम् । लोकवाचित्वेन ॥

1299. And a rule fixing the meaning of Time (kāla) and Upasarjana (secondary term in a compound) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Thus adyatana (the period of the current day) has been defined by ancient grammarians to be that day which commences with the latter half of the past night, and ends with the first half of the succeeding night (that is from midnight to midnight). Similarly upasarjana has been defined as an adjective or attributive by the ancients. These also need not be taught, as the meaning of the words like adyatana &c. is also determined by usage.

Note:—Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pāṇini declares that there are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

such words as *upasarjana*, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses. They say : "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word *upasarjana*, for they say :—“*वयमत्र गृहे भाने वा उपसर्जने*” ‘we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,’ meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this *sūtra* included in the last ? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this ? The answer is that it is an illustrative *sūtra*, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. “A Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership.” “In *Dvanda* compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal” “In *Avyayibhāva* compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal” &c.

१३०० । विशेषणानां जाजातेः । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

लुप्त्यस्य विशेषणानामपि सहासिद्धपक्षे स्तो जातिं वर्धयिष्य । पञ्चाक्षरं रमणीयाः । गोदौ रमणीयो । जाजातेः सिद्धः । पञ्चाक्षरं जनपदः । गोदौ ग्रामः ॥

ह्रीतस्यादिषु स्थितिः * ॥ ह्रीतवयाः सत्त्वानि ह्रीतव्याः ॥

खलुत्तिकादिषु पक्षमम् ° ॥ खलुत्तिकास्य पर्यन्त्यादुभयानि खलुत्तिका वनानि ॥

मनुष्यत्वमपि प्रतिषेधः ° ॥ मनुष्यत्वस्य लुप्त्यै विशेषणानां न । लुप्तस्य तु भवसीत्यर्थः । पञ्चाक्षरं अभिरूपः ॥

1300 And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup*-elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) except so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned ; (i. e. when not expressing *jāti*).

When a Taddhita is elided by *lup* ; the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पञ्चाक्षरः रमणीयाः, बहुभ्रातः, पटुक्षीरपूताः, महालाभफलाः ‘the pleasant Pañchāśāś having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.’ Here the adjective रमणीयाः pleasant &c. agrees in number and gender with the Pañchāśāś ; being also in masculine plural. So also गोदौ रमणीयो ॥ Why do we say ; when not expressing *jāti* ? For, when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word ; then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चाक्षरः जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः ॥

Note :—Here, जनपद though qualifying Pañchāśāś does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by

the *lup* of a Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बहुदः 'the country of Panchāla is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुदः qualify directly the word जनपदः, and indirectly the word Panchāla, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

Vart:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c. the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरितक्याः फलानि=हरितक्यः 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरिवकी is feminine. Here the affix denoting fruit is *lup*-elided by IV. 3. 167. S. 1546. The resultant noun *haritaki* meaning the fruit of *haritaki* agrees in gender only.

Vart:—The words खलत्तिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलत्तिके वनानि 'mountain forests i. e. forests in the vicinity of mountains'. Here खलत्तिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *vis.* neuter. Here the affix is *lup*-elided by IV. 2. 82. S. 1301.

Vart—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the *lup* elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कम् (V. 3. 97 S. 2052) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus मन्त्रकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चंचा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चंचा+कम्लुप् (सुम्बुलुप् V. 3. 98 S. 2053)=चञ्चयः। Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Therefore Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चंचा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of a man.'

१३०१ । वरणादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८२ ।

अञ्जनवदार्थं आरम्भः । वरणानामदूरमेवं समदं वरणः ॥

1301. Also after the word वरणा &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरणाः and the rest, the quadruply significant affix is elided by 'लुप् ॥' The scope of this rule is in cases of nouns which are not names of kingdoms (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरमेवं समदं=वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varāṇa".

Note:—The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकवदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 भृङ्गी, 3 शास्मलि, 4 शुण्डी *, 5 श्याण्डी *, 6 पर्णी, 7 सामपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वो गोदो, पूर्वेषु गोदो, अपरेषु गोदो), 9 आलिङ्गयाम, 10 जानपरी (जानपरी; जानपद), 11 अम्बु *, 12 पुष्कर *, 13 चम्पा *, 14 पम्पा *, 15 वल्गु *, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गवा, 18 मधुरा, 19 तच्छाशिला, 20 उरसा (उरसा), 21 गोमती *, 22 बज्जभी *, 23 कटुकबन्दी (with कटुक), 24 शिरीषा, 25 काङ्क्षी, 26 सदाण्डी, 27 वणिकि, 28 वणिक ॥ Is an भाकृतिग्रन्थ ॥

१३०२ । शर्कराया वा । ४ । २ । ८३ ॥

अस्मादातुपर्यिकस्य वा लुप्त्वात् ॥

1302. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

१३०३ । ठक्लौ च । ४ । २ । ८४ ॥

शर्कराया एतौ स्तः । कुमुदासौ वराहासौ च पाठसामर्थ्यापत्तौ ठक्कौ । सामर्थ्यसामर्थ्यापत्तौ भौत्तार्थिकोऽयं सत्यं लुप्तिकल्पः । एद् रूपेण । शर्करा । शर्करम् । शर्करिकम् । शर्करीयम् । शर्करिकम् । शर्करिकम् ॥

1303. The affix ठक् and लौ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Why do we say "optionally" in S. 1302? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292 classes 4 and 16), and must necessarily take the affixes ठक् and कल् taught therein : for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix लण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality. And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83 S. 1013), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + लण् = शर्करैम्, शर्करा + लण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely, two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्करैम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by कल्), शर्करिकम् (formed by लण्), and शर्करीयम् (by ल्).

१३०४ । नद्यां मनुप् । ४ । २ । ८५ ॥

आतुपर्यिकम् । इक्षुपती ॥

1304. The affix मनुप् is added in denoting a river in the four-fold sense given above.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मनुप् (मन् and नप्). Thus उदुम्बराक्षी, महाकापरी, श्रीरामायती, शुष्करायती, इक्षुपती, इक्षुती ॥ See IV. 3. 119. S. 1499 by which

the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219. S 3705 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10. S: 1898 by which मन् becomes यन् ॥

Note :—The affix मनुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and मेनरथी which are formed by जन् added under IV. 2. 68.

१३०५ । मध्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

मनुप् स्वाप्तातुरधिकः । अन्यथर्थ आरम्भः । मधुमान् ॥

1305. The affix मनुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

(The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river.) As मधुमान्, विस्रवान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 विस्र, 3 स्थाणु, 4 वेसु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 घभी, 7 करीर (करीर), 8 हिम, 9 किशाय, 10 कर्पाण (शर्पण), 11 मरुत्, 12 पार्श्वी, 13 शर, 14 इष्टका, 15 आद्युति, 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्धी, 18 शकल, 19 अलाका, 20 आमिषि (आमिषी), 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन्, 23 रुष्टि (रुष्टि हृष्टि), 24 हृष्य, 25 तच्छादिता, 26 खंड (खंडा), 27 पट, 28 पेट (पेटा), 29 रस्य, 30 मृज, 31 मरुय, वाचाधाद ॥

१३०६ । कुमुदनडघेतसेभ्यो ढमनुप् । ४ । २ । ८७ ॥

कुमुदाय । नड्गन् । वेतस्यान् । आद्ययोर्ह्येव इति अन्ये मादुपधया इति यद्वयमणन यः ॥ मदिपान्पेति यक्तव्यम् ॥ • • • • • महिष्मात्रान् देशः ॥

1306. The affix ढमनुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and घेतस in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुदाय, नड्गन्; वेतस्यान् ॥ In the case of the first two words (kumudvat, and nadvat) the म् of the affix is changed to य by VIII. 2. 10 S. 1898; and in the case of the last word (vetasvat) by VIII. 2. 9 S. 1897.

Vart :—So also after the word महिप, as महिष्मान् ॥

१३०७ । नडशादाहङ्गुलच् । ४ । २ । ८८ ॥

नड्गन् । शादी मृगालपातयोः । शाङ्गलः ॥

1307. The ङुलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नड्गन्; and शाङ्गलः ॥ The word शाद means "mud" and "young grass." (See *Amarakosha* III. 3. 89).

१३०८ । शिखाया यलच् । ४ । २ । ८९ ॥

शिखायाम् ॥

1308. The affix यलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four senses.

Thus सिखावलम् 'the city Sikhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'.

Note:—The word सिखा takes वल्च् by V. 2. 111 S. 1918, the affix having the same force as मनुष्य V. 2. 94 S. 1894, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

१३०६। उत्करादिभ्यश्चः । ४ । २ । ९० ॥

उत्कीयः ॥

1308. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses.

As उत्कीयः ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 सफल, 3 शफर, 4 विप्लव, 5 विप्लवीमूल, 6 अस्मन, 7 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण)
8 खलोजिन, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 भणक,* 12 वैवण,* 13 पिप्लु, 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश,
16 चुद्र (शकाशुद्र ६४ काश, चुद्र), 17 भस्त्रा, 18 बाल, 19 जम्बा, 20 शजिर (अंजिन),
21 चर्मन्, 22 उच्छ्वेष, 23 क्षान्त (क्षान्त), 24 खदिर, 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 श्यावनाथ, 27 नपाकव
(नैव, वक), 28 वृक्ष,* 29 वृक्ष, 30 शाक,* 31 पलाश, 32 विजिनिषा,* 33 अनेक, 34
आतप, 35 फल, 36 संपर*, 37 अर्क, 38 वर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक,* 41 इडा, 42
अरण्य, 43 निशान्त,* 44 पर्व, 45 नीवाचक,* 46 शंका, 47 अवरोहित, 48 क्षार,* 49
विशान, 50 वेच, 51 अरीहण,* 52 खरड, 53 क्षातागर, 54 मन्वणार्ह,* 55 हन्तवृक्ष, 56
नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तवृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष), 57 शार्ङ्गवृक्ष, 58 तृणव, 59 अन्व, 60 मण्ड, 61
अर्जुनवृक्ष ॥

१३१०। नडादीनां कुञ्च च । ४ । २ । ६१ ॥

नडकीयम् ॥ कुञ्चा इत्यर्थं च * ॥ कुञ्चकीयः ॥ सञ्चलैः च * ॥ तक्षकीयः ॥

1310. The augment कुञ्च comes after the words नड &c. when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड+कुञ्+छ=नडकीयम्; सञ्चकीयम्, &c.

Two Vārtikas:—The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न is elided: e. g. कुञ्चकीयः and सञ्चकीयः ॥

1 नड, 2 वृक्ष, 3 विप्लव, 4 वेणु, 5 वेच, 6 वेतस, 7 इष्ट, 8 काष्ठ, 9 फलोत्, 10 वृक्ष,
11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाया) इत्यर्थं च, 12 तक्षन् मलोपञ्च ॥

१३११। विश्वकादिभ्यश्चलस्य लुक् । ६ । ४ । १५३ ॥

महायन्तर्गता विश्वकादिभ्यश्चलस्य लुक् सङ्घित परे । विश्वा दस्यां सन्ति सा जित्यपीया ।
सत्त्वा भवा विश्वकाः । वैवचनीया । वैवकाः । छस्य किण । छमाशस्य लुग्यया स्थानकुलो निवृत्तिर्मा मृत् ।
साम्यया समयोगादिपदानामिति कुपति निवर्तते । छम्पदर्थं सर्वलोपार्थं । लोपो हि यनादस्य स्यात् ॥

1311 The affix छ of the bha stems विश्वक &c. is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The द्विव &c are a subdivision of the Nadādi class (IV. 2. 91 S. 1310), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. S. 1310. After these words, with the augment क. the affix छ is elided when they take a *secondary* Taddhita affix. Thus द्विवा दस्यां सन्ति = द्विवकीयाः ; दस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = द्वेषकाः ॥ Similarly द्वेषकीयाः, द्वेषकाः ॥

Why do we say the affix छ ? The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यत्राप्ये (or अभावे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपादः), “When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise”. The लृक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय. and not merely of य ॥ Had the word *lopa* been used, then *y* only of ईय would have been elided, because its anuvṛitti is understood from VI. 4. 149. S. 499.

Here ends the chapter on Quadruply Significant affixes.

has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74 S. 1453), or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83 S. 1463), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86 S. 1466) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87 S. 1467), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89 S. 1469), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90 S. 1470)."

१३१३ । राष्ट्रवारपाराद्धखौ । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

आभ्यां कनाद्धखौ स्तः शेषे । राष्ट्रियः । अवारपारीणः ॥

अवारपाराद्धिगृहीतादपि विपरीता चेति दन्तव्यम् ॥ अवारियाः पारीणः पारावारीणः । इह प्रकृतिविधौ वादादयद्व्युत्पन्नताः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते तेषां आनादयोऽप्यविशेषाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च पश्यन्ते ॥

1313. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इघ is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2 S. 475). Thus राष्ट्रियः 'born &c. in a country,' अवारपारीणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks.'

Vart:—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारियः 'belonging to this bank of the river,' पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank,' पारावारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this.' Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes and the cases of the noun in construction, such as those of being born' &c. will be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 1393 and sūtras that follow it.)

Notes:—There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first where of is घ, and the last where of are ह्यु (IV. 3. 24 1392), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced there-from' IV. 2. 25 S. 1227, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable.

१३१४ । ग्रामाद्यशब्जौ । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

ग्राम्यः । ग्रामीणः ॥

1314. The affixes य and यञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grāma.'

As ग्राम्यः and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic.'

१३१५ । कर्तृव्याविभ्यो ङकञ् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

कर्तृव्याविभ्यः ङकञः । तस्य आतादिः कार्यकः । नागरेयकः । पापादित्युत्पत्तेः पापेयकः ॥

1315. The affix ढक् (य्य) comes after the words कवि &c.

As कवियकः, नागवियकः and if we take the anuvritti of grāma from the last sūtra, we have घामेयकः ॥

1 कवि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 भोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर)
9 नादिष्मती, 10 वर्गती, (चर्मपत्नी) 11 वरदा, 12 घान, 13 कुल्याय (कुलाय) यलोपध,
14 पञ्जी, 15 भक्ति ॥

१३१६ ॥ कुलकुत्तिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेण १४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कौलेयकः श्वा । कौलोऽन्यः । कौलेयकौऽसिः । कौलोऽन्यः । मेरेयकौऽलङ्कारः । मेरेयऽन्यः ॥

1316. The same affix ढक् is added to the words कुल, कुत्ति and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament.'

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 S. 1227 &c.): but the whole word has a specific significance. As कौलेयकः—a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौलेयकः—a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath). मेरेयकः—a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by ञ् as, कौलः, कौशः and मेरुः ॥

१३१७ । नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् । ४ । २ । ९७ ॥

नदियम् । नदियम् । वाराणसेयम् ॥

1317. The affix ढक् (य्य) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25 S. 1227 &c.).

Thus नदियं, 'pertaining to a river,' नदियम् 'earthen,' &c. वाराणसेयम् ॥

1 नदी, 2 नदी, 3 वाराणसी, 4 प्रादली, 5 कौशम्बी, 6 वनकौशम्बी (वनको)
7 काशपरी, 8 काशपरी (फारी) 9 एरिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाण (पावा) 12 माया
(मावा) 13 शाखा (साखा) 14 दार्वा, 15 सेतकी (वालेनकी) 16 वदवाया वृषे, 17 दास्या ॥

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्वनगरम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर—नन—गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As वैरियम्, वनेयम् and गैरियम् ॥

१३१८ । दक्षिणापञ्चापुरसस्त्यक् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

दक्षिणेत्याजन्तमध्ययम् । दक्षिणतः । पाश्चात्यः । पौरस्त्यः ॥

1318. After the words 'dakṣiṇā', 'paścāt,' and 'puras', the affix 'tyak' (त्य) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining or produced in the south'; पश्चात्यः 'occidental', पूर्वत्यः 'oriental'.

१३१६ । कापिश्याः स्फक् । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कापिश्या जातादि कापिश्यायने मधु । कापिश्यायनी द्राक्षा ॥

1319. After the word 'Kāpīśī', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses : (the feminine being formed by डीप् IV. 1. 41 S, 498).

Thus कापिश्यायने मधु, कापिश्यायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.

१३२० रक्षोरमनुष्येण च । ४ । २ । १०० ॥

चाव स्फक् । राक्षसो गौः । राक्षसायणः । अमनुष्य इति किय् । राक्षसको मनुष्यः ॥

1320 After the words रक्षु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As राक्षसो गौः or राक्षसायणो गौः ॥ Why do we say 'non-human being'? Observe राक्षसको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Note:—Q. The word रक्षु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण् and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanushya is that of इद्; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्यस्युद्वाचः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add स्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted, we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as राक्षस. "a woollen blanket". (When we want to denote a living being other than man, then we add अण् and स्फक् of this sūtra). The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix स्फक् ॥

The word रक्षु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वृत् of IV. 2. 125 S, 1349, and इप् is debarred by टप् of IV. 2. 119 S, 1313, and टप् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132 S 1356, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debarb that and ordains अण् and स्फक् ॥

१३२१ । सुमगपामुदकप्रतीचो यण् । ४ । २ । १०१ ॥

(स्फक् । पाकयण् । अलकयण् । उदीकयण् । प्रतीकयण् ॥

1321. After the words 'div', 'prách', 'apách', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix च्छ is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, मास्यम्, जपाद्यम्, नदीद्यम्. (IV. 4. 130 S. 3476) and मत्स्यम्. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyal' and 'tyu' e. g. मास्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). the word जपाच् means south.

१३२२ ॥ कन्यायाष्टक । ४ । २ । १०२ ॥

काश्चित्कः ॥

1322. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix
उक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिकः ॥

१३२३ । वर्णो लुक् । ४ । २ । १०३ ॥

वर्णनैदसास्य खनीपदेशो वर्णः तद्विषयार्थताधिकन्यासाद्वाहुव् रमात् । वमा हि श्वत्तं शिन्दुवत्
कान्यकुम्भ ॥

1323. To the same stem is added the affix *ga* when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81 S. 1293. Thus कान्यकुब्ज ॥ As in the sentence यथा हि ज्ञासे ह्रस्वस्तु कान्यकुब्ज (?)

१३२४ । अथ्ययास्यप । ४ । २ । १०४ ॥

अनेहकृतसिद्धेभ्य एव * ॥ अगाऽन्तिकालार्थयोः । अनात्यः । इत्ययः । इत्ययः । एतत्तयः ।
नन्दयः । परिगणनं किम् । उपरिष्टादय औपरिष्टः ॥

अव्ययवर्गं समासं विशेषः ॥ अनित्योऽयं केहिषष्टिर्लोपविधानात् । तेनेह न । अत्राक्षरः ॥
व्यत्येभ्य इति यन्तव्यम् । नित्यः ॥

मिलो गले * ॥

1324. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide and the following *vārtikas* restrict it.

Var. The affix **व्यय** is restricted to the following Indeclinables :—

अस्य near or 'together' इह 'here', क्व 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7 S. 1953) and च (V. 3. 10 S. 1957). As पञ्चान्वः 'a minister', इहस्य, क्वस्य, तस्यस्य, चस्य, &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe :
 औपरिहः, formed from the Indeclinable उपरि ॥

Vart:—The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows, it, is elided in the Indeclinables when they are Bha : A० सौवर्गमिकः (स्वर्गममनाद) This is an anitya rule because lopa is ordained of the ङि syllable of bahis by vārtika under IV.1. 55 S. 1877. Had the ङि elision of the present vārtika been universal then there would have been no necessity of the vārtika teaching the ङि elision of bahis.

Thus there is no ङि elision of असत् and शास्त्रन् when they take the affix छ in the same sense. As असत्तीय and शास्त्रतीयः ॥

Vart:—The च्चप् is added to the upasarga नि in the sense of "fixed" as, निश्चः = घुचप् ॥

Vart:—The च्चप् is added to the upasarga निस् in the sense of 'gone'. As निष्टः "Chandalas &c who have gone out of the caste". It is thus formed : निस् + च्च ॥ Now applies the following sūtr

१३२५ । ह्रस्वाच्चादौ तद्धिते । ८ । ३ । १०१ ॥

ह्रस्वादिषः परस्य सत्त्वं यः स्याच्चादौ तद्धिते । निर्गतो वर्णाश्रमेभ्यो निष्टश्चाण्डालादिः ॥

अरण्यगच्छः * ॥ आरण्याः सुगनसः ॥

दूरादेभ्यः * ॥ दूरैभ्यः ॥

वसराशदम् * ॥ औचराहः ॥

1325. प् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त् ॥

Therefore the निस् is replaced by प् before च्चप् ॥ Thus we get निष् + च्च = निष्टः meaning one who has gone out of caste such as Chandalas &c.

Note:—The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely तत्, त्वन्, तय, स्व, तम्, त्वप्, ॥ As तत्—सर्विष्टम् यजुष्टम् । तम् । सर्विष्टम् । यजुष्टम् । तय । यजुष्टये ब्राह्मणानां निकृताः । स्व । सर्विष्टम् । तत् । सर्विष्टा । यजुष्टा । तत् । सर्विष्टे, यजुष्टे । त्वप् । भाविष्टयो बद्धेते ॥

Vart:—The affix ण comes after अरण्यः e. g. आरण्याः सुगनसः 'forest flower's.

Vart:—The affix एभ्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरैभ्यः पथिका 'a traveller'.

Vart:—The affix आदम् comes after उत्तर e. g. औचराहः ॥

१३२६ । ऐषमोहाः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १०५ ॥

एषमोहणा । पक्षे वक्ष्यमाणी द्युष्टकुली । ऐषमोह्यम् । ऐषमस्तनम् । एषमोह्यम् । एषमस्तनम् । पक्षे वक्ष्यमाणी वक्ष्यते ॥

1326. The affix त्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas,' 'hyas,' and 'śvas'; in the remaining senses.

These take optionally ह्य; in the other alternative they will take युद् and ह्युक् as taught hereafter.

As ऐषमस्त्वम् or ऐषमस्तानम् (IV. 3. 23. S. 1391), ह्यस्त्वम् or ह्यस्तानम् (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391); भवस्त्वम् or भवस्तानम् (IV. 3. 23 S. 1391) or शौचस्त्वम् (IV. 3. 15 S. 1385). The word 'śvas' takes the augment युद् also, hence the above three forms.

१३२७। तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्जौ । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

यथासंख्येन । काकतीरम् । पालुलतीरम् । शैवरूप्यम् । तीररूप्यान्तावेति नोक्तम् । बहुवर्ध्नाभूत् । बाहुरूप्यम् ॥

1327. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ज् comes after a word ending with रूप्य; in the remaining senses.

This debars अण । Thus काकतीरम्, पालुलतीरम्, शैवरूप्यम् । The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीप् in the feminine (IV. 1. 15 S. 470): those in ज् take the affix टाप् (IV. 1. 4 S. 454). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तान्; for had it been so, the affix would apply to बाहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara-pada, as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023). Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अञ् ॥

१३२८। दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायाम् । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । पौर्वशास्त्रः । असंज्ञायाम् किञ् । संज्ञाभूतायाः प्रकृतेर्ना भूत् । पूर्वोक्तानामप्यस्य भवः पूर्वोक्तानामप्यस्य । सार्था यामनगराणामित्युत्तरपदवृद्धिः ॥

1328. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another word that signifies 'direction,' provided that the compound is not a Name.

⟨To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix अञ् is added, forming the feminine in आ । The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base.' This debars अण् । Thus पूर्वशास्त्र + अञ् = पौर्वशास्त्रः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall.'

Why do we say 'when not a Name'? 'Observe, from the word पूर्वोक्तानामप्यस्य (II. 1. 50. S. 727) we have पूर्वोक्तानामप्यस्यः (VII. 3. 14 S. 1400), The example illustrates, "how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words पूर्व + इषुकामशमी; "Ishukāmashamī in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city. Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule (VII. 2. 117; S. 1075) but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशमी by rule VII. 3. 14. S. 1400.

१३२६ । मद्ग्रेभ्योऽञ् । ४ । २ । १०८ ॥

विषयपूर्वपदादित्वेन । विशेषोऽन्यद्वाग्यामिति मद्गपर्युक्तसादादिवृद्धिः । पूर्वपदः । आपरमदः ॥

1329. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्, preceded by a word denoting direction ; in the remaining senses.

Thus पूर्वपदः /, °ह्री । आपरमदः /, °ह्री ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII. 3. 13 S. 1399 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद् ॥

१३३० । उदीर्यग्रामाद्य बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तात् । ४ । २ । १०९ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । धैवपुरम् ॥

1330. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word द्विक् ceases here. The अञ् debars अञ् । Thus धैवपुरम् ॥

१३३१ । ग्रस्योत्तरपदपलयादिकोपधावञ् । ४ । २ । ११० ॥

मादिकिग्रस्यः । पालव । नैजीनम् ॥

1331. The affix अञ् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with ग्रस्य, after the words पलदी &c., and after a word having a penultimate क्, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अञ् of the last aphorism. Thus मादिकिग्रस्य, पालव, नैजीनम् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिपद, 3 रोमक, 4 बाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट), 6 बहुकीट (बाहु-
(कीट), 7 आजकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलजीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गौरी, 12 नैकती
(नैकती), 13 पारिखा, 14 आसेन, 15 गामली, 16 पदचर, 17 उदपान (उदयानि), 18
महरीम, 19 सलमीम ॥

१३३२ । कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे । ४ । २ । १११ ॥

एभ्यो भोजमत्ययान्तेभ्योऽञ् स्यात् । कण्वो गणादि । कापस्य टपत् काण्वाः ।

1332. The affix अञ् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means 'that after a word

ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c., in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix उ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus काण्वः 'the pupils of Kāṇva.'

Thus Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargādi. The Family-name from कण्व is कौण्व्य by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added, काण्व्य + अण् = कौण्व्यः (VI. 4. 14^b and VI. 4. 152).

१३३३ । इजश्च । ४ । २ । ११२ ॥

गोत्रे य इज् तदन्तादण् स्यात् । दाक्षाः । गोत्रे किम् । सौतङ्गमेति सौतङ्गमीयम् । गोत्रनिह-
पाखीयं नतु सौकिक्म् । तेनेह न । पाणिनीयम् ॥

1333. After a Family-name formed by इज्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus from इज् we have the Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षाः 'the pupils of Dākshi.' The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148. S. 311.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गनिः, a word formed by इज् of IV. 2. 80, S. 1292 not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70S. 1280-82. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीयम् by उ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). The word Gotra in this sūtra, however, refers to the scriptural gotras or clans as mentioned in the list of gotras given in the sacred books: and not worldly gotras, or family descent. Therefore the rule does not apply in पाणिनीयम् ॥

१३३४ । न ह्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु । ४ । २ । ११३ ॥

इममेत्यस्योऽपवादः । प्राचीयाः । काशीयाः । भरतानां प्राच्यत्वेऽपि पृथगुपसारात्मन्यन्य प्राच्यग्रहणे भरतानामपहृत्य निजम् ॥

1334. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इज्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result is that the words, answering to the description given in this aphorism, from the शैविक derivatives by affix उ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus प्राचीयाः and काशीयाः from प्राचि or काशी. The word प्राचि and काशी are Vṛiddha words as defined in the next rule, and therefore they take उ ॥

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpakā or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See II. 4. 66.

१३३५ । वृद्धिर्यस्याच्चास्माद्विस्तद्वृद्धम् । १ । १ । ७३ ॥

यस्य सवृत्तयस्याचां मध्ये आदिवृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धसंतं स्यात् ॥

1335. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhi, is called vṛiddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम् । The sūtra consists of five words :—वृद्धि 'the vṛiddhi vowel'; यस्य 'whose,' अच्चास्मा 'among the vowels,' आदि 'is first'; तद् 'that'; वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

Note :—If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words गान्ता, ज्ञान्ता &c., have the first vowel आ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.

The word vṛiddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words, certain taddhita affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337) by which the affix छ is added to vṛiddham. Thus गान्ता + छ = गान्तीयः ॥

१३३६ । त्यदादीनि च । १ । १ । ७४ ॥

वृद्धसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥

1336. The words tyad &c., are also called vṛiddham.

Note :—The त्यद् &c. have been given in the list of sarvanāmas. These words are also called vṛiddham. Thus त्यद् + छ = तदीयम् । So also मदीयम्, इदीयम्, अद्सायम्, एवासायनिः, मादायनिः &c.

१३३७ । वृद्धाच्छः । १ । २ । ११४ ॥

शालीयः । मालीयः । तदीयः ॥

1337. After a word cellad Vṛiddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word गोत्र does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule. This debars अण् । Thus from गार्ग्य we have गार्गीय (VI. 4. 148. S. 311 and VI. 4. 152 S. 2119). So also शालीयः, मालीयः, तदीयः ॥

१३३८ । एङ् प्राचां देशे । १ । १ । ७५ ॥

एङ् दम्भाच्चागस्विस्तद्वृद्धसंतं वा स्यादेष्टानिधने । ऐशीवचनीयः । मोनर्दीयः । भोजकदीयः । एष्टे सणि । ऐशीवचनः । मोनर्दः । भोजकदः । एङ् किम् । आदिच्छन्नः । कान्यकुब्जः ॥ वा नामधेयस्य वृद्धसं वक्तव्यम् * ॥ देशदत्तः । देवदत्तीयः ॥

1338. A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets optionally also the designation of vṛiddham, when it is the name of a country.

As मोनर्द is a country of the east, it is a vṛiddham word and we have मोनर्द + छ = मोनर्दीयः ; similarly ऐशीवचनीयम्, भोजकदीयः । Alternatively, with the affix अण् the forms will be मोनर्दः, ऐशीवचनः, भोजकदः ॥

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and औ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called *vṛiddham*: and as such will not take the affix छ; as आदिच्छन्, कान्यकुब्जः ॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a *vṛiddham*. Thus देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तिका, or we may have देवदत्ता ॥

१३३६ । भवत्प्रकृच्छो । ४ । २ । ११५ ॥

वृद्धाद्वत् एतौ स्तः । भावत्कः । जश्वत् । भवक्षयः । वृद्धादित्यनुवृत्तेः शप्तादयोश्च । भावतः ।

1339. The affixes टक् and छस् come after the *Vṛiddha* word भवत् in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a *Vṛiddha* word, because it belongs to *tyadāri* class (I. 1. 74 S. 1336). This rule debars छ of IV. 2. 114. S. 1337. In the affix छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of *Paḍa* पद (I. 4. 17 S. 230). Thus भवत् + टक् = भावत्कः । भवत् + छस् = भवक्षयः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as *Vṛiddha*, then it takes the general affix अण्; as भावतः । This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing श्त् to भू ॥

१३४० । काश्यादिभ्यष्टम्भिटौ । ४ । २ । ११६ ॥

इकार उधारणार्थः । काशिकी । काशिका । वैदिकी । वैदिका ॥

आपदादिपूर्वपदात्कालान्तात् * ॥ आपदादिरकृतिगणः । आपत्कालिकी । आपत्कालिका ॥

1340. The affixes टम् and भिट् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes टम् and भिट्, the इ is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by टम् will take डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), the others will take वाप् (IV. 1. 4. S. 454). Thus काशिका: or काशिकी, वैदिका or वैदिकी ॥

Note 1:—The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

Note 2:—The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. S. 1338. Thus देवदत्तिकाः । But when it is the name of a *Vāhika* village, it is not a *Vṛiddha* word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

Vart:—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपत्, ऊर्ध्व and तद; as आपत्कालिकी or का, ऊर्ध्वकालिनी or का. तदकालिकी or का त

1 काचि, 2 चेदि (वेदी), 3 सांयाति.* 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदनाम (मोहमान)
 7 शकुमार, 8 शक्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुदामन्), 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन
 (गोधासन), 13 भारद्वा, 14 आरिदम, 15 अरिन्, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दशमान (दासमान), 18
 सौवासता (सौधावसान), 19 उपराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन,* 23 सिधुमिन्,
 24 दासमिन्, 25 मुधामिन्,* 26 सोममिन्,* 27 छागमिन्,* 28 सधमिन्,* 29 भावेदादिपूर्वपराह
 (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्ताह, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौतिक, 32 भौतिकि, 33 सर्वमिन्, 34
 साधुमिन् ॥

१३४१। वाहीकमानमेभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ११७ ॥

वाहीकमानवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्चिभ्यो स्तः । छस्यापवाहः । कास्तीरं नाम वाहीकमानः ।
 कास्तीरिकी । कास्तीरिका ॥

1341. The affixes टञ् and झिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting the villages of Vāhika.

The word वृद्धाह is to be read into this sūtra. This debars the affix
 छ (JV. 2. 114 S. 1337) Thus कास्तीरिकी or कास्तीरिका ॥

१३४२। विमाषोशीनरेषु । ४ । २ । ११८ ॥

एषु वे पामास्तदाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्चिभ्यो वा स्तः । सौदर्शनिकी । सौदर्शनिका । सौदर्शनीया ॥

1342. The affixes टञ् and झिद् come optionally in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting Vāhika villages situated in Uśīnara.

Thus सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका, and सौदर्शनीया ॥

१३४३। ओर्वशे टञ् । ४ । २ । ११९ ॥

उपर्यान्तादिवाचिभ्यश्च । निपादकर्षूः, निपादकर्षुकाः । केऽयं इति ह्रस्वः । देवो किन् ।
 परोक्षभावाः पादवाः । मित्रं प्यार्वर्तमितुं उम्मदणम् । वृद्धाच्यं परम्पादये जायते । शशिकर्षुकः ॥

1343. The affix टञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धाह' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus निपादकर्षुकाः from निपादकर्षुः; the long ऊ is shortened by VII. 4. 13. S.834 before the affix क। Why do we say 'denoting a country'? Observe पादवाः 'the pupils of पद्' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of टम् and झिद् both were current; hence the repetition of टम् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of टम् from the last sūtra, without drawing in the anuvṛitti of झिद् ॥

This sūtra being subsequent in order to IV. 2. 114 S. 1337, debars that sūtra; and hence in the case of vṛddha words ending in ङ and denoting a locality, कृ is not added, but the डम् of the present sūtra. Thus वास्तिकङ्कः ॥

१३४३ । वृद्धात्प्राच्याम् । ४ । २ । १२० ॥

प्रादेशवाचिनां वृद्धादेवेति नियमार्थं सूचय । भारवकाम्युक्तः । वाक्यम्युक्तः । देह मन्वास्तु, मानवास्तवः ॥

1344. The affix डञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛddha word ending in ङ and denoting a locality of the Eastern-folks.

⟨The phrase कोर्दे is here understood.⟩ Thus भारवकाम्युक्तः, वाक्यम्युक्तः ॥

The affix डम् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛddha. Therefore it does not apply to मन्वास्तु, from which we have मानवास्तवः ॥

१३४५ । धन्ययोपधाद्भुञ् । ४ । २ । १२१ ॥

धन्यविशेषवाचिनो वकारोपधाद् देहवाचिनो वृद्धाद्भुञ् स्यात् । ऐरावतं धन्य ऐरावतकः । साह्यावकांमिन्त्यवकां इम्ह्यादिष्वेयं यथान्ती । साह्यावकः । काम्पित्यकः ॥

1345. The affix भुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

⟨The words वृद्धाद् and ऐते are understood here.⟩ The word धन्य means a waste or desert. Thus परिधन्यकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्य ॥ Similarly साकारवकः and काम्पित्यकः are examples of य penultimate. (IV. 2. 80 S. 1292).

१३४६ । प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताश्च । ४ । २ । १२२ ॥

एतवन्ताङ्कदेशवाचिनां भुञ् स्यात् । छत्वापवादः । मालाप्रस्थकः । नान्दीपुरकः । वैहवहकः । पुरान्तप्रदण्डपाणयय । प्रादेश तून्नेय सिद्धम् ।

1346. The affix भुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह ॥

This debars कृ (IV. 2. 114 S. 1337). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, नान्दीपुरकः, वैहवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix डम् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope.

१३४७ । रोपधेतोः प्राच्याम् । ४ । २ । १२३ ॥

रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धादुभयं स्यात् । पाठलिपुत्रकः । ईतः, काकन्दकः ॥

1347. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses after a Vridhdha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate **र** or ending in **ई** ॥

This debars **छ** ॥ This पाठलिपुत्रकः ॥ So also with words ending in **ई** ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दक, (VI. 4. 148).

Note :—Why do we say प्राच्याम् 'of the East-folk'? Observe दाक्षामिषियः formed by **छ** ॥ The **ई** in ईत in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

१३४८ । जनपदतद्वध्याश्च । ४ । २ । १२४ ॥

जनपदवाचिनस्तद्वधियाचिनश्च वृद्धादुभयं स्यात् । आदर्शकः । वैपर्वकः ॥

1348. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vridhdha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

(The phrases वृद्धात् and द्वे are understood here) being qualified by जनपद and तद्वधि ॥ This debars the affix **छ** ॥ Thus आदर्शकः is an example of जनपद- ॥

Note :—And औपुत्रकः and श्यामाश्विनः from औपुत्र and श्यामाश्विन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदवधि ॥

(The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village.) This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of **छ** by IV. 2. 137 S. 1361 to words like क्षिप्रर्त which is an arid desert : as वैपर्वकः ॥ The word तद्वधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

१३४९ । अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् । ४ । २ । १२५ ॥

अवृद्धादवृद्धाच्च जनपदतद्वधियाचिनो बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकादुभयं स्यात् । अवृद्धावणी वृद्धाच्छेदवापराधः । अवृद्धाजनपदात्, आह्वकः । अवृद्धाजनपदाधेः, आजीवकः । वृद्धाजनपदात्, शर्तकः । वृद्धाजनपदाधेः, कालज्जरकः । विषयमदृशं किम् । एकमेवेन वृद्धे वा भूत् । वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तन्यः । सगु भवो वर्तन ॥

1349. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vridhdha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vridhdha words.

The words जनपद and तद्वधि are to be read into the aphorism, This debars **छ** and **बञ्** ॥ Thus from गृहाः, गृहाः and गृहिष्ठाः which are non-Vridhdha

Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have राज्ञः, राज्ञः and बालिनः ॥ Similarly राज्ञीदाः and राज्ञः are always non-Vṛddha plural words, denoting boundary of kingdoms; we have from them राज्ञीदः and राज्ञीदः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vṛddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus राज्ञः and राज्ञः from राज्ञः and राज्ञः ॥ So also to Vṛddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom : कालजराः—कालजराः, वैकुलिशः—वैकुलिशः ॥

Why have we used the word विषय in the sūtra? (The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form.) Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्त्तन्यः plural of वर्त्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्त्तनः ॥ For वर्त्तन्यः is an ekaśeṣha plural of वर्त्तनी + वर्त्तनी + वर्त्तनी ॥

१३५० । कच्छाश्रियपञ्चवर्तोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

देशवाचिनो वृद्धाश्रयाश्च धुम् स्वात् । शस्त्रकच्छकः । कायदानकः । सैन्यवक्त्रकः । बाहुवर्तकः ॥

1350. The affix धुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vṛddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kacchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debars छ and ञ ॥ As शस्त्रकच्छकः, कायदानकः, सैन्यवक्त्रकः, and बाहुवर्तकः ॥ Kāśika reads the sūtra as गतो &c.

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

१३५१ । धूमदिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १२७ ॥

देशवाचिनो धुञ् । धौमकः । तैर्यकः ॥

1351. The affix धुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debars ञ ॥ धौमकः, तैर्यकः &c.

Note:—The word पादैव occurs in the list. It would have taken धुञ् by IV. 2. 121 as it has य् as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken धुञ् by IV. 2. 124; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां राज्ञीयानां स्व = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyāa". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word राहु occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus समुद्रिका नौः and समुद्रिको मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not; as सागुद्रियम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 दण्ड (खड्ग and खण्ड), 3 क्षासन, 4 अर्जुनाव (अर्जुनाद), 5 माहकस्थली 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिकस्थली*, 8 मामस्थली (मापस्थली), 9 भट्टस्थली*, 10 महुकस्थली*, 11 सधुन्नस्थली, 12 दाण्डायमस्थली, 13 रामस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सावासाह, 17 रात्र. (रिष्य), 18 निववर्ध (निववर्ध, निव. वल), 19 मञ्जली*, 20 मङ्गल, 21 भाभीकुल (आञ्जीकुल), 22 ग्राहाव, 23 अयाहाव, 24 संस्फीय (संहीय), 25 बर्ष, 26 वर्य, 27 गर्त (वर्धगर्त), 28 आनर्त, 29 नाठ, 30 पाथेय, 31 घोष, 32 वल्ली (वली) 33 आगती, 34 धातगती, 35 आयय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयास तीर्थ), 37 मूलतृतीयरेषु, 38 सधुद्रांशवि पदुष्ये च, 39 कुत्ति, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीय), 41 वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी), 44 पटार*, 45 कञ्जिणावय, 46 साकत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकुल, 50 मनवल्ली, 51 सुतस्ती ॥

१३५२ । नगरात्कुत्सनाप्राचीण्ययोः । ४ । २ । १२८ ॥

नगराद्याह्वयं स्यात्कुत्सने प्राचीण्ये च गम्ये । नागरकश्चैः शिल्पी वा । कुत्सनेति किं ।
नागरा ब्राह्मणाः ॥

1352. The affix **कुप्** comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word **कुत्सनं** which is equivalent to **मिन्दनं** or 'blame or censure', and **प्राचीण्यं** which means **नैपुण्यं** "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus **नागरकः** 'a thief or a skilful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe **नागरा ब्राह्मणाः** 'the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas'.

१३५३ । अरण्यान्मनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १२९ ॥

इयम् । अरण्यान्मनुष्याववाहः ॥

पत्न्याद्याद्युक्तविद्यामनुष्णहस्तिनिर्दिष्टा पश्यन् ॥ अरण्यकः पश्याः शय्यायो न्यायो विद्यायो यदुक्तं इत्येति वा ॥

वा गीर्णयम् ॥ अरण्यकः अरण्ये वा शय्या ॥

1353. The affix **कुप्** comes, in the remaining senses, after the word **अरण्य**, in the sense of a man.

Vart:—Optionally when the sense is that of cow-dung, as *आरण्यः* or *आरण्यका गोमदाः* ॥

Note:—Why do we say 'when having those senses'? Otherwise the affix will be *अण्* ॥ As *आरण्यः* पशवः 'wild beasts'.

१३५४ । विभाषाकुरुयुगन्धराध्याम् । ४ । २ । १३० ॥

युग् । कौरवकः । कौरवः । यौगन्धरकः । यौगन्धरः ॥

1354. The affix *युग्* comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवकः or कौरवे, यौगन्धरकः or यौगन्धरे ॥

१३५५ । मद्रवृज्योः कन् । ४ । २ । १३१ ॥

(अनपदयुगोऽपवादः) । मद्रेषु जातो मद्रकः । वृजिकः ॥

1355. The affix *कन्* comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vriji'.

This debars *युग्*, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

१३५६ । कोपघादण् । ४ । २ । १३२ ॥

माहिषिकः ॥

1356. The affix *अण्* comes in the remaining senses, after a word denoting a place, and having the letter *क* as its penultimate.

(This debars *युग्* in the case of words which denote अनपद or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote अनपद, will have taken *अण्* even without this rule.) Thus आदिषिकः "born in आदिषिकाः" So also माहिषिकः ॥

Note:—The affix *अण्* will apply even when the word ends in *ट्*, which would have otherwise taken *हम्* by IV. 2. 119 S. 1343. Thus देववाकः "born in देववाक्" ॥ The word देवे is understood in this sūtra.

१३५७ । कच्छादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३३ ॥

देववाणिचोऽण् । युगदिरपवादः । काच्छः । सेन्धवः ॥

1357. The affix *अण्* comes, in the remaining senses, after the words *kachchha* &c denoting places.

The word देवे is understood here. This debars *युग्* &c. Thus काच्छः सेन्धवः, वार्जवः &c.

Note:—The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The

word विजापक occurs in this list. It would have taken झञ् by the last sūtra also, because it has क् as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes घृञ् also under certain conditions.

1 काच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 यर्तु, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुगन्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुक्ष, 10 मनुष्य (मनु, मण्ड, खण्ड) 11 क्षीर, 12 गन्ध, 13 राजवाड, 14 विजापक, 15 कल्लर (कुल्ल) 16 रक्षु ॥

१३५८ । मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्बुञ् । ४ । २ । १३४ ॥

कच्छाययोऽपवादः । कच्छे जातादिः काच्छको मनुष्यः । काच्छकं इदितम् । मनुष्येति किम् । काच्छो गौः ॥

1358. The affix बुञ् comes after the words kachchha &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debars झञ् ॥ Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch' काच्छकमस्य इदितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'.

Why do we say "when meaning a man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौः 'The cow of Kutch'.

१३५९ । अपदातो साल्वात् । ४ । २ । १३५ ॥

साल्वशब्दस्य कच्छादित्वाद्वुभि सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । अपदातावेवेति साल्वको ब्राह्मणः । पदातो किम् । साल्वः पदातिर्ब्रजति ॥

1359. The affix बुञ् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

(The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken बुञ् by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction.) Thus साल्वको मनुष्यः, साल्वकमस्य इदितं जल्पितम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not meaning a foot soldier'? Observe साल्वः पदातिर्ब्रजति 'the Sālva foot soldier goes.'

१३६० । गोयवाञ्चोश्च । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

साल्वाद्वुम् । कच्छाययोऽपवादः । साल्वको गौः साल्विया यवाञ्चः । साल्वमन्यत् ॥

1360. The affix बुञ् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars झञ् of IV. 2. 133 S. 1357. Thus साल्वको गौः 'the cows born in Salva', साल्विया यवाञ्चः 'the barley gruel of Sālva'. In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

१३६१ । गतोत्तरपदाच्छः । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

हेते । अणोऽपवादः । वृकगर्तीयम् । उत्तरपदमहणे बहुवचनान्तरार्थम् ॥

1361. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars एण् ॥ (The word हेते is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes हञ् and भिच् of sūtra IV. 2. 117 S. 1341. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, 'born in the wolf's hole.' The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68 S. 2023) and not a pada.

१३६२ । गहादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

छः स्यात् । गहीयः ॥

हुञ्पाश्चतस्रोर्लोपश्च * ॥ हुञ्जनीयम् । पार्श्वनीयम् । पृथ्व्यानां भगवो दिनेपस्याभिव्यक्तां तापयितुमिदम् ॥

कुञ्जमस्य परस्य च * ॥ जननीयम् । परकीयम् ॥

देवस्य च * ॥ देवकीयम् ॥

स्वस्य च * ॥ स्वकीयम् ॥ पेशुकादिभ्यश्छपाच्चः * ॥ पेशुकीयम् । वैत्रकीयम् । शौत्तरपदकीयम् ॥

1362. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaba &c.

This debars एण् &c. Thus गहीयः 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c. *Vārtika* :—The words हुञ्जन्तस् and पार्श्वतः get the affix छ, but (before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided). Thus हुञ्जनीयम् and पार्श्वनीयम् ॥ This *Vārtika* also indicates that the elision of टि of the Indeclinable as ordained by the *Vārtika* under S. 1324 is a rule of limited scope.

Vart :—The augment कृञ् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ As जननीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vart :—The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

Vart :—The same augment is added to the word स्व as स्वकीयम् ॥

Vart :—The affix कृण् comes after the words पेशु &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिवृणः ॥ Thus पेशुकीयम्, वैत्रकीयम्, शौत्तरपदकीयम्, मात्स्थकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

Note :—In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्वनं प्राप्तं परणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यकीयः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ (The word मध्यम, here

has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीयः means पृथिविमध्ये भवो ॥ (So also when the affix छ is applied in the case of चरख, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 S. 1469 and not all the other senses.) Thus त्रयः प्राच्यः, त्रयः औदिच्यः, त्रयो मध्यमः "three Chinas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle".

1 गृह. 2 अन्तर्य. 3 सम. 4 विश्व. 5 मध्यमध्यम याण चरखे, 6 उत्तम, 7 दक्षिण, 8 पश्चिम, 9 मध्य. 10 पूर्ववत्. 11 अपरपक्ष. 12 अधम शास्त्र. 13 उत्तम शास्त्र. 14 एकशास्त्र. 15 समानशास्त्र. 16 समानग्राम*, 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपलाश. 20 इवम्, 21 इवनीक (इवनी). 22 अक्षरद्वन्द्व (अक्षरद्वयी and अक्षरद्वय), 23 कामग्रन्थ, 24 शास्त्राक्षर (शास्त्रिकाक्षरानि; शास्त्राक्षरानि and शास्त्राक्षरानी), 25 कावेरि (कावेरिणि and कामवेरिणि), 26 कावेरि*, 27 सौमित्रि, 28 सौमित्रि. 29 बाह्यम्. 30 देशार्थि (देशार्थम्), 31 श्रौति, 32 शास्त्रि. 33 आश्रित, 34 प्यादि, 35 सौत्रि (देवज्ञि) 36 बाह्याम्. 37 आश्रित, 38 श्राद्धि 39 आश्रितम्, (अश्रितम्), 40 भोजि. 41 अराजक (अराजक), 42 वास्त्विक, 43 सैन्यद्वि (सैन्यद्वि), 44 आश्रित 45 सौमित्रिद्वन्द्व*, 46 एक 47 चिन्तवि*. 48 इनाम*, 49 ईश*, 50 तन्त्रम्*. 51 उत्तर. 52 अन्तर (अन्तर), 53 मुखपार्श्वतोलोपः (also मुखनीय and पार्श्वनीय). 54 अन्तरको लुक् च also अन्तरीय and पार्श्वीय), 55 देशम् च, 56 वेष्टकादिभ्यश्च. 57 आहूति. 58 सौत्रि 59 पार्श्वि it is an आहूतिगण्य ॥

१३६३ । प्राचा कटादेः । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

प्राचेष्टवाचिनः कटादेशः स्वात् । अष्टोऽपवादः । कटनगरीयम् । कटपोषीयम् । कटपत्त-
लीयम् ॥

1363. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debarh जन् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटपोषीयम्, कटपत्तलीयम् ॥

१३६४ । राज्ञः क च । ४ । २ । १४० ॥

पृथग्व्याज्छे सिद्धे तत्प्राप्तिर्योगेन कविद्यमात्रं विधीयते । राजकीयम् ॥

1364, The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches the substitution of क ; for राजन् would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

१३६५ । पृथादकेकान्तसोपधात् । ४ । २ । १४१ ॥

प्राक इक एगन्तात्कीपधात् पृथादेषवाचिनश्च । रयम् । आहूतकीयं गान् गानपठे च आश्रितम्
आश्रितविभक्तप्रातोऽहान्नगरीयः । शास्त्रलीकीयः । अष्टोपुलिय ॥

1365. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after a Vpiddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having र as its penultimate.

The word देहे must be read into the sūtra. This debars the अण् of IV. 2. 132 S. 1356 as well as the affixes ordained by IV. 2. 117 and 123. S. 1341 and 1347.

Thus अकः—ब्राह्मणकीयम् ॥ “One born in Brāhmaṇaka—a country where the Brāhmaṇa caste live by the profession of arms.” इकः—शाम्भिकीयम् ॥

Note :—The words सौमुक &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in इक ॥ Thus सौमुकीयम्, सौमुकीयम्, सुन्दरीयम् ॥

१३६६ । कथ्यपलदनगरग्रामहृदोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १४२ ॥

कथ्यादिपञ्चकोत्तरपदादेशमाधिनो वृद्धाः पदः स्वात् । उन्मिदिरपदाः । दाक्षिक्यदीयम् । दाक्षिक्यदीयम् । दाक्षिनमरीयम् । शाक्त्यामीयम् । दाक्षिहरीयम् ॥

1366. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vpiddha words, having the words kauthā, palada, nagara, grāma and hrada, as last terms.

This debars the other affixes such as इम् and अिम् of IV. 2. 117 S. 1341.

Thus दाक्षिक्यदीयम्, दाक्षिक्यदीयम्, दाक्षिनमरीयम्, दाक्षिमायीयम्, दाक्षिहरीयम् ॥

१३६७ । पर्वताच्च । ४ । २ । १४३ ॥

पर्वतीयः ॥

1367. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राघा “the hill-king”. पर्वतीयः प्रहसः “the hill man”.

१३६८ । विभाषाऽमनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १४४ ॥

मनुष्यभिन्नेऽर्थे पर्वताच्छा वा स्वात्पक्षेऽण् । पर्वतीयानि पार्श्वानि वा फलाणि । अमनुष्ये किम् । पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः ॥

1368. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्श्वानि फलानि “hill fruits”.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये “not-human”? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

१३६९ । भृकणपर्शोद्भारद्वाजे । ४ । २ । १४५ ॥

भारद्वाजोवैश्वानिभ्यामपार्श्वोऽण् । भृकणीयम् । पर्श्वीयम् । भारद्वाजे किम् । कर्श्वीयम् । पार्श्वीयम् ॥

1369. The affix ञ comes in the remaining senses after भृकण and पर्श when denoting the country of Bhāradvāja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and वर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bhāradvājas?" Observe कार्कणम्, वर्णम् &c. -

१३७० । युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ् । ४ । ३ । १ ॥

चाङ्छः । पक्षेऽण् । युज्योर्युष्माकं वा अने युष्मदीयः । अस्मदीयः ॥

1370. The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad'.

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण् and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (1. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Viddha, as they belong to Tyādādi class (1. 1. 74 S. 1336), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114 S. 1337; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद् + अण् = युष्माकं + अण् (IV. 3. 2 S. 1371) यौष्माकः । युष्मद् + छ = युष्मद् + ईय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2).

युष्मद् + खञ् = युष्माकं + ईन (IV. 3. 2. S. 1371) = यौष्माकीणः (VII. 1. 2, and VIII 4. 2 S. 475 and 197). So also आस्माकः । अस्मदीयः and आस्माकीयः ॥

१३७१ । तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ । ४ । ३ । २ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरित्यदिदौ स्तः खड्यणि च । यौष्माकीणः । आस्माकीयः । यौष्माकः । आस्माकः ॥

1371. When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note:—The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ् and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (1. 3. 10 S. 128) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms: as (1) 'तस्मिन् खणि युष्मदस्मदोर्युष्माकास्माकौ भवतः' (2) 'ततोऽण् च' ॥ 1. c. (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively. (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding sūtra, c, g. यौष्माकीणः, आस्माकीयः with खञ्, and यौष्माकः and आस्माकः with अण् ॥

Note:—This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीयः and अस्मदीयः ॥

१३७२ । तद्यकममकावेकवचने । ४ । ३ । ३ ॥

एकार्थवचिनेऽर्ध्ववचनोऽस्त्वकममकौ स्तः खञ्जणि च । तावकीनः । तावकः । नामकीनः ।
नामकः । छे सु ॥

1372. In expressing one individual, तद्यक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee,' नामकीनः "belonging to me," तावकः and ममकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will be स्वदीयः, and मदीयः by the following rule.

Note:—The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, S. 263 there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्थः ॥

१३७३ । प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च । ७ । २ । ६८ ॥

मपर्वन्तयोर्व्येकार्थोऽस्त्वमी स्तः प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च । त्वदीयः । मदीयः ॥

1373. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition.

As स्वदीयः, मदीयः, with the affix छ (IV. 2. 114, S. 1337, L. 1. 74 S. 1336). Similarly when a second member of the compound follows. As सप युष्मः = स्वस्युष्मः, मस्युष्मः ॥ त्वे नार्थोऽस्त्य = त्वज्जायः ॥

Note:—When more than one individual is signified, the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीयं (= युष्माकमियं), अस्मदीयं; युष्मस्युष्मः (= युष्माकं युष्मः), अस्मस्युष्मः ॥

१३७४ । अर्धाचक्ष् । ४ । ३ । ४ ॥

अर्धः ॥

1374. The affix चक्ष् comes after the word अर्ध in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्धः 'belonging to half.'

१३७५ । परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५ ॥

पराधर्मम् । अवराधर्मम् । अधमार्धम् । उत्तमार्धम् ॥

1375. The affix धर्म् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adharna', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्धम्, अवार्धम्, अधमार्धम्, उत्तमार्धम् ॥

१३७६ । दिक्पूर्वपदाद्वच्च । ४ । ३ । ६ ॥

वाच्यम् । वीर्षार्थिकम् । पूर्वार्थम् ॥

1376. And the affix **वच्** also (as well as **यत्**) comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By **यच्**, the affix **यत्** is also used. This debars **वच्** ॥ Thus पूर्वार्थम् or वीर्षार्थिकम् ॥

१३७७ । ग्रामजनपदैकदेशाद्वच्चौ । ४ । ३ । ७ ॥

ग्रामिकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च दिक्पूर्वपदार्थान्ताद्वच्चौ स्तः । इमेऽस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वावैर्षार्थाः । वीर्षार्थिकाः । ग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरार्थे भवा इति तद्वितार्थे समासः । वच्पूर्वार्थेऽप्यर्थम् । वच्पूर्वार्थे यतोऽप्यनुकर्षः संभाव्येन ॥

1377. The affixes **वच्** and **यच्** come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदान् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars **यत्** ॥ Thus इमे स्मृतस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा वीर्षार्थाः or वीर्षार्थिकाः "Those, verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". The word वीर्षार्थाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरार्थे भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

Though the anuvṛtti of **वच्** was current in this Sūtra from the preceding, yet it is repeated here for the sake of precision,; for had the sūtra been ग्राम जनपदैकदेशाद्वच्च, then the **यच्** would have drawn in not only the affix **वच्** but the affix **यच्** which is not desired.

१३७८ । मध्यन्मः । ४ । ३ । ८ ॥

मध्यन्मः ॥

1378. After the word **मध्य** there is the affix **म** in the remaining senses.

This debars **वच्** ॥ As मध्यन्मः "middlemost".

१३७९ । अ सांप्रतिफे । ४ । ३ । ९ ॥

मध्यपदशब्दात्प्रत्ययः स्यात्सांप्रतिफेऽर्थे । वच्पूर्वपदार्थेऽपि मध्यं प्रेक्षाकरणम् । मध्यं दाह । सांप्रतिफे सांप्रतिफेऽर्थः ॥

1379. The affix **अ** comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिफे means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As सांप्रतिफे सांप्रतिफे मध्यं दाह "the proper piece of wood—neither too long nor too short". सांप्रतिफे सांप्रतिफे "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull."

१३८० । द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् । ४ । ३ । १० ॥

समुद्रस्य समीपे यो द्वीपस्तादनुसमुद्रं द्वीपसदृशस्य स्यात् । द्वैप्यम् । द्वैप्याम् ॥

1380. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

Note :—The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kuchchhādi (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357), and would have taken झञ्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134 S. 1358, it would have taken युञ् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैप्यम् or द्वैप्या, 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैप्यं भवनोऽनुपपत्तिर्यमम् ॥

१३८१ । कालाह्वञ् । ४ । ३ । ११ ॥

कालवाचिभ्यश्च स्यात् । मासिकम् । सांयत्निकम् । सांयत्निकः । यौगः पुनिकः । कस्य मर्दि शार्धस्य समस्तोपविष्टये इति कालिदासः अनुविर्तोपसमाप्तिं भारुषिः, समानकालीनं प्राक्षाणीयमित्यादि यः । अथर्वेण एवेति प्रायणिकाः ॥ तत्र आत इति यावत्कालमधिकारः ॥

1381. The affix उञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars जञ् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकम् 'monthly', सांयत्निकम् 'annual', सांयत्निकः "morning and evening," यौगः पुनिकः 'again and again'.

How do you explain the forms शार्ध and शार्धस्य in the following lines of Kālidāsa and Bhāṛavi शार्धस्य समस्तो विपश्चेत् (Kālidāsa) and अनुविर्तोपसमाप्तिं (Bhāṛavi)? Or the forms समानकालीनम् and प्राक्षाणीयम्? These forms are ungrammatical according to the best authorities.

Note :—The words which denote time, even, indirectly, also take this affix. As शार्धमनुविष्कं, द्वैप्यमासिकम् ॥

The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto IV. 3. 25 S. 1393. (तत्र आतः) ॥

१३८२ । आह्वे शरद्धः । ४ । ३ । १२ ॥

उञ् स्यात् । श्रद्धाहोऽपवादः । शरदिकं आह्वम् ॥

1382. The affix उञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्ध, when expressing आह्व ॥

This debars जञ् (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). The word आह्वे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not श्रद्धावाच्यपुरुषः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शरदिकं आह्वे 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शरद्धम् ॥

१३८३ । विभावा योगात्पयोः । ४ । ३ । १३ ॥

शारदिकः शारदो वा रोग आत्वयो वा । एतयोः किम् । शारदं इषि ।

1383. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिको or शारदो रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिकः or शारद आत्वयः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine.'

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, 'शारदं इषि' 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the क्तु लण् (IV. 3. 16).

१३८४ । निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च । ४ । ३ । १४ ॥

वा ङञ् न्यात् । नैशिकम् । नैशम् । प्रादोषिकम् । प्रादोषम् ॥

1384. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśā', 'and pradosha'.

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 S 1381, the ङञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal', प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

१३८५ । श्वसस्तुद् च । ४ । ३ । १५ ॥

अग्न्यद्वेष्टम् वा स्वात्तरद तुष्टागमश्च ॥

1385. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word अम् takes the affix लप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. S. 1326. This sūtra ordains ङञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. S. 1391. Thus अम्+तुद्+ठञ् now applies the following sūtra :—

१३८६ । द्वारादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ४ ॥

द्वार, दवर, प्दलकषा, द्यस्ति, दवर, रकपकृन्, स्वाद्दु पृद् अम्. अम्. एषां न वृद्धिर्जायते च । दीर्घलक्षणम् ॥

1386. Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory ङ्, ए or ए the Yiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after ए or ए but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semi-vowels in द्वार &c.

The following is a list of Dvārādi words :—

1 द्वार, 2 दवर, 3 द्याभ्याम्, 4 द्यलकषा, 5 द्यस्ति, 6 दवर (दवर), 7 रकपकृन्, 8 स्वाद्दुपृद्, 9 अम्, 10 अम्, 11 एद् ॥

Thus अम्+तुद्+ठञ्=दीर्घम्+तु+एक (VII. 3. 3 S. 1098)=दीर्घलक्षणम् (ephemeral).

Note:—As द्वारं निद्रुषः=दीर्घलक्षणम्, दीर्घलक्षणम् from द्वारलक्ष ॥ The Taddhita rule applies here. दीर्घः from दवर, (दवरलक्षिणम्=दीर्घलक्षणम्) ॥ So also दीर्घलक्षणम्, दीर्घलक्षणः

सप्तम्यः ॥ वैयत्कथः from व्यत्कथ, (व्यत्कथो भवः) सौवस्तिकः from स्वस्ति, (स्वस्तीति आह), सौरः from स्वर (स्वर्भवः) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary, as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (शोभनो-अध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय, then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्तैयकृतः from स्तयकृत; शौवादुष्टदुष्ट from स्वादुष्टदुष्ट, शौवनम् from भवन् the prakṛiti-bhāva is by (VI. 4. 167 S. 1155), while शौवम् from भवन् where there is no prakṛitibhāva (by अच् IV. 3. 154): शौवाद्वेष्टः (भवाद्वेष्ट्यां भवः) Similarly शौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्वेष्टे); शौवयामिकः from स्वयाम् with the affix डञ् (अध्यात्मसहित्वाट डञ्). This sūtra is made because the लृ and वृ here are not final of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra.

१३८७ । संधिवेलागृत् नक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६ ॥

संधिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् स्यान् । सन्धिवेलायां नक्षत्रे सान्धिवेलम् ।
वैष्णम् । तैषम् ॥ संधिवेला, संध्या, अनावस्था, चतुर्वशी, चतुर्वशी, पौर्णमासी, प्रतिपद् ॥
संवत्सरान् फलपर्वणोः * ॥ सांवत्सरं फले पर्वे वा । सांवत्सरिकमन्यन् ॥

1387. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालवृत् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars डञ् ॥ The repetition of अणु debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vridha in this list (IV. 2. 114S. 1337). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, साम्नाम्, (2) वैष्णम्, शैशिरम्, (3) तैषम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ, season and asterisms respectively.

1 संधिवेला, 2 सन्ध्या, 3 अनावस्था, 4 चतुर्वशी, 5 चतुर्वशी, 6 पौर्णमासी, 7 प्रतिपद् ॥

Var:—The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival,' as सांवत्सरं फले पर्वे ॥ Otherwise सांवत्सरिकम् ॥

१३८८ । प्रावृष एण्यः । ४ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्रावृषेण्यः ॥

1388. The affix एण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष् ॥

Note:—This debars the अण् of the last sūtra, though 'pṛavṛish' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season".

१३८९ । वर्षाभ्यष्टुक् । ४ । ३ । १८ ॥

वर्षाद्यु साधु वार्षिके वाचः । कालात्साधुपुण्यवत्त्वमादेष्ट्यानि साधुर्वै ॥

1389. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The नञ् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 S. 1418 here.

१३६० । सर्वत्राण् च त्रलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । २२ ॥

हेमन्तादण् स्यात्तलोपश्च वैदलेकयोः । चकाराण्ये कृत्वण् । हेमन्तम् । हेमन्तम् ।

1390. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन्तम् or हेमन्तम् ॥

Note:—The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Upanishads as well as in the classical literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 S. 1387 as हेमन्ता पठन्ति: but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387), हेमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21 S. 3452) and हेमन्तम् ॥

१३९१ । सायंचिरं प्राह्णेऽग्रयेऽन्यष्टचुट्युलौ तुट् च । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽप्यष्टभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यश्चुट्युलौ सप्तयोस्तुट् च । तुट्: प्रगणादयः अनद्यतन इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । सायन्तमम् । चिरन्तमम् । प्राह्णप्रगण्येरेदन्तत्वं निपात्यते । प्राह्णितनम् । अग्रेतनम् । शेषातनम् । दिवातनम् ॥

चिरपरस्परचरिभ्यश्चो वक्तव्यः * ॥ चिरत्तम् । परत्तम् । पराचिरम् ॥

अमादिआष्टिमम् * ॥ अष्टिमम् । आदिमम् । पश्चिमम् ॥

अन्ताद्य * ॥ अन्तिमम् ॥

1391. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', अग्रे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुट् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं + ट्यु = सायं + अम = सायं + तुट् + अम = सायंतनम् 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', अग्रेतनम् "what is of the early morning."

The replacement of ट्यु by अम under VII. 1. 1. S. 1247 takes place prior to the addition of the augment तुट् to the affix: because we find it so in the forms like अनद्यतन &c used by Pāṇini himself in III. 2. 121 S. 2103 &c Had it been added first, then the affix would have become ट्यु, and the form would have been अमद्यतु like एषु: for there is no rule which would have changed ट्यु into अम ॥ प्राह्णे and अग्रे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are शेषातनम् 'belonging to the night.' दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day.'

Note:—The affix अ comes after the words चिर, परम् (meaning in the past year) and अग्रं (meaning in the year before the last). As चिरत्तम्, परत्तम्, and पराचिरम् ॥

Vart :—The affix *डिगच्* comes after *अम*, *आदि* and *पञ्चाद्*, as, *अमिगच्*, *आदिगच्* and *पञ्चिगच्* ॥

Vart :—So also after *अन्त*, as, *अन्तिगच्* ॥

Note :—The difference between *त्यु* and *त्युल* is in accent. Thus *सायन्तेन* and *सायन्तन*, *धिरन्तेन* and *धिरन्तन*, *प्रह्लन्तेन* and *प्रह्लन्तन*, *प्रमेन्तेन*, *प्रमेन्तन*, *दिवान्तेन* and *दिवान्तन*, *सोषन्तेन* and *सोषन्तन* ॥ See VI. 1. 193. S. 3676.

१३०२ । विभाषा पूर्वाह्णपसहाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

आभ्यां लुङ् लुङो वा सास्त्वोस्तुद् च । पञ्चे ऽभ् । पूर्वाह्णतन्म् । अपराह्णतन्म् । पञ्चालतने-
द्वित्यलुक् । पूर्वाह्णः सोढीत्येति विभेदे तु पूर्वाह्णतन्म् । अपराह्णतन्म् । पौर्वाह्निकम् । अष्वराह्निकम् ॥

1392. Optionally after the words *पूर्वाह्ण* and *अपराह्ण*, there are the affixes *इयु* and *इयुल्* and their augment is *तुद्* ॥

In the alternative *उभ्* of IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 also occurs. As *पूर्वाह्णैतन्म्*, *अपराह्णैतन्म्* with *त्यु*, or *पौर्वाह्निकम्*, *अष्वराह्निकम्* with *थाश्*. With *त्युल* we have *पूर्वाह्णैतन्* and *अपराह्णैतन्* ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17 S. 975. When the compound is such as not retaining the case-affix, because not in the locative case, as when it is analysed by saying *पूर्वाह्णः सोढीत्य* (IV. 3. 52 S. 1427) then we have, *पूर्वाह्णतन्म्*, *अपराह्णतन्म्*, *पौर्वाह्निकम्*, *अष्वराह्निकम्* ॥

१३६३ । तत्र जातः । ४ । ३ । २५ ॥

तस्मिन्मूर्धाज्जात इत्यर्थेऽस्यादयो पादयव ल्युः । लुप्ते जातः कौष्ठः । कौस्तः । राक्षियः ।
अष्वराह्णीण इत्यादि ॥

1393. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes *अय* &c. *च* &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. S. 1312. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus: *सुग्रेजातः* = *सुग्र* + *अय्* = *कौष्ठः* 'born in *Srugbna*'. *कौस्तः* 'born in *Utsa*', *राक्षियः* (IV. 2. 93 S. 1313) *अष्वराह्णीणः* &c.

१३६४ । प्रावृषष्ठप् । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

पृष्यत्वाववाद् । प्रावृषि जातः प्रावृषिकः ॥

1394. After the word *प्रावृह* being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix *ठप्* in the sense of produced therein.

This debars *पृष्य* of sūtra IV. 3. 17 S. 1388. The *प्* of *ठप्* is for the sake of accent. *प्रावृषिजातः* = *प्रावृषिकः* 'produced in the rainy season'.

१३९५ । संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् । ४ । ३ । २७ ॥

अथगोऽपवादः । शारदका दर्भविशेषा गुह्यविशेषश्च ॥

1395. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born' therein.' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शारदका दर्भः 'the grass called Śāradaka,' शारदका गुहाः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Note:—According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 8. 38, S. 1413.

१३९६ । उत्तरपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १० ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । इत्यस्त दत्यस्यात्याच् ॥

1396. Upto VII. 3. 31 S. 1789 inclusive, the substitution of Vṛiddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound.

This is an adbhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII. 3. 32 S. 2574. exclusive. The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should be supplied in all those sūtras, to complete the sense. Thus in VII. 3. 11. S. 1397 the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied. As पूर्ववार्धिक, अपरवार्धिक, पूर्वर्द्धेमन्, अपरर्द्धेमन् ॥

Note:—In those sūtras, where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII. 3. 18, 19, 20, 21, the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vṛiddhi of the second member. But in those sūtras, where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII. 3. 11 S. 1397 (अपरवार्धिक), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vṛiddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vṛiddhi.' This peculiar vṛiddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI. 2. 105. Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sūtras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case.

१३९७ । अचयवारतोः । ७ । ३ । ११ ॥

अचयवर्धयिन्ः पूर्वपदार्थवृत्तिर्नोऽप्यामर्शितो वृत्तिः स्यात् त्रिणि त्रिणि त्रिणि च त्रिणि परे । पूर्ववार्धिकः । अपरर्द्धेमन् । अचयवार्धिकः । पूर्वायु यर्वायु भयः पूर्ववार्धिकः । अतोर्द्धिवर्धयिन्ः अचयवर्धयिनि अचयवर्धयिनि पूर्वपदार्थवृत्तिः । अचयवर्धयिन्ः ॥

1397. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए or ऋ, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part.

As पूर्ववार्तिकः from पूर्व + वार्त् + टक् meaning वर्षायाम् पूर्वः ॥ अवरदैग्नः meaning हेमन्तस्यापरः ॥

Note :—The composition with पूर्व and अवर &c. takes place by II. 2. 1 S. 712 and then by IV. 3. 18 S. 1389 there is टक् after वर्त्, and अण् after हेमन्त with the elision of त् by IV. 3. 22. S. 1390. The Tadanta-vidhi, as a general rule, does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word: (but tadanta-vidhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vṛddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion). We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन्त being formed from हेमन्त by a vṛddhi-causing affix (IV. 3. 22 S. 1390), the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound, the first member of which denotes a part. (कृतोर्वृद्धि न द्विधावयववाम् I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वसु वर्षासु भवः पौर्वर्धिक with इत् (IV. 3. 11 S. 1389) and no vṛddhi of the स of व because of the maxim "The Tadanta-vidhi applies, when an affix causing Vṛddhi is ordained after a word denoting season; provided that, the word denoting season is preceded in composition by a word denoting a part, and not otherwise." Therefore the vṛddhi does not take place here, because the preceding word in composition is not a word which denotes a part of varṣā, but is in apposition with it. The tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion.

१३९८ । सुसर्वार्धाजनपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १२ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः । सुपाञ्चालकः । अर्धपाञ्चालकः । अनपदसद्वन्धेरिति बुम् । सुसर्वार्धदिक्कब्धेभ्यो जनपदस्थेति सप्तलक्षिणिः ॥

1398. After सु, सर्व and अर्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vṛddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory ज्, ण् or क् follows.

As सुपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः, and अर्धपाञ्चालकः, formed with बुम् (IV. 2. 124. S. 1348) read with IV. 2. 125 S. 1349. though the word is not a Vṛddha. This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वार्धदिक् कब्धेभ्यो जनपदस्य "The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction-denoting word"

Note :—As shown in the above examples, and for direction-denoting words see the following sūtra (I. 1. 72 Vārt. Mahābhāṣya).

१३९९ । दिशांमद्राणाम् । ७ । ३ । १३ ॥

दिशायाञ्जनपदवाचिनो वृद्धिः । पूर्वपाञ्चालकः । दिशः दिक् । पूर्वपाञ्चालानामयं पौर्वपञ्चालः । मद्राणां दिक् । पौर्वमद्रः । ओषदिनाम् उत्तरार्थः ॥

1399. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र,

gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory
ञ्, ण्, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपञ्चालकः, (IV. 2. 125, 107) The Tadanta-vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction,'? Observe पूर्वः पञ्चालानां = पूर्वपञ्चालः, तत्र भवः, = पूर्वपञ्चालकः ॥ Why do we say with the exception of नद् ? Observe पूर्वनद् with अम् (IV. 2. 108 S. 1329). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of "direction" only runs.

१४०० । प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् । ७ । ३ । १४ ॥

दिशः परेषां नगरवाचिनां ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य च वृद्धिः । पूर्वेषुकामशब्दां भवः पूर्वेषुकामशब्दः । नगरे, पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः ॥

1400. After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a town or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशब्दः "born in Purveshu kāmashāmi". So also अपरैषुकामशब्दः, पूर्वेषुकाण्यशुचिकः, अपरकाण्यशुचिक (IV. 2. 107 S. 1328) These are town names. पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः, अपरपाटलिपुत्रकः, पूर्वकाम्यकुञ्जः, अपरकाम्यकुञ्जः ॥ These are city names.

Note:—The word प्राचां in this sūtra, as well as in VII. 3. 24. S. 1431 does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians' but 'the eastern countries', because of the context. पूर्वेषुकामशब्दः is thus formed. पूर्वा च भवती इषुकामशब्दः = पूर्वेषुकामशब्दः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50 S. 727. Then the affix ञ् is added to it, in the sense of सतो भवः by IV. 2. 107 S. 1328. In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रकः the affix पुत्र् is added by IV. 2. 123 S. 1347. Though Pāṭaliputra is the name of one city, Purā-pāṭali-putra means the Eastern portion of the city Pāṭaliputra.

१४०१ । पूर्वोद्गापराह्णाद्रासूत्रप्रदोपावस्करादुयु । ४ । ३ । २८ ॥

पूर्वाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः । आर्द्रकः । मूलकः । प्रदोषकः । अवस्करकः ॥

1401. The affix युन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वोद्गाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वोद्गाह्णकः । अपराह्णकः ॥ This debars IV. 3. 24 S. 1392. So also आर्द्रकः । मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. प्रदोषकः ॥ This debars उन् of IV. 3. 14. S. 1384. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

१४०२ । पयः पन्थ च । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

पथि जातः पन्थकः ॥

1402. The affix बुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and there by in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथी जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the ञ् ॥

१४०३ । अमावास्याया च । ४ । ३ । ३० ॥

अमावास्यायः । अमावास्यः ॥

1403. The affix बुन् comes optionally after the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars ञ् of IV. 3. 16.S. 1387. Thus अमावास्यायः or अमावास्यः ॥

Note:—This affix बुन् is applied to the word अमावास्या also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यान्यत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावास्यायः or अमावास्यः ॥

१४०४ । अ च । ४ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अमावास्या ॥

1404. And the affix अ also is added to the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the बुन् and अञ् already given. Thus अमावास्यायः, अमावास्यायः, अमावास्यायः ॥ So also after the word अमावास्या, as अमावास्यायः, अमावास्यायः and अमावास्यायः ॥

१४०५ । सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् । ४ । ३ । ३२ ॥

सिन्धुकः । कच्छाद्यणि मनुष्यद्वयि च प्राप्ते । अपकरकः । श्रीस्वर्गिकेऽणि प्राप्ते ॥

1405. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhādi class and takes अञ् and बुन् (IV. 2. 133 S. 1357); and अपकर would have also taken अञ् under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

१४०६ । अणञौ च । ४ । ३ । ३३ ॥

कमात् स्तः । सैन्धवः । आपवारः ॥

1406. And the affixes अञ् and अन् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्यैः and औपरः ॥

१४०७ । अविष्टाफलमुनुराधास्वातितित्वपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखापादाबहुला
लुक् । ४ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एभ्यो नञ्चवाचिभ्यः परस्य जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् ॥

1407. The affix denoting 'born therein', is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishṭhā', 'phalgunī', 'anurādhā', 'svāti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hastā', 'viśākhā', 'ashādhā', and 'bahulā,' all denoting asterisms.

Note:—The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by 1. 2. 49. 8. 1408. Thus अविष्टासु जातः = अविष्टः 'produced under Śravishṭhā'. So also फल्गुनः, अनुराधः, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विशाखा, अषाढः, बहुलः ॥ The 'Bahulā' is another name of the asterism कुत्तिका ॥ It is exhibited in the sūtra as bahulā with a short अ, as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva shortening.

१४०८ । लुक् तद्धितलुकि । २१ । २ । ४२ ॥

तद्धितलुकि सन्धुपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् अविष्टासु जातः अविष्टः । फल्गुनः इत्यादि ॥
चित्रोत्पत्तिरौदशीभ्यः स्त्रियाधुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चित्रायो जाता चित्रा । रेवती । रोहिणी ।
आभ्यां लुक् तद्धितलुकीति लुकि कृते विष्पत्यशेषाकृतिगणवास्तुनर्हति ॥
फाल्गुन्यपदाभ्यां दाती यक्तव्यौ * ॥ स्त्रियामिदमेव । । फल्गुनी । अषाढा ॥
अविष्टापादाभ्यां छप्यक्तव्यः * ॥ अस्त्रियामपि । अविष्टीयः । अषादीयः ॥ -

1408. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix also, of the original stem to which the Taddhita affix was added.

The word लुक् defined in I. 1. 61.-S. 260, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्; there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes luk. The word upasārjana used in explaining this sūtra by the author should be taken in its popular, sense of non-principal, secondary; and not the technical upasārjana of grammar.

Thus अविष्टा + (अणलुक्) = अविष्टः ॥ The Taddhita suffix being *luded*; the original feminine termination अ also becomes luk. Therefore the derivative of अविष्टा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्टः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः, &c.

Part:—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायो जाता 'a woman produced under Chitrā' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine

1411. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasāla', 'abhijit', 'aśvayuk', and 'śatabhik'.

As वत्सशाले जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुक्, शतभिषक् or शतभिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वात्सशाल are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

Vart:—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as जित्, provided that, it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 is reordained by IV. 3. 16. S. 1387. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2. S. 1550 by force of IV. 1. 83 S. 1073 but it is debarred by वच् of IV. 3. 11. S. 1381 and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16 S. 1387. Thus शतभिषजि जातः = शतभिषः or शतभिषजः, or शतभिषक् ॥

१४१२ । नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् । ४ । ३ । ३७ ॥

जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुक् स्यात् । रोहिणः । रोहिणः ॥

1412. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after the name of an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387 'person born when the moon is in the asterism of Rohini Aldebaran').

१४१३ । कुतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः । ४ । ३ । ३८ ॥

तथेत्येव । पुनः कृता लब्धः क्रीतः कुशलो वा कौशलः ॥

1413. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix in construction, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there', 'bought there', and 'dexterous therein'.

Thus कौशलः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Sruṅgha".

१४१४ । प्रायमयः । ४ । ३ । ३९ ॥

तथेत्येव । पुनः प्रायेण बाहुभ्येन भवति योऽस्ति ॥

1414. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्राय means something less than all i.e. abundant. Thus योऽस्ति 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Sruṅgha', = पुनः प्रायेण बाहुभ्येन भवति ॥

Note :—This sūtra according to Patanjali, is superfluous, as it is covered by the more comprehensive sūtra सप्तमः (IV. 3. 53 S. 1428). If सप्तमः be explained as अनित्यमवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

१४१५ । उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक । ४ । ३ । ४० ॥

औपजातुकः । औपकर्णिकः । औपनीविकः ॥

1415. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'generally found there in', after the words 'upajānu', 'upakarna', and upanivi', being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars सण् &c. Thus औपजातुकः औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ॥

Note :—All these three words of the sūtra are Indeclinables, because they are Avyayibhāva compounds. In the sūtra, they have formed a samāhāra Dvandva and masculine.

१४१६ । संभूते । ४ । ३ । ४१ ॥

सुप्ते संभवति सौप्तः ॥

1416. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein'.

Note :—Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the words जात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy', i. e. अवकल्पितः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus सुप्ते संभवति = सौप्तः 'what is suited to the country of Srugha'. The word सप्त is understood here also.

१४१७ । कोशाद्दञ् । ४ । ३ । ४२ ॥

कौशेयं वस्त्रम् ॥

1417. The affix ढञ् comes after the word कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that'

This debars ण् ॥ Thus कौशे संभूतं = कौशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes

Note :—The word कोश means 'cocoon'. कौशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon', and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कौशेय is however रुद्धि and means 'silken'. Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath', as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134 S. 1514 under the heading of दिक्कृत् rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact, after the sūtra एव्या-इम् (IV. 3. 159 S. 1587). the addition of कोशाथ would have been more appropriate.

१४१८ । कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्वच्यमानेषु । ४ । ३ । ४३ ॥

हेमन्ते साधुहेमन्तः प्राकारः । वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति वासन्यः कुन्दलताः । शरदि पच्यन्ते शारदः शालयः ॥

1418. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good therein', 'flowering therein' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः । So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring'. So also शरदि पच्यन्ति = शारदः शालयः 'the grains that ripen in autumn'.

Note:—This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix चप् ३०. The word pushpyat in the sūtra is the Present Participle or स्रज् of the Divādi पुष्य ॥

१४१९ । उत्ते च । ४ । ३ । ४४ ॥

हेमन्ते चप्यन्ते हेमन्ता यवाः ॥

1419. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते चप्यन्ते = हेमन्ता यवाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' सेना ग्रीह्यः ॥

Note:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛtti of स्रज् only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

१४२० । आश्वयुज्या युज् । ४ । ३ । ४५ ॥

ह्रस्वोऽपवादः । आश्वयुज्यायुजा आश्वयुजका मायाः ॥

1420. The affix युज् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars हम् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या युजा = आश्वयुजका मायाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī' Āśvayujī is the name of the full moon in the Asterism of Āśvayuj. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्विनी instead of आश्वयुज् ॥

१४२१ । प्रीप्थयसन्ताद्व्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पथे चप्यन् । पथ्यन्त । पथ्यन् । शान्त्यन् । शान्त्यन् ॥

1421. The affix युज् comes optionally after the words 'grih-mā' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown therein'.

This debars ऋण् (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus श्रेष्मन् or श्रेष्मकम् सत्यम् 'the crop sown in summer'. यासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

१४२२। देयघृण् १४।३।४७ ॥

कामोदिविव । मासे देयघृणं मासिकम् ॥

1422. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयघृणं = मासिकं "a debt due in a month".

Note :—Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added.

१४२३। कलाप्यश्वत्थयवधुसाद्वुञ् १४।३।४८ ॥

यस्मिन् काले मयूराः कलापिनो भवन्ति स उपपापकलापी तत्र देयघृणं कलापकम् । अश्वत्थय फलमश्वत्थस्तद्वृक्षः कालोऽश्वत्थवृक्षः । यस्मिन् कालोऽश्वत्थाः फलन्ति तत्र देयघृणं श्वत्थकम् । यस्मिन् यवधुसमुत्पद्यते तत्र देयं यवधुसकम् ॥

1423. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवधुस denoting time and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are terms which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the āśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवधुस 'barley-chaff.' Thus कलापिनिकाले देयघृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season)' So also अश्वत्थकम् "a debt due when the fig-tree, flowers." And यवधुसकम् ॥ 'a debt due when the barley is thrashed'.

१४२४। ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ् १४।३।४९ ॥

ग्रीष्मे देयघृणं श्रेष्मकम् । आवरसमकम् ॥

1424. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due at that time' after the words 'grīṣma' and 'avarasama.'

This debars the ऋण् and ऋम् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयघृणं = श्रेष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् 'a debt which will be due next year', or 'which fell due last year.'

Note :—This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while वुञ् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. (The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year') The word आवरसमकम् means either समाभिर्वा संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न वत्सम्; 'a debt which will be due next year,' or 'which fell due last year.'

१४२५। संवत्सराग्रहायणभ्यां ठञ् १४।३।५० ॥

प्रादुर्बुम् । सांवत्सरिकम् । सांवत्सरकम् । ग्रामहायणिकम् । ग्रामहायणकम् ॥

1425. The affix 'उञ्' also (as well as बुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'âgrahâyani' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयवृण् = सांवत्सरिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ ग्रामहायणिकं or ग्रामहायणकं ॥

Note:—The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhivêlâdi Class (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387) and takes वृण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins उञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

१४२६ । व्याहरति घृगः । ४ । ३ । ५१ ॥

कालपाचिनः सप्तम्यन्ताच्छब्दायत इत्यर्थे व्याहरत्यः स्तुः यो व्याहरति स घृगमेव । निघायां व्याहरति नैशो घृगः । नैशिकः ॥

1426. An affix (like अण् or उञ् &c.) comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then makes noise', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निघायां व्याहरति घृगः = नैशः or नैशिकः "an animal that makes noise at night." So also प्रादेपः or प्रादेपिकः (IV. 3. 14. S. 1384) 'a brute that yells in the morning'. The affix added is उञ्, in the alternative with वृण्, by IV. 3. 14. S. 1384.

Note:—Why do we say घृगः 'a beast'? Observe निघायां व्याहरति उलूकः for 'owl' is a bird. Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to wander.' The Sūtra may, therefore, also be translated as: "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) comes in expressing a wild beast who roams at large at that time."

१४२७ । तदस्य सोढम् । ४ । ३ । ५२ ॥

कायादिदेव । निघायां व्याहरति घृगमेव निघा सखोढमस्य नैशः । नैशिकः ॥

1427. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कायाद् is understood here also. तद् = that : सोढम् = श्रितम् or साधम् "endured or habituated". Thus निघा सखोढमस्य नैशः = निघा "reading by night". तद् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य = नैशः or नैशिकः 'a student who is habituated or -cured to reading by night'. The affix is thus by IV. 3. 14. S. 1384.

१४२८ । तत्र भयः । ४ । ३ । ५३ ॥

तत्र भयं भयः । तत्रिभयः ॥

1428. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालान् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in the sūtra सद् जातः (IV. 3. 25. S. 1393). Thus, सुप्ते भवः=सौप्तः "who stays in Sṛughna", राध्न्या ॥

Note :—The repetition of त्व in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtra, is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of तत्त्व ॥

१४२६ । दिगादिभ्यो यत् । ४ । ३ । ५४ ॥

विरयम् । वर्ग्यम् ॥

1429. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भवः=विश्वम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

Note :—The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुखं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजघनम् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jagbana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word उदक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As उदकया = रजस्वला, otherwise we have जीवको मन्त्र्यः ॥

1 विश्व, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 राग, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाव्य (धाव्या), 7 निघ, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथि, 11 रत्न, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देव, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 मेघ, 21 दूध, 22 उदकास्तत्रायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वेश, 25 वेश (विश), 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 मनुष्य ॥

१४३० । शरीरावयवाश्च । ४ । ३ । ५५ ॥

दन्तम् । कर्णम् ॥

1430. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भवः=दन्तम् 'dental, i. e. what stays there, कर्णम् ॥

१४३१ । प्राच्यां नगरान्ते । ७ । ३ । २४ ॥

प्राच्यां देशे नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपदस्वीकारवत्तस्य प्राचामदेशो वृद्धिर्भिति विवि किं च । सुज्ञानगरे भवः वीक्षणामरः । पूर्वनागर । प्राच्यां किम् । महानगरपदेषु तत्र भवो महानगरः ॥

1431. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, झ, or ञ्, the Vpiddhi is substituted for the first vowels of

both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the stem नगर ॥

As सौवर्णनगरः (= सुवर्णनगरे भवः), पौर्वीनगरः ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माद्वनगरः, from मद्रनगरः the city of the Northern people.

Note :—The word अङ्गस्य of VI. 4. 1. S. 200. governs this sūtra also, with this difference that it is changed into the locative case here and does not give its genitive termination.

१४३२ । जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभाषतमुत्तरम् । ७ । ३ । २५ ॥

जङ्गलाद्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वध्वस्वाचामादेशचो वृद्धिश्चत्तरपदस्य वा ङिति णिति किति च । कुरुजङ्गले मयं कौरुजङ्गलम् । कौरुजाङ्गलम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । सौवर्णवलजम् । सौवर्णवालजम् ॥

1432. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the compound ending in the stems जङ्गल, धेनु and वलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also.

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुजाङ्गलम्, "existing in Kurujangala". वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम्. सौवर्णवलजम् or सौवर्णवालजम् ॥

१४३३ । दृतिकुक्षिकलशियस्त्यस्त्यहेर्दृञ् । ४ । ३ । ५६ ॥

दृतिवम् । कौक्षियम् । कलशिर्षटः नम भवं कालशेयम् । वास्तेयम् । चास्तेयम् । आस्तेयम् ।

1433. The affix दृञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti'. 'kukshi', 'kalaśi', 'vasti', 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus दृतिवम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षियम्. कालशेयम्, 'what exists in a pot', वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आदेयम् ॥ आहियम् is the name of a poison. The word आस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like आस्तिशीघ्रं मोः, आस्तिमान्=धनवान् ॥

१४३४ । प्रीवाम्योऽण् च । ४ । ३ । ५७ ॥

प्राग् वस । वेदयम् । देवम् ॥

1434. The affix अण् also (as well as दृञ्) comes after the word 'grivā' in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars चण् (IV. 3. 55 S. 1430) मरिचान् मरं=मरेयम् or मरेयम् ॥

Note :—The word वीणा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra.

१४३५ । गग्नीराम्प्य । ४ । ३ । ५८ ॥

गग्नीरं मरं गग्नीरम् ॥

1435. The affix **इय** comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhīra'.

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भवे = गम्भीर्येण 'gravity'.

Vart:—So also after पंचजन ॥ As पांचजन्यम् ॥

१४३६ । अव्ययीभावाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५९ ॥

परिमुखं भवे परिमुख्यम् ॥ परिमुखादिभ्य एवेत्यन्ते ० ॥ मेहः । जीपकूलः ॥

1436. After an **Avyayibhāva** compound, the affix **इय** is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

Ishii:—The affix comes only after the **Avyayibhāva** compounds **parimukha** and the rest. The affix **इय** does not come after every **Avyayibhāva** compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the **Gaṇapāṭha**.

Thus परिमुखं भवे = परिमुख्यम्. So also परिहृण्यम् ॥ Not so जीपकूलम्, the word उपकूल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहृण, 3 पञ्चोद, 4 पञ्चुल, 5 जीपकूल, 6 उपकूल, 7 परिशीर 8 अनुशीर, 9 उपशीर, 10 उपशयल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपय, 13 अनुकूल्य, 14 अनुनित 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुलाप, 17 अनुयय, 18 अनुमुप, 19 अनुवेश, 20 अनुगङ्गा, 21 मलिहाय, 22 अनुलाय ॥

१४३७ । अन्तःपूर्वपदादृच् । ४ । ३ । ६० ॥

अव्ययीभावादिरेव । वेद्यमि इति अन्तर्वेद्यम् तच्च भवमान्तर्वेद्यम् । अन्तर्भोजिकम् । अन्तर्भोजिकम् ॥ अन्तर्भोजिकम् ॥ अन्तर्भोजिकम् ॥

1437. After an **Avyayibhāva** compound, having the word **अन्तर** as prior term, the affix **टच्** is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अन्तर्वेद्यिकम् from **antar-veśyam** which means "in the house". That which exists in the house is "antar-veśmikam". So also अन्तर्भोजिकम् ॥

Vart:—So also after the words अध्यात्म, &c as, अध्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम् आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अध्यात्मवि is **Ākṛitigāṇa**.

१४३८ । अनुशक्तिकार्दीनां च । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

एषादुभयवृद्धिः स्यात् निति निति निति च । आधिदैविकम् । आधिभौतिकम् । ऐश्वर्यिकम् । पारलौकिकम् । अध्यात्मदिशकृतिगणः ॥

1438. Before a **Taddhita** affix having an **indicatory** अ, ए or क्. the **Vṛiddhi** is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशक्तिक &c.

Thus आधिदैविकम् ; आधिभौतिकम् ; ऐहलौकिकम् ; पारलौकिकम् ॥ These words 'belong' to the Ākritigana of अथ्यात्म &c.

Note :—(1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशातिकस्येष्टम्) V. 1. 21. and IV. 3. 120. ; (2) आनुहोदिकम् : (= अनुहोदेन भरति IV. 4. 8). (3) आनुसांवरणम् (अनुसंवरणे दीयते V. 1. 96). (4) आनुसांवरणिकः (IV. 3. 60 formed by ठम् from अनुसम्बन्धरेण श्रुतिः) (5) आंगारैषणः (son of अङ्गास्येष्टु). (6) आसिहात्यम् (= आसिहते भवं). Some read this word as अस्यहत्य ; this will also take णम् as belonging to विभुक्तादि class. As आस्यहात्यः (= आस्यहत्याब्धोऽस्मिन्प्रधायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्यहोतिः, as-अस्यहैसिकः (= अस्यहोतिः प्रयोजनमस्य). The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided. (7) बाध्यैषणः (= बाध्यैषणस्य अपत्यं). It belongs to Bidādi class. (8) पुस्तकसदोऽपत्यं = पौस्तकसाविः ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi-class. (9) आनुशास्त्र from अनुस्तम् ॥ The same as above. (10) कुरुकतः belongs to Gargādi class. Its partonymic is कौरुकालः (11) कौरुपाञ्चालः (= कुरुपञ्चालेषु भवः) ॥ The affix घञ् is not added here, because अनवरतप्रदायो अनवरतहयेन गृह्यते ॥

१४३६ । देविकादिशिषादित्यवाब्धीर्धिसत्रश्रेयसामात् । ७ । ३ । १ ॥

एषां पञ्चानां वृद्धिमात्रावशिष्य आत् स्थात् इति शिति किति च । दायिकम् । देविकाकृते भक्त दायिकाकृताः शालयः । शिष्याया विकारः शौचपञ्चमसः । पलापादिभ्यो वेत्यम् । विलीह इत् दात्योहम् । दीर्घसप्त भवे दार्पसप्तम् । श्रेयसि भवं श्रेयसप्तम् ॥

1439. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory व्, ण्, or क्, follows, आ is substituted instead of वृद्धि for the first vowels of the following five words :— devikā, śiṣapāṭi, dityavāṭi, dirghasatra, and śreyas.

Thus दायिकम् (= देविकायां भवम्) in दायिकपुत्रकम् ; दायिकाकृताः शालयः (= देविकाकृते भवः), Similarly शौचपञ्चमसः (= शिष्यायाविकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palāṁdī class (IV. 3. 141 S. 1521), and takes णम् or ञम्, the difference being in accent. Similarly दात्याहम् from दित्यवाह, (विलीह इत्) and दार्पसप्तम् (दीर्घसप्ते भवं) and श्रेयसप्तम् (श्रेयसि भवं) ॥

१४४० । ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् । ४ । ३ । ६१ ॥

ठम् स्थात् । ग्राम्यदीर्घापरिहारेण । पारिषामिकाः । आनुपायिकाः ॥

1440. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayibhāva), there is the affix ठम् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The word "after an Avyayibhāva", is understood here also. Thus पारिषामिकाः and आनुपायिकाः ॥

१४४१ । जिहाम्नाङ्गुलेदयः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

(जिहाम्नाङ्गुलम् । अङ्गुलीदम् ॥

1441. After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'aṅguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यद् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

१४४२ । वर्गान्ताच्च । छ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कवर्गीयम् ॥

1442. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

As कवर्गीयम्, यवर्गीयम् ॥

१४४३ । अशब्दे यस्माच्चन्यतरस्याम् । छ । ३ । ६४ ॥

पक्षे पूर्वेषु छः । मद्गर्ग्यः । मद्गर्गिणः । मद्गर्ग्यिः । अशब्दे किम् । कवर्गीयो दर्थः ॥

1443. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यद् and छ are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As मद्गर्ग्यः (by यद्) मद्गर्गिणः, (by छ), and मद्गर्ग्यिः (by छ) ॥

Why do we say, when it does not mean 'शब्द' ? For then it takes one affix only i. e. छ ; as कवर्गीयिवर्गः 'a letter belonging to क class.'

१४४४ । कर्णललाटात्कनलकारे । छ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कर्णिका । ललाटिका ॥

1444. The affix कश् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalāṭa', the word denoting an ornament.

Thus कर्णिका, 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'denoting an ornament' ? Observe कर्णस्य 'what is in the ear'.

१४४५ । तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः । छ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुषो व्याख्यानः सौषो वन्यः । तैः । कर्तव्यः । सुषु भव सौषम् ॥

1445. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

Note :—That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'.

The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तस्यभवः, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपा व्याख्यानः—सौतो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case affixes'. So also तैङ्गः 'Tainga—a Commentary on Verbal affixes'. कर्तः 'Kārta—a Commentary on kṛit affixes', सौप &c. may also mean सुष्ठु भव्य &c.

Note:—The anuvṛtti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛtti of भव into this sūtra also.

१४४६ । बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तादृक् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

पश्यण्यस्योर्विधायां शास्त्रं पश्यण्यम् । तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा पाठ्यणस्तिकः ॥

1446. The affix टञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पान्दरात्मिकम् 'a commentary on the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ञ् ॥' The word पश्यण्यम् is acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169).

Note:—Why do we say बह्वचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम् तैङ्गम् &c. A word of two syllables will take टञ् (IV. 3. 72 S. 1451). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe संहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49).

१४४७ । कृत्यहेभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

योगसाधयेषु योग्येषु संहितेषु तथाम्यतरोपादानेन सिद्धे उभयोर्व्याख्यानसामर्थ्यात्सोमका अग्निहोत्रादौ । अग्निहोत्रस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा आग्निहोत्रिकः । याजुर्वेदिकः । पाकयज्ञिकः । नादयज्ञिकः । बहुपञ्चत्वं स्वरूपविधिविरुद्धार्थम् । अनन्तोदात्ताद्यं शास्त्रम् ॥

1446. The affix टञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

These two words generally refer to a sacrifice in which the soma-juice is the chief ingredient. But as they can be accomplished without Soma also, so these words include here non-soma sacrifices also.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu:—आग्निहोत्रिकः, 'a commentary on a work on Agnisthoma sacrifices' याजुर्वेदिकः, ॥ yajña :-पाकयज्ञिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ The word पक्व means 'small'. a minor or small sacrifice is called पाकयज्ञः । It is a Karma-dhārāya samāsa and has the final acute accent of samāsa in general. Tho

sacrifice with new (nava) rice is नवयज्ञः । The word यज्ञ is derived from $\sqrt{\text{यज्}}$ with the affix यञ् (III. 3. 90. S. 3268). It retains its accent in the compound being a Kṛit-word. वावयज्ञिक ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The word 'vājapeya' is acute in the middle, because वेय being a Kṛidanta-word, formed by यञ्, retains its accent in the compound (VI. 2. 139. S. 3873).

Note :—The words यज्ञ and यत्न mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a soma sacrifice', but the separate mention of यत्न implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas, because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifice only. Thus पाञ्चौदधिकः, द्वाष्टौदधिकः ॥

Note :—The word stoma (स्तोम) is synonymous with stuti (स्तुति) "praise". The sacrifices in which Agni is praised is called Agnistoma. It has acute on the final by परादिश्च परान्तश्च ॥

The word vājapeya is a compound of vāja "a kind of barley-gruel" and peya "a sacrifice in which something is drunk". It is formed by यञ् affix of the 'kṛitya-lyu-ṭo bahulam' subdivision. The acute is on वे by VI. 1. 213. S. 8701.

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68 S. 25)

१४४८. अध्यायेष्वेवैः । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

वसिष्ठश्चैवो लक्षणा व्याख्यानयुक्तिभ्यो भवे व्याख्यानं चाध्याये ऽन् स्त्रान् । वसिष्ठेन ह्येवैवै वसिष्ठस्तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवे वा वसिष्ठिकी ऽध्यायः । अध्यायेषु किम् । वसिष्ठी कृत् ॥

1448. The affix ऽन् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only.

Note :—The word कृदि is the name of कृद् and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravaca list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवे वा = वसिष्ठिकीऽध्यायः, hence the word कृदि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi."

Thus a Vedic hymn first seen by (revealed to) Vasiṣṭha is called by lakṣhaṇa or indirectly वसिष्ठ also. वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवे वा = वसिष्ठिकीऽध्यायः "Vasiṣṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vasiṣṭha".

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वसिष्ठी कृत् ॥

१४४९. पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात्तद्वन् । ४ । ३ । ७० ॥

पुरोडाशसहचरिणो मन्त्रः पुरोडाशः स एव पौरोडाशः वतः ऽन् । पौरोडाशिकः ॥

1449. The affix ऽन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pau-roḍāśa' and 'puroḍāśa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāśa 'a sacrificial rice cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such puroḍāśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). A book on Puroḍāśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). The commentary here refers to the mantras or verses relating to Puroḍāśa, and not to the sacrifice.

१४१० । छन्दसो यदणौ । ४ । ३ । ७१ ॥

छन्दस्य । छान्दसः ॥

1450. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the word Chhandas.

This debars ङक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्दसः ॥

१४५१ । व्यजूद्वाद्यण्कर्मयमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताङ्क् । ४ । ३ । ७२ ॥

व्यप् । ऐदिकः । पाशुकः । षट् । पातुर्होतुकः । ब्राह्मणिकः । आधिकः । इत्यादि ॥

1451. The affix ङक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short अच्, and the words 'brāhmaṇa', 'ṛik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharaṇa', 'nāma', 'ākhyāta' and 'nāmākhyāta', being the names of explainable works.

Note:—The word nāma being a dissyllabic word would have been covered by the first part of the sūtra, viz. dryach. Its separate enumeration shows that it is to be taken singly, as well as in composition with ākhyāta.

This debars णच् and ङक् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic:—ऐदिकः, पाशुकः ॥ 2. Ending in अच्:—पातुर्होतुकः ॥ ब्राह्मणिकः, आधिकः, प्राथमिकः, आप्तरिकः, पौरुषशणिकः, गणिकः, भाष्यवार्तिकः, नामाख्यवार्तिकः ॥

१४५२ । अणुगयनादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७३ ॥

उपदेशवशात् । आर्गमनः । औपनिषद् । देवाकरणः ॥

1452. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'ṛiga-yana' &c.

This debars ङम्, ङक् and ङ ॥ आर्गमनः, औपनिषद्, देवाकरणः ॥

Note:—The repetition of यण् in the sūtra, though the anuvṛitti of this affix was current from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus पास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 कृगयन्, 2 एदव्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोमान 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविचिन्ति, 6 न्याय,
7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 ज्ञानविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या,
14 विद्या, 15 वस्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उगाय, 18 संवरत्न, 19 ब्रह्म, 20 उपनिषद्, 21
निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा, 23 भित्ता, 24 छन्दो विनिनी, 25 व्याय ॥

१४५३ । तत् आगतः । ४ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुग्रादागतः सौमः ॥

1453. An affix (IV. 1. 83. S. 1373 &c) comes after a word being in the 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus सुग्रादागतः = सौमः 'what has come from Sruḡna'.

१४५४ । उगायस्थानेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७५ ॥

शुल्कशालाया आगतः शौल्कशालिकः ॥

1454. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix उक् in the sense of 'come thence'.

Note:—The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिकः 'what is derived from custom house'.

Note:—The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68 S. 25).

१४५५ । शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । ७६ ॥

आयस्थानउक्छादीनां चापवादः । शुण्डिकादागतः शौण्डिकः । कार्कणः । तैर्यः ॥

1455. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः, तैर्यः ॥

Note:—The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV 3. 78, S. 1452. बाधकबाधनार्थम् ॥ As औपानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकाय, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्य, 7 शृदि, 8 वृज,
9 पर्य ॥

१४५६ । विद्यायोनिस्संबन्धेभ्यो बुञ् । ४ । ३ । ७७ ॥

औपाध्यकः । पैतानहकः ॥

1456. The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yonī, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिस्सम्-

न्याः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix हुम् ॥ This debars अद् and छ ॥ Thus उपनिषदाचार्यः = औपनिषदाचार्यः, 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' So also पैतामहः as पैतामहः 'wealth derived from a grand-father.'

१४५७ । अतृप्तम् । ४ । ३ । ७८ ॥

इमोऽपवादः । दौतृकम् । मातृकम् ॥

1457. 'The affix तृप् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short अ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars हुम् ॥ Thus होत्ररागतम् = दौतृकम् 'derived from Hotri.' So also of 'blood,' as :—मातृकम् ॥

Note:—The तृ in अतृप् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long अ ॥

Note:—When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सायवम् ॥

१४५८ । पितृयुक् । ४ । ३ । ७९ ॥

आदम् । शिष्टं कृतः । यत्येति लोपः । पित्र्यम् । पैतृकम् ॥

1458. 'The affix यत् as well as तृप् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितृरागतं = पितृ + यत् = पितृयी + य = पितृय + य = पित्र्यम् (the pi is replaced by शि by VII. 4. 27. and the long ई of शि is elided by VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'paternal—i. e. wealth inherited from father.' With तृप् = पैतृकं ॥

१४५९ । गोत्रायङ्कृतम् । ४ । ३ । ८० ॥

विदेश्य आगतं वैदम् । गार्ग्यम् । शक्षम् । औपगम्यकम् ॥

1459. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

Note:—The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 and 127 S. 1507. The affix हुम् of IV. 3. 126 S. 1506 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अङ्क of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus वैदम्, गार्ग्यम्, शक्षम् formed by अङ्क of IV. 3. 127 S. 1507 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. औपगम्यकम् = औपगम्यकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also वापदयकः, नान्दायनकः, पारायणकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगम्यकम् आगतम् = औपग-

नकम्, कापटयकम्, नादायनकम्, पारायणकम्) formed by यत् (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506).

Note:—The word यत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in चाक्षेभो भयवत् (IV. 2. 34 S. 1237), चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् (IV. 2. 46 S. 1255).

१४६० । नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रकुशलनिपुणानाम् । ७ । ३ । ३० ॥

नञः परेषां शुच्यादिपञ्चानामांश्चो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा त्रिशदौ परे । आसीचम् । जसौ-
धम् । आनैश्वर्यम् । अनैश्वर्यम् । आक्षेत्रम् । अक्षेत्रम् । आकुशलम् । अकुशलम् । अनिपुणम् ।
अनिपुणम् ॥

1460. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory
च्, ण् or क्, the Vpiddhi is always substituted for the first
vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्र, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the
Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the
vowel of the Negative particle.

As आसीचम् or आसीधम्, अनैश्वर्यम् or आनैश्वर्यम्, अक्षेत्रम् or आक्षेत्रम्, अकुशलम् or आकुशलम्, अनिपुणम् or आनिपुणम् ॥

१४६१ । हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां कृष्यः । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

समादागतं समकृष्यम् । विपनकृष्यम् । पक्षे गणदिवाच्छः । समीपम् । विपनीपम् । देवदत्तकृष्य-
म् । देवदत्तीयम् । देवदत्तम् ॥

1461. The affix कृष्य denotes that which from
something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting
'cause', or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or
instrument. Thus समादागतं = समकृष्यम् or समीपम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 S. 1362.
meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause'. So also विपनकृष्यम् or विपनीपम् ॥
So of men also देवदत्तकृष्यम् or देवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83 S. 1073) 'what originates with
देवदत्तः' ॥

Note:—The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that
etarupavidhi (1. 1. 68 S. 25) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in
II. 3. 23 S. 368 : and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative
case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in
the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25 S. 602.

१४६२ । मयट् च । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

समनंदम् । विदमनम् । देवदत्तमयम् ॥

1462. After a word denoting a cause or a man
viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayuṭ' in the sense of
'come thence'.

Thus समनद्यम्, विषमनद्यम्, वैवश्चननद्यम्, ॥

Note :—The इ of मद्यद् indicates that the feminines of these words are formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470), as, समनदी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10 S. 128) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यमथर्त्ता ॥

१४६३ । प्रभवति । ४ । ३ । ८३ ॥

‘ततः’ इत्येव । हिमवतः प्रभवति हैमवती गङ्गा ॥

1463. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of ‘what appears for the first time’.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हैमवती “The Haimavati”, a name of the Ganges, meaning ‘which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown’.

Note :—So also दारदी “The Dārādī” i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

१४६४ । विदूराभ्रव्यः । ४ । ३ । ८४ ॥

विदूराभ्रवति वैदूर्यो मयिः ॥

1464. The affix य comes, in the sense of ‘what manifests itself there’, after the words ‘vidūra’.

This debars भण् ॥ Thus विदूरान् प्रभवति = वैदूर्य ‘a kind of gem found at Vidūra’.

Note :—The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidūra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidūra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर; such substitute being only shown in the sūtra, the appropriate ābhāni (vālavāya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidūra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidūra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vālavāya by the name of Vidūra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jīvarī.

१४६५ । लङ्गच्छति पचिद्वतयोः । ४ । ३ । ८५ ॥

लङ्गे गच्छति शैलः पप्प्रा दूतो वा ॥

1465. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of ‘what

goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus सुग्रम् गच्छति = गच्छन्: "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna". The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Note:—Why do we say पयिदूनयो: "meeting a road or a messenger". Observe रो सुग्रं गच्छति सायः 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

१४६६ । अभिनिष्कामनि द्वारम् । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

सदित्येव । सुग्रमभिनिष्कामनि शीघ्रं कान्यकुब्जद्वारम् ॥

1466. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus शीघ्रः 'a gate which looks towards Srughna'—as a gate of Kānyakubja.

Note:—Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe सुग्रमभिनिष्कामनि इक्षुपः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

१४६७ । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

सदित्येव । शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शारीरकीयः । शारीरकं भाष्यमिति स्वभेदेनोक्तत्वात् ॥

1467. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject', when the thing made is a 'book

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to'. Thus शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः = शारीरकीयः i. e. a book relating to the śātiraka sūtras. The form शारीरकं भाष्यम् is however more generally employed. Here no distinction is made between the sūtras and the bhāṣhya. Hence the commentary is called śātiraka.

१४६८ । शिशुकन्दयमसभङ्गस्त्रिन्दुजननादिभ्यश्छः । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥

शिशुरात्रं क्रन्दनं शिशुकन्दः सभधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः त्रिद्विजनादिभ्यः । तदन्त्येव सनादयस्यम् । तदन्त्येव निपातनात् । यमसभीयः । किराताहर्षभीयम् । इन्द्रजनादिराकुतिगयाः । इन्द्रजननीयम् । त्रिद्विज मोक्षनीयम् ॥

1468. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz. 'śiṣukranda', 'yamasabha' and after the Dvandva compounds, and the words 'indranana' &c.

The word लृ (IV. 3. 85 S. 1465) and अधिलृप्त कृते मन्त्रे should be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus विशृङ्खलीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants', यमसभ 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. The compound is Neuter irregularly (nipātāna).

Dvandva-Compound : as किरातार्जुनीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are ākritigana, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, विद्वद्भोजनयम् &c.

Note :—The words विशृङ्खल and यमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification. .

१४६९। सोऽस्य निवासः । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

सोऽनिवासोऽस्य शीघ्रः ॥

1469. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place.'

Note :—The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवासः means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivāṣanti samān)".

सृष्णो निवासोऽस्य = शीघ्रः 'a present dweller of Sruṣṇa',

१४७०। अभिजनश्च । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

सृष्टाजमज्जनोऽस्य शीघ्रः . यत्र स्वयं वसति स निवासः । यत्र पूर्वैरहितं सोऽभिजनः इति विवेकः ॥

1470. After a word in the 1st case in construction an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus शीघ्रः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Sruṣṇa'.

Note :—The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of 'abhiṣṇa' only runs.

१४७१। आयुषजीविभ्यश्चः पर्वते । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥

पर्वतवासिनः प्रयत्नान्तादभिजनवत्त्वाद्वाप्येत्ये तः स्यात् । दृष्टान्तः पर्वतोऽभिजानी देवानाग्रप-
जीविनां ते द्रोणीयाः । यादृशीति क्षिप्र । प्रत्यक्षः पर्वतोऽभिजनो देवां ते आशोषा द्विजाः ॥

1471. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीविन् means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्त्राभिजनः is to be read into the sūtra. Thus हृद्गलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां = हृद्गलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hṛdgola mountain'.

Why do we say आयुधजीविन्? Observe ब्राह्मण द्विजाः "the Brāhmaṇas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains".

Note :—Why do we say 'mountains'? . Observe, सांकारयका आयुधजीविनः ॥

१४७२ । शण्डिकादिभ्यो ङ्यः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

शण्डिकोऽभिजनोऽस्य शण्डिक्यः ॥

1472. The affix ङ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शण्डिक &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus शण्डिक्यः, सार्वसेन्यः &c.

1 शण्डिक, 2 सार्वसेन, 3 सार्वकेय, 4 शक, 5 खट (खट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 शेष ॥

१४७३ । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

सिन्धुवादिभ्योऽण् तुक्षशिलादिभ्योऽम् स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे । सैन्धवः । तक्षशिला नमरी अभिजनोऽस्य साक्षशितः ॥

1473. The affixes अण् and अम् come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'

Thus सैन्धवः । So also तक्षशिलः ॥

Note :—Many of the words occurring in the Sindhu-class, are found in the Kauchhādi class (IV. 2. 138 S. 1357) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sūtra IV. 2. 138 S. 1357. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of णम् (IV. 2. 134 S. 1358-) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, S. 1358 when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

1 सिन्धु, 2 सूर्य, 3 मधुवन्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 सारव, 6 कन्दौर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 सरसा (सरस), 10 सरह (सरह), 11 गन्धिका (गन्धिका), 12 कुल्ल, 13 विरसा ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 कसोद्वरज, 3 कैर्मेदुर (कैर्मेदुर), 4 पामणी, 5 रुगल, 6 कौण्डक्य (कार्यकोष्ठ), 7 सिहक्य (सिहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 शिख, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डधार), 11 पर्वत, 12 व्यवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 जैत, 15 सरानक ॥

१४७४ । सूरीशलातुरवर्मतीकुचवाराड्ढक्खद्वयकः । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

तृतीयाभिजनोऽस्य सौदेयः । शास्त्रातुरीयः । धर्मनेयः । कौश्ववार्यः ॥

1474. After the words तृतीया, शास्त्रातुरीय, धर्मनेयी, and कूचवार्य, come respectively the affixes टक्, छण्, डक्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars छण् ॥ Thus सौदेयाः, शास्त्रातुरीयाः, धर्मनेयाः and कौश्ववार्याः ॥

१४७४ । भक्तिः । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

लोकादेत्यनुवर्तते । भज्यते सेव्यते इति भक्तिः । छुप्रो भक्तिरस्य शीघ्रः ॥

1475. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping', or 'loving'.

Thus छुप्रो भक्तिरस्य = शीघ्र 'a person who is loyal to Sraghna'.

The anuvṛtti of the word भक्तिवर्त्तमान् ceases. The words सः and भक्ष्य should be read into the sūtra

१४७५ । अचित्तादेशकालादुक् । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अपूया भक्तिरस्य आपविक । पावतिकः । अचित्तादिकम् । देवदत्तः । अदेशादिकम् । शीघ्रः । अकालादिकम् । येषः ॥

1476. After a word denoting a thing not possessing consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix टक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अय्य ; and छ also. Thus अपूयाभक्तिरस्य = आपविकैः 'a person who loves cakes'. पावतिकं ॥

Why do we say 'not possessing consciousness'? Observe देवदत्तैः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe शीघ्रैः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe येषः 'who loves summer.'

१४७६ । महाराजादुक् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

महाराजिकः ॥

1477. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अय्य ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this टक् and the टक् of the last aphorism, is in the accent only.

१४७८ । वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

वासुदेवकः । अर्जुनकः ॥

1478. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and ज्ञ ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

१४७९ । गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ६९ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । परेशाद्बहुलं बाधते । ग्लुचुकायनिर्भक्तिरस्य ग्लौघकायनकः । नाकुलकः ।

बहुलप्रत्ययविह । पाणिनीो भक्तिरस्य पाणिनीयः ॥

1479. The affix वुञ् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars अल् and छ ॥ Thus : ग्लौघकायनकः 'who loves or serves &c. Gluchukāyani'. Kshatriyas :—नाकुलकः ॥

Note :—The word साध्यां in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of well-known or famous Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनीो भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः ॥

Note :—The word गौत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

१४८० । जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वे जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने । ४ ।

३ । १०० ॥

जनपदस्वानिवाशिनां बहुवचने जनपदवाचिनां समानशब्दिनां जनपदवत्सर्वे स्वात्मत्वया प्रकृतिश्च । जनपदवत्त्वयोश्चेति प्रकरणात् ये प्रत्यया वक्तव्येति विद्वन्ते । अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । जनपदिनां किम् । पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य राज्ञात् । जनपदेनेति किम् । वीरयो राजा भक्तिरस्य वीरवीयः ॥

1480. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and the affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

Note :—The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम्, gen. plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya/Prince, बहुवचने 'in the plural', जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada

denoting word', जनपदस्य सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada.' In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya princes which in the plural have the same form as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word'. Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sūtra IV. 2. 124 S. 1348 &c. and those affixes will apply here.

Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = अङ्गकः formed by इम् of sūtra IV. 2. 125, S. 1349 meaning 'who loves the country of Angās' Similarly वाङ्गकः, सोडङ्गकः, पैम्बङ्गकः ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिय भक्तिरस्य = अङ्गकः formed by the same affix इम् with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas Angās'. So वाङ्गकः, सोडङ्गकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriya Princes'; (janapadinām) Observe, पंचाला अङ्गाला भक्तिरस्य = पंचालकः ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed.

Why do we say जनपदेन समान उच्चारणम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीवः ॥

१४८१ । तेन प्रोक्तम् । ४ । ३ । १०१ ॥

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1481. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्तं means प्रकर्षेद्योक्तं 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृतं has been already taught in the sūtra कृते घञे (IV. 3. 16 S. 1387). Thus पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pānini'.

१४८२ । तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोक्ताच्छङ्गा । ४ । ३ । १०२ ॥

छन्दोगाद्यणवीति तद्विषयता । तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तगधीयते तैत्तिरीयाः ॥

1482. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khan-dika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तैत्तिरीया 'those who learn (IV. 2. 66. S. 1278). the Veda enounced by Tittiri'.

Note :—According to Kāṭhika this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to classical slokan, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. S. 1486 and तद्विषयता from IV. 2. 66. S. 1278

१४८३ । काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनिः । ४ । ३ । १०३ ॥

काश्यपेन प्रोक्तमधीयते काश्यपेनः ॥

1483. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kāśyapa' and 'Kauśika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ ॥ The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the Kalpa enounced by Kāśyapa'

Note:—Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe ह्यदानीन्तनेन मौनकाश्यपेन प्रोक्तं=काश्यपीयम्, "a work enounced by a modern Kāśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kāśyapa; not a Rishi'.

१४८४ । कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कलाप्यन्तेवासिभ्यः, हरिद्रुणा प्रोक्तमधीयते हरिद्रविद्यः । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यः, आलम्बिनः ॥

1484. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalāpi' and 'Vaiśampāyana', the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

Note:—This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalāpa: as हरिद्रि, कृगली, दुम्भुकः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaiśampāyana: as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कथाम, वासुकि; ताण्ड्य, दशमार्थन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हरिद्रविणः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64 S. 1274) the works enounced by Haridru.' So also आलम्बिनः ॥

Note:—The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः hence चरकः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

१४८५ । पुराणमोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । ४ । ३ । १०५ ॥

हृषीकान्तत्वोक्तायै णिनिः स्यात् । यत्थोक्तं पुराणमोक्ताभिर्ब्राह्मणकल्पारो भवन्ति । पुराणेन धिरन्तरेण हुनिना प्रोक्ताः । आलम्बः, आलम्बिनः । शास्त्रायनः, शास्त्रायनः । कल्पे, विज्ञेय मोक्तः । पैक्षी कल्पः । पुराणनि किम् । ब्राह्मणकल्पानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्वरथः कल्पः । यन्ति । आपत्यत्येति यत्नेषां ॥

1485. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages', equivalent to पुरातन of the Brāhmaṇa literature, the example is शाखा-निष्ठा, so also from भक्तु—भक्तुविन. ॥ Kalpa work : as पैत्रीकल्पः ॥

Why do we say पुराणोक्तैः 'announced by ancient sages.'? Observe याज्ञवल्क्येन ब्राह्मणानि, भारद्वाजः कल्पः ॥ The य of these words is elided by VI. 4. 151.S. 1082. Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix IV. 2. 66.S. 1278. will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66. S. 1278. is restricted to पुराणोक्त of the present sūtra.

१४८६ । शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

उन्मथ्यनिधेय एवो णिनिः । शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शौनकिनः ॥

1486. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c. in denoting chhandas.

This debars छ and ञश्च ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तं वधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2 64 S. 1274) the chhandas enounced by Saupaka'. वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Note :—Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas' ? Observe छन्दकीया (हस्त)
'the orthography of Śaṅkha'.

The word कटशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कट the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107 S 1487) Thus कटशाठान्भ्यां प्रेक्षन्धीयते = कटशाठेन ॥

1 घौलक, 2 याजसवेय, 3 घाङ्गुरव, 4 घापेय (सापेय), 5 घात्वेय (घात्सेय),
6 स्वादायव, 7 स्वम्भ (स्वम्भ), 8 स्वन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रजुभार, 11 रजुकण्ड, 12
कटशाव, 13 कषाय (कषाय), 14 नल, 15 नष्ट, 16 उरुपातक (उरुपातक), 17
अश्वपिडा (अश्वपिडा), 18 साङ्गुरव, 19 स्वन्ध, 20 देवदर्शन, 21 ललाकार "

१४८७ । कठचरकादिभूक् । ४ । ३ । १०७ ॥

अभ्यां प्रोक्तमव्ययस्य तुल्यं स्यात् । कठेन प्रोक्तमभ्यांशे कृताः । अथवाः ॥

1487. 'The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words *Kātha* and *Charaka*.

The word कठ would have taken छिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्वेषाधी word : and चरक would have taken the affix चक्ष् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठ, 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Katha', चरकाः &c.

Note :—The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this shloka. Observe शाटु पारश्वा श्वाका.

१४८८ । कलापिनोऽपि । ४ । ३ । १०८ ॥

यत्कृतं तन्मोक्षमधीयते कदावा । नान्यथा हि तन्मोक्षं तद्वद्व्यापिषीद्वार्षिक्यापि कीदृशं भवितुम् ।
नान्यथा हि तद्वद्व्यापिषीद्वार्षिक्यापि कीदृशं भवितुम् । नान्यथा हि तद्वद्व्यापिषीद्वार्षिक्यापि कीदृशं भवितुम् ।

1488. The affix अम् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word कलपी.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. S. 1484. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalāpi'.

Note:—The word कलापः is thus formed:—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 S. 679, which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI. 4. 164 S. 1245 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for the following Vārtika,

Vart:—The णि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows:—सब्रह्मचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुशुमिन्, कैतिलिन्, जाजलिन्, जाङ्गलिन्, शालादिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सुकरसपन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following: 1. सब्रह्मचारिन्—सब्रह्मचार्याः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500), पीठसर्पिन्—पीठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500), 3. कलापिन्—कलापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59 S. 1488 and 1269), 4. कुशुमिन्—कौशुमाः (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481), 5. कैतिलिन्—कैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116 S. 1496), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः (IV. 2. 59 S. 1269) 7. जाङ्गलिन्—जाङ्गलाः, 8. शालादिन्—शैलाद्याः 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः 10. सुकरसपन्—सौकरसपाः, 11. सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in अन् contradict VI. 4. 167.

१४८२ । छगालिनो दिनुक् । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

छगालिनो येनन्तमपीयते छागलेयिनः ॥

4489. The affix दिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104 S. 1484). This debars that. Thus छागलेयिन् 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

१४९० । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः । ४ । ३ । ११० ॥

पाराशर्येन येनन्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमपीयते पाराशर्यो भिक्षवः । शैलाश्लिनो नटाः ॥

1490. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pārāsarya and Śilalin, the works enounced being Bhikṣu-Sūtra and Nāṭa-Sūtra respectively.

Note:—The affix णिनि is to be read into the sūtra and not दिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक् 'religious mendicants' and नटः ' jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152 S. 2119) = पाराशरिन्, the treatise of Pārāśarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly कैलीलिन् ॥

Note :—These words of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Pārāśarya and Sailalin'. See IV. 2. 66 S. 1278. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, कैलाशिनो नदाः ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chāndas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Naṭa Sūtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, कैलाशम् ॥

१४६१ । कर्मन्दकुशाभ्यादिनिः । ४ । ३ । १११ ॥

भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्देन प्रोक्तमधीयते कर्मन्विनो भिक्षवः । कुशाभिनो नदाः ॥

1491. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sūtra and Naṭa-Sūtra; after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśāśva'.

Thus कर्मन्विनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sūtra of Karmandin'. कुशाभिनो नदाः 'the actors who study the Naṭa sūtra of Kriśāśvin'. Otherwise कर्मन्दकम् and कार्शादम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

१४६२ । तेनेकदिक् । ४ । ३ । ११२ ॥

सुदामा अद्विणा एकदिक् सौवामनी ॥

1492. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'.

The word एक दिक् means सुव्य दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus सुदाम्ना एकदिक् = सौवामनी दिक्षु "a lightening, literally, that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudāman".

Note :—The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛitti from IV. 3. 101. S. 1481 is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the छन्दस् which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 S. 1278 which was applied to those sūtras does not apply here.

१४६३ । तसिश्च । ४ । ३ । ११३ ॥

स्वरादिपादादव्ययत्वम् । पीलुमूलेन एकदिक् पीलुमूलतः ॥

1493. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण &c च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables as it is an affix mentioned in the svarādi class. (I. 1. 37 S. 447). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुमूलतः, सुवामतः ॥

१४९४। उरस्तो यच्च । ४। ३। ११४ ॥

चात्तसिः । अजोऽपवादः । उरस्ता एक दिक् उरस्त्यः । उरस्तः ॥

1494. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ॥

Thus उरस्ता एकदिग् = उरस्त्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

१४९५। उपज्ञाते । ४। ३। ११५ ॥

तेनेत्येव । पाणिनिना उपज्ञातं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1495. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनीनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् व्याकरणम् 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'.

१४९६। कृते ग्रन्थे । ४। ३। ११६ ॥

वररुचिना कृतो वाररुचो ग्रन्थः ॥

1496. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृताः = वाररुचाः। श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'.

Note :—Why do we say 'a book' ? Observe तत्कृतः प्रासादः 'by Takhas'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is [therefore an] knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for t. by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

१४९७। सहायाम् । ४। ३। ११७ ॥

तेनेत्येव । अयन्यार्थमिदम् । मक्षिकाभिः कृतं माक्षिकं मधु ॥

1497. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd. in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, 'honey', literally 'made by a bee माक्षिक meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + अण् = माक्षिक (VI. 4. 148 S. 311). The anuvṛtti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

१४६८ । कुलात्तादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११८ ॥

तेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । कुलात्तेन कृते कौलात्कम् । वाहकम् ॥

1498. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulāla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलात्कम् 'a porcelain' lit 'made by a potter'. So also वाहकम् ॥

१ कुलाल, २ बहड, ३ चण्डाल, ४ निषाद, ५ कर्नार, ६ सेमा, ७ तिरिध्र (तिरिध्र), ८ सौरिन्ध्र (सेन्द्रिय), ९ देवराज, १० परिषद (परेद), ११ वधू, १२ मधु, १३ रुद्र, १४ रुद्र, १५ भनहुद्र, १६ ब्रह्म, १७ कुम्भकार, १८ श्वपाक, १९ ध्रुव ॥

१४६९ । क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् । ४ । ३ । ११९ ॥

तेन कृते संज्ञायाम् । क्षुद्राभिः कृतं चौरिम् । भागम् । वाटरम् । पादपम् ॥

1499. The affix वुञ् comes after the words 'kshudrā', 'bhramarā', 'vaṭarā', and 'pādapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अञ् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = कौरिम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee'. So also औषरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

१५०० । तस्येदम् । ४ । ३ । १२० ॥

उपगोविन्दोपगम् ॥ वरेल्लुरीयद् च * ॥ संवादः स्वं सांघडिचम् ॥ अग्नीधः शरणे रण् भं च * ॥ अग्निभिन्धे अग्नीन् तस्य स्यान्माग्नीधम् । वास्तव्यास्तोऽप्यग्नीधः ॥ सविधामाधाने वेग्यश्च * ॥ तानिधेन्यो मन्त्रः । तानिधेनी ऋक् ॥

1500. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV. 1. 83) and the affixes य &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोविन्दम् = औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'.

Note:—The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अगन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यागन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or man.

Vart:—The verb यद् takes नृ (नृण् and नृष्य) and अण् preceded by an इद् As, संघेदु, स्वं सांघडिचम् ॥

Vart—The affix रन् comes after अग्निन्, (= अग्निभिन्धे 'who kindles the sacred fire' formed by Krip) in the sense of 'sanctuary', and the base gets the designation of य ॥ Agnit is the name of a Ritvik priest. As आग्नीधम् "The place where the sacred fire is kept" as well the officiating priest of Agni. The word अग्रेरु being treated as a Bha and not as a pada, the र् is not changed to द् (VIII. 2. 39)

Vart :—The affix 'shenyaṇ' comes after सनिधा, in the sense of placing thus सानिधेनो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सानिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

१५०१। रथाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । १२१ ॥

रथं चक्रम् ॥

1501. 'The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येद रथम् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle',

Note :—The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot.' This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, वरुणरथ्यम्, दत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vārtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta-vidhi.

१५०२। पत्रपूर्वादञ् । ४ । ३ । १२२ ॥

पत्रं वाहनम् । अश्वरथस्येदमाश्वरथम् ॥

1502. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart,

Note :—The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix ण् (III. 2. 182).

१५०३। पत्राध्वयुपरिषदञ् । ४ । ३ । १२३ ।

अञ् ॥ पत्राहाये ० ॥ आश्वस्येदे वहनीयमाश्वम् । आश्ववैषम् । परिषदम् ॥

1503. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added.

This debars अण् ॥ The पत्रं means वाहनम् ॥

Vart :—When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added, to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus आश्वस्येदेन वहनीयम् = आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by a horse.' So also आश्ववैषम् and परिषदम् ॥

१५०४। हलसीराहृक् । ४ । ३ । १२४ ॥

दासिकम् । सेरिकम् ॥

1504 The affix हृक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira.'

Thus एतत्पदम् = दालिकम्, ऐतिकम् ॥

१५०५ । द्वन्द्वेद्वुन्वैरमैधुनिकयोः । ४ । ३ । १२५ ॥

काकोल्लिका । कुत्सकुशिकिन्ना ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः * ॥ देवासुरम् ॥

1505. The affix, वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship.'

This debarb अण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' काकोल्लिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, कुत्सकुशिकिन्ना ॥

Note:—The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. S. 918. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षसासुरम् वैरम् ॥

१५०६ । गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ्ज् । ४ । ३ । १२६ ॥

गोपण्यकम् । चरणाद्वर्माप्रायधोरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ काठकम् ॥

1506. The affix वुञ्ज् comes, in the sense of 'this is his' after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debarb अण् as well as छ ॥ Thus gotra:—गोपण्यकम् ॥

Vart:—The word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School, means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (śārnāya). Thus कथना धर्म आधायो वा—काठकम् 'the dharma-Sūtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāthas'.

१५०७ । सङ्गाद्वलक्षणैवज्यमिजामण् । ४ । ३ । १२७ ॥

पोषमदनमपि कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अण्, वैरे: सङ्गाद्वल्लो पोषो वा । वैरे लक्षणम् । यण्, गार्गः । गार्गम् । इण्, शक । शकम् । परंपरासंबन्धोऽङ्गः साक्षाच्च लक्षणम् ॥

1507 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अण्, यण् or इण्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

Note:—The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and चङ्ग should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a distinguishing feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bīḍas, the Bīḍas being famous for learning. The word चङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another: as a mark on a coin showing

to what person or clan that cow belongs. The *सङ्ग* though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the *सङ्ग* is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars *हुम्* of the last aphorism.

Vārt:—The word *घेष* 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with the *सङ्ग* &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark, (3) sign, and (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply.

Thus *घमन्ताद्* (IV. 1. 104 S. 1106)—*वैद्*: (Masculine), 'a congregation but *वैद्य* (Neuter) meaning, a sign or a hamlet of the *Bidas*'. *घमन्ताद्* (IV. 1. 105 S. 1107)—*गार्ग्य*+*अण्*=*गार्ग्य*: (VI. 4. 148, 151 S. 311, 1082) "a congregation, or a mark of the *Gārgyas*" *घमन्ताद्* (IV. 1. 95 S. 1095),—*दाक्षि*+*अण्*=*दाक्षि*: (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) 'a congregation &c of the *Dākshis*'. *दाक्षि*, 'a mark of the *Dākshis*'

Notes:—The *ण्* of *अण्* could not serve the purpose of *Vṛiddhi* here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have *Vṛiddhi* by virtue of the affixes *अण्* or *इण्* in which they end. The *ञ* would have served the purpose as well, so far as *Vṛiddhi* is concerned, but *अण्* is used to show that the feminine is formed by *ह्रिण्* (IV. 1. 15 S. 470). Thus *वैदी* ॥ It further prevents *हुक्त्वा* in compounds (VI. 3. 89 S. 849), as *वैदी विद्याऽस्य*=*वैदीविद्यः* i. e. *विद्यानामाधारेणैवा विद्या वा कथयति तः* ॥

१५०८ । शाकल्यः । ४ । ३ । १२५ ॥

अण् वोक्तव्ये । पक्षे परण्यत्तद् *हुम्* । शाकलेन शैक्षमधीयते शाकल्यक्षेपां ऽह्नेऽह्नी चोचो वा शाकलः । शाकलकः । लक्षणे ह्रियता ॥

1508. The affix *अण्* optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word *शाकल* ॥

This debars *हुम्* ॥ Thus *शाकलेन शैक्षमधीयते*=*शाकल्यः* (IV. 3. 101 S. 1481 and IV. 2. 64 S. 1271), *शाकलानाम् सङ्गः*=*शाकलः* or *शाकलकः* (IV. 3. 126 S. 1506) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by *Śākala*.' When denoting *सङ्ग* it will be of the neuter gender.

१५०९ । छान्दोग्यौक्थिकयाज्ञिकमहर्षिचनदाङ्ग इयः । ४ । ३ । १२६ ॥

छान्दोग्यानां धर्म आम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् । औक्थिकम् । याज्ञिकम् । माहर्ष्यम् । नाथम् ॥ परम्पराधर्माद्योरित्युक्तं तत्साहचर्यानिदश्याव्यापि तयोरेव ॥

1509. The affix *इय* comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words '*chhandoga*,' '*aukthika*,' '*yājñika*,' '*bahvṛicha*' and '*naṭa*.'

Note :—The anuvṛtti of संय ७० ceases. The उप debarb अण् and हुम् ॥ The phrase चरणाश्रमादायोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 S. 1506, is understood here and applies even to the word गदः ॥

Thus छान्देगानो धर्मो वा SS मायो छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga.' So also गौर्विद्विषम्, आश्विनम्, ब्राह्मणम्, and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have: छान्देगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

१५१० । न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु । ४ । ३ । १३० ॥

दण्डमाणवान् माणवा दण्डमाखवासिषु शिष्येषु च इम् न स्यात् । वाचाः दण्डमाणवाः शिष्यावा ॥

1510. The affix हुम् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ख in माणव by IV. 1. 161 S. 1185, अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's houses. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus वक्षः the junior pupils of Dākṣi.

१५११ । रैवतिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १३१ ॥

तस्यैवमिलये । हुनोऽपवादः । रैवतिकीयः । वैजवापीयः ॥

1511. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require हुम् (IV. ३. 126 S. 1506), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, वैजवापीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिधि, 3 क्षेमकुक्षि, 4 गौरमीवि (गौरमीय), 5 क्षौद्रमेपि (क्षौद्रमेयि) 6 जीदवापि (जीदवादि), 7 वैजवापि ॥

१५१२ । कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादरा । ४ । ३ । १३२ ॥

कौपिञ्जलस्यापत्यम् इति निपातनात् सप्तम्यात्पुनरात् । कौपिञ्जलः । गोत्रहृमोऽपवादः । हास्तिपादस्यापत्यं हास्तिपदस्तथापि हास्तिपदः ॥

1512. The affix आण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hāstipada'.

This debarb हुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. The word कौपिञ्जल means the descendant of कौपिञ्जल ॥ It is formed by षच् by the nipātana of this sūtra. To this is again added ण् in order to exclude the हुम् affix. Similarly the son of हास्तिपद is called हास्तिपदः ॥ It is formed by षच् and पच् changed to पद् by nipātana. To हास्तिपद is added the affix of this sūtra.

१५१३। आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च । ४। ३। १३३ ॥

सण् स्यात् । आथर्वणिकस्यायनाथर्वणः धर्म आश्रयो वा । चरणादुभयोऽपवादः ॥

1513. The affix *अण्* comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'ātharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars दुम् (IV. 3 126 S. 1506). आथर्वणिकस्यायण=आथर्वणो धर्म आश्रयो वा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्मोऽश्रयोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

अथ प्रागदिव्यतीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIX.

PRĀGDIVYATĪYA.

१५१४ । तस्य विकारः । ४ । ३ । १३४ ॥

अथमनो विकारो टिलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ अथमनो विकार आदनः । भास्मनः । मार्तिकः ॥

1514. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof.'

Note :—The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its anuvṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेपे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend farther. The affixes taught, therefore, under शेपे (IV. 2. 92 S. 1312 &c). such as च, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अन् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter.

Foot :—अदनन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with': as, आदनः, otherwise आरमनः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्तिकः ॥

१५१५ । अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १३५ ॥

प्राणिकारः । मयूरस्यावयवो विकारो वा मयूरः । मौर्वे काण्डं भस्म वा । पीपलाय ॥

1515. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus मयूरस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा=मयूरः (IV. 3. 154) 'a modification, product or part of a peacock—viz a fan' &c. So also of 'herbs'; as मौर्वे 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also of 'trees'; as, पीपलाय meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Pipala tree."

Note :—In the subsequent sūtra, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

१५१६ । बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् । ४ । ३ । १३६ ॥

बैल्वम् ॥

1516. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part', after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अच् and मय् ॥ Thus बैल्वम् 'the modification or part of Bilwa'.

Note :—The word अवेष्टुकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'an' by the next sūtra also ; its inclusion in the class of Bīlvādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मय् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 पुत्र, 5 मयूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 अवेष्टुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पावली, 12 कर्कण्डू, 13 कुटीर ॥

१५१७ । कोपधाञ्च । ४ । ३ । १३७ ॥

अण् अमोऽपचावः । तर्कु, तार्कवम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1517. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus from तर्कु we get तार्कवम्, from तैत्तिडीक, we get तैत्तिडीकम् ॥ The words तैत्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phi; Su. II. 16).

१५१८ । त्रपुजतुनोः षुक् । ४ । ३ । १३८ ॥

आभ्यामण् स्वादिकारे एतयोः पुमाणमम् । त्रपुषम् । जातुषम् ॥

1518. The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense 'its modification', after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139 S. 1519). As, त्रपुणो-विहारः=त्रपुषम् ; so also जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac."

Note :—In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

१५१९ । ओरञ् । ४ । ३ । १३९ ॥

देवदारवम् । भाद्रदारवम् ॥

1519. The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part', (provided that, the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus देवदारवम्, भाद्रदारवम् ॥

Note :—The words देवदारु and मृगदारु are śdy-udātta owing to Phil. Sn. II. 14 (पीतहृन्पर्यानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

१५२० । अनुदात्तादेशः । ४ । ३ । १४० ॥

वाचित्यम् । काचित्यम् ॥

1520. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part', after a word having anudātta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus वाचित्यम्, काचित्यम् ॥

Note :—The word वाचित्यम् is an upapada-samāsa of वाचि + स्य + क, the स being changed to ह as it belongs to Prishodaradi class; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वरः ॥

१५२१ । पलाशदिभ्यो वा । ४ । ३ । १४१ ॥

पलाशम् । कारिरम् ॥

1521. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पलाशम् or पलाशैम् so also कारिरम् or कारिरैम्; कारिरम् or कारिरैम् ॥

Note :—This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, कारिर, शिषपा and स्पन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 कारिर, 3 शिषपा 4 स्पन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पलाश*, 6 कारिर, 7 शिषपि, 8 यथास, 9 विज्जह्नु ॥

१५२२ । शम्बाः (इ) लञ् । ४ । ३ । १४२ ॥

शाम्बीलं भस्म । त्रिस्थान्दीर्घशाम्बीनी लुक् ॥

1522. The affix ण् (इ) लञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शम्बी ॥

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शाम्बीलं भस्म । शाम्बीनी लुक् (IV. 1. 60 S. 515) The feminine is formed by ङीप् as the affix has an indicative ण् ॥ According to Mādhāva the anubandha is इ and so the feminine is formed in ङीप् ॥

१५२३ । मयैतयोर्भाषायामभस्याच्छदन्त्योः । ४ । ३ । १४३ ॥

प्रकृतिभाषान्त्यङ्गस्यार्थिकाराधयत्योः अशमययत् आशमयम् । अशमयेत्यादि किम् । भौदः स्यः । अर्थासमाच्छादनम् ॥

1523. The affix मय् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of "product" and "part", in

the classical language, when 'neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अन्नमन्नम् or 'आन्नमन्नम्' (IV. 3. 134).

Note :—Why do we say आवाचान 'in the classical language, ? Witness वेत्तः खादितो वा रूपः स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, ? Observe कौटः खण्डः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कापांसम् आच्छादनम् 'cotton dress'.

Note :—Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra ? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कपोतम् (IV. 3. 135 S, 1515) लोहमयम् or लोहम् ॥

१५२४ । नित्यं धृद्धशरादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १५४ ॥

आसनमयम् । शरमयम् ॥ एकापो नित्यम् * ॥ खड्गमयम् । बाहुमयम् । कार्यं तर्हि आत्मानमवयवमिति । तत्त्वैर्गन्धरसस्पर्शस्वादिभ्यः ॥

1524. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its "product" or "part", when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आसनमयम् ॥ After शरादि words :—शरमयम् ॥

Part :—The affix मयद्, comes invariably after words of one syllable. Thus खड्गमयम्, बाहुमयम् ॥ How do you explain the form आत्मानम् "modification of water", as given by Amarakośha (I. 10. 5) ? It is formed by प्यङ् added to जपस् after the latter had taken श्रङ् of तत्त्विदम् ॥ अप + अण् = आप; आप + य = आत्मानम् ॥ प्यङ् does not change the meaning.

1 शर, 2 वनं, 3 धृ, 4 कुटी, 5 हृद्य, 6 क्षोभ, 7 बल्वज (बल्वज) ॥

१५२५ । गोमूत्रं पुरीषे । ४ । ३ । १५५ ॥

गोः पुरीषं गोमयम् ॥

1525. The affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung'.

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'.

Note :—'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung' ? Observe गव्यम् = milk. The affix मयद् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160 S, 1538), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vibhā' of गो ॥

१५२६ । पिष्टमयः । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

मयद् स्वादिकारि । विट्मये भस्म । कथं पैटी भुरेति । सामान्यविषयायां तत्स्येवमित्यण् ॥

1526. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus विट्मये भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैटी भुरा in the sense of तत्स्येदम् ॥ (IV. 3. 120 S. 1500) in a general signification.

१५२७ । संज्ञायां कन् । ४ । ३ । १४७ ॥

विट्मयेत्येव । विट्स्य विकारविशेषः विट्कः । पूर्वोऽप्युः विट्कः स्यात् ॥

1527. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As विट्कः ॥ 'cake', (Amarakosha II. 9. 48).

१५२८ । ब्रीहिः पुरोडाशः । ४ । ३ । १४८ ॥

मयद् स्यात् । विस्वाद्यणोऽप्यारः । ब्रीहिनयः पुरोडाशः । विहमन्यत् ।

1528. The affix मयद् comes after the word ब्रीहि in the sense of a 'Puroḍāśa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136 S. 1516). Thus ब्रीहिनयः पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley' Otherwise क्रेहन् ॥

१५२९ । असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । १४९ ॥

तिलमयम् । वयमयम् । संज्ञायां तु तैलम् । यावकः ॥

1529. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम् । वयमयम् ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name"? Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन् (यावादिभ्यः कन् V. 4. 29).

१५३० । तालादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १५० ॥

अण्मयदोरपवादः ॥ तालादण्डपि • ॥ तालं धनुः । अण्मयाण्डमयम् । ऐन्द्राण्डमयम् ॥

1530. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, चार्दिणम्, ऐन्द्राण्डमयम् ॥

1 तालादण्डपि 2 चार्दिणम्, 3 ऐन्द्राण्डमयम्, 4 ऐन्द्राण्डमयम्, 5 ऐन्द्राण्डपि, 6 अण् (याव, यवम्), 7 यावकम्, 8 वीगुप्ता ॥

Part :—The affix अण् comes after ताल, when a "bow" is meant. Thus तालं "a bow made of tāla tree". Otherwise तालमयम् ।

Note :—The words ताल and ऐन्द्राण्ड being Viddha words would have taken

मयद् (IV. 3. 144 S. 1524) बहिर्णाम् विभक्तः=बहिर्ण (by अञ् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532) then we ought to have added to बहिर्णम् the affix अञ् by IV. 3. 155 S. 1533. in the sense of 'product or part'. The present sūtra prevents that. The words इन्द्राविश and इन्द्रादश are formed by adding क् to the roots विश and दृश preceded by the Upapada इन्द्र under Mula vibhujādi class. The lengthening of the अ of Indra is by अन्येषामपि (VI. 3. 157:). The word चण and पीयूषा are acute on the middle. इन्द्रायुष is final acute by samāsa accent.

१५३१। जातकूपेभ्यः परिमाणे । ४ । ३ । १५३ ॥

अण् । बहुवचनान्तर्यामहणम् । हाटकः सापनीयः सौवर्ण्यो वा निष्कः । परिमाणे किम् । हाटकमयी यष्टिः ॥

1531. The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is "a weight or measure".

The word जातकूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटकः सापनीयम् सौवर्ण्यो वा निष्कः ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe हाटकमयी यष्टिः ॥

१५३२। प्राणिरजतदिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । ३ । १५४ ॥

शौकम् । चाकम् । राजतम् ॥

1532. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c.

Note:—This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus:—शौकम्, चाकम्, राजतम्, &c.

Note:—In the class रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c. which have anudatta on the beginning and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, S. 1520. have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयद् to them.

1 रजत. 2 शीत. 3 लोह. 4 बहुम्बर. 5 नीष (नीच, नील). 6 दास. 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक). 8 विभीतक. 9 पीतदार (कीत, वार). 10 तज्जदार. 11 विकण्टक. 12 कण्टकार ॥

१५३३। नितञ्च तत्प्रत्ययात् । ४ । ३ । १५५ ॥

नित्यो विकारावयवव्यत्यस्तदन्तावम् व्याप्तयेरेवार्थयोः । नवटीऽपवादः । शामलित्य शामलितम् । वापित्यस्य वापितम् । कापित्यम् । अितः कित् । वित्यनयम् ॥

1533. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicative अ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory अ denoting product or part, are अम् (IV. 3. 139), दजम् (IV. 3. 142), अम् (IV. 3. 154), हुम् (IV. 3. 157), हम् (IV. 3. 159), अम्, यम् (IV. 3. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अम् is used. This debars नद्यद् ॥ Thus आनीलम्, दाधिस्थम्, कापिस्थम् &c.

Why do we say अम्? Observe वैष्णवम् ॥ Here नद्यद् is used after वैष्णव and the derivative is formed by अम् of IV. 3. 136. S. 1516. So also वैष्णवम् ॥

१५३४ । क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

प्राग्वन्नेष्टमित्रारभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्यया येनोपाधिना परिमाणाद्विहितस्ते तथैव विकारोऽतिविद्यन्ते । अणादीनामपवादः । निष्कस्य क्रीतं वैष्णवम् । एवं निष्कस्य विकारोऽपि वैष्णवः । घतस्य विकारः घस्यः । घतिकः ॥

1534. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part', is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c S. 1548 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अण् &c. Thus निष्कस्य क्रीतम् = वैष्णवम् (V. 1. 20). It will denote विकार also, निष्कस्य विकारः = वैष्णवः formed by डक् (V. 1. 20). As अनेनक्रीतं = घस्यं, or घतिकम् (V. 1. 21), so घतस्य विकारः = घस्यः or घतिकः by डक् and दक् (V. 1. 21).

Note:—The word यद् in अणिवन् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sūtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As हिसहस्रः or हिसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), 'हिनृषिकः' or 'हिनृषिकः' ॥ The word परिमाण in this sūtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyā. See IV. 1. 23 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of the affix (V. 1. 28) as, हिसहस्रः, हिसाहस्रः &c.

१५३५ । उष्ट्रादुष्ट्रम् । ४ । ३ । १५७ ॥

प्राग्वयोऽपवादः । औष्ट्रकः

535. The affix उष्ट्रम् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'uṣṭra'.

This debars अम् (IV. 2. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽप्ययथै वा = औष्ट्रकः ॥

१५३६ । उमोर्णयोर्वा । ४ । ३ । १५८ ॥

मोऽणम् । औमकम् । मोऽर्णम् । और्णकम् । उमभावे यथाक्रममणमो ।

1536. The affix उष्ट्रम् comes optionally in the sense

of 'its product or part', after the words उमा and ऊर्णा ॥

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम्, or और्णकम्.

Note :—Umā has acute on the first syllable by वृणधान्यानां च (Phit II. 4). Urpā is finally acute, as a Prātipadika.

१५३७ । एण्या ढञ् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

एण्यम् । एण्यस्य तु ऐण्यम् ॥

1537. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the feminine word एणी ॥

This debars अञ् of IV. 3. 154 S. 1532.

Thus ऐण्ये मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एण्यस्य मांसम् = ऐण्यम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अञ् ॥

१५३८ । गोपयस्येत् । ४ । ३ । १५७ ॥

गव्यम् । पयस्यम् ॥

1538. The affix यच् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम्, पयस्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५३९ । द्रोञ् । ४ । ३ । १५८ ॥

द्रुवस्तस्य विकारीऽवयवो वा द्रव्यम् ॥

1539. The affix यच् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'dru.' (meaning "a tree".)

This debars अञ् (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यच् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79 S. 63).

१५४० । माने चयः । ४ । ३ । १५९ ॥

द्रोणिष्वेव । द्रुवयम् । यौतवं द्रुवयं पाठ्यमिति मानायेकं भवम् ॥

1540. The affix चय comes in the sense of 'its product', after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars अञ् ॥ As द्रुवयम्, 'a measure.' The words द्रुवयम्, यौतवं and पाठ्यम् are three words denoting measure. (Amarakosha II. 9. 85)

१५४१ । फले लुक् । ४ । ३ । १६३ ॥

विकारवयवमलम्बे लुक् स्थान् फले । आमलक्याः कनकाग्नकम् ।

1541. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by लुक्, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्याः फलं = आमलकी + नदद् लुक् = आमलकी 'the fruit of Myrobalans'

1545. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambu'

The word *क* is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. S. 1294. Thus *जम्बू + अम्बूलुप् = अम्बू*; as, *अम्बू फलं* ॥ Optionally *अम्बू*: *फलं = अम्बू फलं*, or *आम्बवं* ॥

Vart:—There is *lup*-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens: Thus *श्रीहिः—श्रीहयः, पुष्पाः* ॥

Vart—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots: as, *मल्लिकार्थं पुष्प = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जातिः*; so also *विंशर्वा मूल = विंदारी* ॥ *अश्रुमती, दृढती* ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As *पादलानि पुष्पाणि, मूलानि मूलानि* ॥ So *अशोकम्, कशीरम्, &c.*

१५४६ । हरितक्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १६७ ॥

अभ्यः फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप्त्यात् । हरितक्यादीनां निद्रमेव प्रकृतिवत् । हरितक्याः फलानि हरितक्यः ॥

1546. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by *लुप्*, after the words 'Haritaki' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2, 51 S. 1294), As *हरितक्याः फलं = हरितकी* instead of *हरितकं* ॥ So also *कौशातकी, नखरजनी* ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as *हरितकी फलं, हरितक्यः फलानि* ॥

1 हरितकी, 2 कौशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखरजनी), 4 शण्डकण्ठी (शण्डकण्ठी), 5 शर्डी, 6 रोडी, 7 श्वेतपात्री, 8 अर्जुनपात्री, 9 द्राक्षा, 10 कान्ता, 11 ध्याक्षा (ध्याक्षा), 12 गर्भिका (गर्भिका), 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली, 15 चिञ्च (चिञ्च), 16 शैफालिका, 17 इडी ॥

१५४७ । कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञौ लुक् च । ४ । ३ । १६८ ॥

कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यञौ स्तश्छयतोश्च लुक् । कंसाय चितं कंसीयम्, तस्य विकारः कांस्यम् । परशवे हितं परशव्यम् । तस्य विकारः पारशवः ॥

1547. The affixes *यञ्* and *श्रञ्* come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansiya' and 'paraśavya', and there is *luk*-elision (of the *छ* and *यत्* affixes of those words).

The word *कंसीयः* is formed by *छ* (V. 1. 1), and *पराशव्य* is formed by adding *यत्* (V. 1. 2). These affixes *छ* and *यत्* are elided when the affixes

यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कसीव + यञ् = कस + यञ् = कास्य so also पारमव from परामव ; thus परामव + अञ् = पराम + अञ् = पारमवः ॥

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdivyatiya affixes.

अथ तद्धित ढगधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXX.

THE AFFIX ढक् ॥

१५४८ । शङ्खहतेष्टक् । ४ । ४ । १ ॥

तद्वहतीत्यतः शक् ढगधिक्रियते ॥ तदाहेति मासश्चादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ माशब्दः कारि इति च आह स मासद्विकः ॥

1548. The affix ढक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76. S 1627.

Note:—This is an adhiṣṭhāra sūtra. The affix ढक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c

Vdt:—After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = मासद्विकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्यशक्तिः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

Note:—Thus in the next sūtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered." Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ढक् into it. Thus अक्षैर्द्व्यति = वा-क्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer." अक्ष + ढक् = वाक्षिकः (VII. 3. 59 S. 1170)

१५४९ । स्वागतदीनां च । ७ । ३ । ७ ॥

ऐच् न स्यात् । स्वागतमित्याह स्वागतिकः । स्वाध्वरिक् । स्वङ्गस्यापत्वं स्वाङ्गिः । व्यङ्गस्यापत्वं व्याङ्गिः । व्यङ्गस्यापत्वं व्याङ्गिः ॥ व्यवहारेण चरति व्यवहारिकः । स्वपत्नीं साधु स्वपत्नयम् ॥ आशी प्रभूतादिभ्यः * ॥ प्रभूतमाह प्रभूतिकः । पार्याप्तिकः ॥ वृच्छते सुखानादिभ्यः * ॥ सुखानं वृच्छति सौख्यविकः । सौख्यव्याप्तिकः । अद्रुशति काविः ॥ गच्छते परस्वरादिभ्यः * ॥ परस्वारिकः । गीहस्तत्पिकः ॥

1549. The prohibition and augment taught in VII. 3. 3. S. 1098, do not apply also to स्वागत &c.

As स्वागतिकः, (= स्वागतमिति आह), स्वाध्वरिक्, (= स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः, व्याङ्गिः (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyāḍa), व्यवहारिकः (Vyavahāreṇa charati) and स्वपत्नेयः (= स्वपत्नीं साधुः) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by VII. 3. 2. S. 1144. स्वपत्न being a compound with स्व, would have been governed by VII. 3. 4. S. 1386. as it is included in the Dvārādī list, hence its specific mention here. The following is the list of svāgatādi words.

1 स्वगत, 2 स्वध्वज, 3 स्वर्ण, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यङ्ग, 6 व्यङ्गहार, 7 स्वपति ॥

Vart:—So also after प्रवृत्त &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रवृत्तमाह = प्रोक्तिकः, पार्थविकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an abverb.

Vart:—So also after सुस्नात् &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नात् पृच्छति = सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". सौस्नराजिकः, सौस्नरायनिकः ॥

Vart:—So also after परदार &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परदारान् गच्छति = पारदारिकः, गौरतल्लिकः ॥ The word तल्ल here refers to "wife".

१५५० । तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् । ४ । ४ । २ ॥

अक्षैर्दीव्यति आक्षिकः । अन्वया खनति आत्रिकः । अक्षैर्जयति आक्षिकः । अक्षैर्जितमाक्षिकम् ॥

1550. The affix टक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिकः—'who plays with dice—a dicer'. अन्वया खनति आत्रिकः, सौदारिकः, अक्षैर्जयति = आक्षिकः, अक्षैर्जितम् = आक्षिकम् ॥

१५५१ । संस्कृतम् । ४ । ४ । ३ ॥

दध्ना संस्कृतं दाधिकम् । नारीचिकम् ॥

1551. The affix टक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. नारीचिकम् ॥

Note:—The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of संस्कृतं only runs.

१५५२ । कुलत्थकोपपादण् । ४ । ४ । ४ ॥

टकोपपादः । कुलत्थः संस्कृतं कुलत्थम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1552. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars टक् ॥ Thus कुलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

१५५३ । तरति । ४ । ४ । ५ ॥

उदुम्ब तरति शीतुविकः ॥

1553. The affix टक् comes after a word in the third

case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses thereby over the waters'.

Thus काण्डलेनतसति = काण्डलविकः, औदविकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

१५५४ । गोपुच्छाद्वय । ४ । ५ । ६ ॥

गौप्यचिह्नकः ॥

1554. The affix **उत्** comes after the word 'gopu-
chchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between हक् and हम् is in the accent. Thus यौषधिक् ॥

१५५५ । नौत्यचष्टन् । ४ । ४ । ७ ॥

नायिकाः । षड्विंशः । बाह्यभ्यां तपति बाह्यका स्त्री ॥

1555. The affix **उन्** comes after the word **नौ** and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars इक्. Thus नावा तसि = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, चरिका, so also बाहुका (बाहुनां तसि) in the feminine.

*Note :—*The व in वम् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बहुकः being बहुका॥ In fact the indicator व occurs in the Fourth book, in sūtras IV. 4, 9, 10, 18, 53 and 74.

१५५६ । चरति । ४ । ४ । ५ ॥

कृत्यानां तावच्छति मत्तयतीत्यर्थयोष्ठक् स्यात् । हस्तिना चरति हास्तिकः । हाकाष्ठिकः । वृक्षा मत्तयति वाष्ठिकः ॥

1556. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix उक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus वाकटिकः । हस्तिकः 'who travels by a car or an elephant'. क्वा मक्षयति = दायिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd.'

१५५७ । आकर्षितं पृष्ठं । ४ । ४ । ६ ॥

भाकर्यो निरुपेयनः । भाकर्यसिद्धिः सागन्तर्यम् । तेन प्रतीयत भाकर्यिकः । सिद्ध्यर्थी ।
भाकर्यिकी ॥

1557. The affix ग comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means thereof' after the word 'Akarsba.'

Note—This debars डक्. The ऋ is for accent (VI. I. 123). The ए of एङ् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in IV. 4. 7. 8. 1555.

Thus जाकर्षेण चरति = जाकर्षिक / जाकर्षिकी ॥ जाकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested. Another reading is जाकर्षिणि ॥

१५५८ । पर्पादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । १० ॥

पर्वेण चरति पर्विकः । पर्विकी । येन पीठेन पङ्कजचरन्ति स पर्वः । अधिकः । राधिकः ॥

1558. The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars ठक्; the न् of छन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and छ् for कीर् (IV. 1. 41). Thus वैपिकः / पर्विकी, औश्विकः / औश्विकी ॥ So also राधिकः ॥

1 पर्व, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 न्यास, 8 रायः पथ ॥

१५५९ । श्वगणाहुञ्च । ४ । ४ । ११ ॥

यात् छन् ॥

1559. The affix ठक् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'.

This debars ठक् ॥

१५६० । श्वादेरिञि । ७ । ३ । ८ ॥

ऐचन । श्वमखरवापले श्वामखिः । श्वादेरिः । तदाविधिषी श्वेत्वेव श्वाकम् ॥ इकारादायति वाच्यम् ॥ श्वगणेन चरति श्वामणिकः । श्वामणिकी । श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी ॥

1560. A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ् is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII. 3. 4.

Thus the descendant of श्वख is श्वामखिः, so also श्वादेरिः ॥ The word इञ् is included in the list of Drāṇādi words VII. 3. 4, S. 1386. The present sūtra implies that the rule VII. 3. 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words.

Vārt :—This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows.

Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वामणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. / श्वामणिकी ॥ इञ् श्वामणिक / श्वामणिकी ॥

Note :—The form श्वामणिक is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 5. Thus श्वगण + इञ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, ञ् requires the Vṛiddhi of the ञ् of श्व ॥ But rule VII. 3. 1 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter औ comes before ञ् in the case of श्व &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been श्वौश्वामणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by इञ् ॥ In

fact, the rule VII. 3, 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इम् (an affix beginning with इ): as from इवाभाञ्चि we have इवाभाञ्चिम् (इवाभाञ्चिरे) ॥

१५६१। पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ७। ३। ६ ॥

आपदस्वेदं आपदम् । शीवापदम् ॥

1561. The rule VII. 3. 4 is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद् ॥

As आपदस्वेदं = आपदम् or शीवापदम् ॥

१५६२ वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति । ४। ४। १२ ॥

वेतनेन जीवति वेतनिकः ॥ धानुष्कः ॥

1562. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वेतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्डः the affix applies to the compound, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धानुर्दण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, दण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्दण्डः, 5 आल, 6 वेष्ट (वेष्ट), 7 पर्वत (उपवेष्ट, उपवेष्ट), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवृत्ति (उपवृत्ति), 10 मुख, 11 अन्तः, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपविष्ट, 14 उपवेष्ट, 15 स्विङ्ग (स्विङ्ग), 16 वाद, 17 उपवृत्ति, 18 उपवृत्ति, * 19 उपवृत्ति, * 20-खञ् ॥

१५६३ वस्त्रक्रयविक्रयादुन् । ४। ४। १३ ॥

वस्त्रेन वस्त्रेन जीवति वस्त्रिकः । क्रयविक्रयमहणे संपातविशुद्धीकार्यम् । क्रयविक्रयिकः । क्रयिकः । विक्रयिकः ॥

1563. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya' and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्त्रेन जीवति = वस्त्रिकः 'who lives by hire, hireling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

१५६४ आशुधाच्छ च । ४। ४। १४ ॥

आशुन् । आशुनेन जीवति आशुप्रीयः । आशुप्रीयः ॥

1564. The affix छ as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'śivudha'.

Thus सायुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by डन्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

१५६५ द्रव्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । १५ ॥

द्रव्यङ्गन द्रव्योत्सङ्गिकः ॥

1565. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हसति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्सङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip.'

1 दम्भङ्ग, 2 दडुप, 3 दसुन (दत्तन), 4 दत्पन्न, 5 दत्पुट, 6 दिट्क, 7 पिटाक, 8 दडप ॥

१५६६ भस्त्रादिभ्यः घृन् । ४ । ४ । १६ ॥

भस्त्रया हरति भस्त्रिकः । पित्वाण्डीप् । भस्त्रिकी ॥

1566. The affix घृन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhastra &c' being in the third case in construction.

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV. 1 41)

Note:—The word भस्त्र means a pair of leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 भस्त्रा, 2 भस्ट, 3 भरण (भारण), 4 वीर्यभार, 5 वीर्यभार, 6 जंघभार, 7 चंसेभार ॥

१५६७ विभाषा विवधात् । ४ । ४ । १७ ॥

विवधेन हरति विवधिकः । पक्षे डक् । वैवधिकः । एकदेशाधिकृतस्याऽन्यस्याद्विवधावपि डन् । वीवधिकः । वीवधिकी । विवधयीवधकादौ उभयतो वक्ष्यमाणे स्तम्भवात् कौटे वर्तेते ॥

1567. The affix घृन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha'. (and 'vivadha'), being in the third case in construction.

Vart:—A word altered in a portion there of remains the same. Therefore वीवध is also governed by this sūtra

In the alternative, the general affix डक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः । विवधिकी ; So also वीवधिक । वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is डक्, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood with a loop at each end placed on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler.'

१५६८। अण्कुटिलिकायाः । ४ । ४ । १८ ॥

कुटिलिका व्याधानां गति विशेषः कर्मरूपकरणभूतं लोहं च । कुटिलिकया हरति घृणानृणांश्च
कौटिलिको व्याधः कर्मरश्च ॥

1568. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति घृणोश्च व्याधः or (घृणो व्याधं) = कौटिलिको व्याधः (or घृणः) 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey.' कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारम् = कौटिलिकः कर्मरः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge.'

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths.'

१५६९। निर्वृत्तेऽक्षयूतादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । १९ ॥

अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षयूतिकं वैरम् ॥

1569. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyûta &c.', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = आक्षयूतिकं वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling.'

1 अक्षयूत, 2 आक्षयूत ('प्रभूत), 3 अक्षयूत, ('प्रभूत), 4 अक्षयूत, 5 आक्षयूत, 6 कण्ठकमर्दन, 7 गताक्षयूत, 8 गताक्षयूत, 9 आक्षयूत, 10 अक्षयूत ॥

१५७०। त्रैलोक्यमित्यम् । ४ । ४ । २० ॥

विप्रत्ययान्तप्रकृतिकात्तृतीयान्ताभिर्वृत्तेऽर्थे मन्थमित्यम् । कृत्वा निर्वृत्तं कृत्रिमम् । पक्वित्वम् ॥

* भाष्यप्रत्ययान्तादिमप्युक्तव्यः । पक्वेन निर्वृत्तं पक्वित्वम् । त्यागित्वम् ॥

1570. The affix मप् comes invariably after the words ending in the affix त्रि, in the sense of 'completed thereby,'

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 38). Thus the root दुपश् takes त्रि and forms पक्वि, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पश् + त्रि + मप् = पक्विमम् 'what is completed by being cooked'. From दुकृष् we have कृष्टिमम् ॥

Note :—The word निर्य in the sôtra indicates that the affix त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vart:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पक्वेन निर्वृत्तं = पक्विमम् (पश् + पश् III. 3. 15 + इमप्), so also व्यागित्वम्, त्रैलोक्यम्, कुटिलम् ॥

१५७१ । अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ । ४ । ४ । २१ ॥

अपमित्येति स्वबन्तम् । अपमित्य निर्वृत्तं आपमित्यकम् । याचितेन निर्वृत्तं याचितकम् ॥

1571. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yāchita,' when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'.

Note :—The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix ल्यप् (III. 4. 19). The ल्यप् is changed to ल्वप्, and इ substituted for ए (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

१५७२ । संसृष्टे । ४ । ४ । २२ ॥

दध्ना संसृष्टं दाधिकम् ॥

1572. The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट = दाधिकम् 'smeared with curd.'

Note :—The word 'sanskritam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'samsrṣṭam' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

१५७३ । चूर्णादिनिः । ४ । ४ । २३ ॥

चूर्णैः संसृष्टाः चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः ॥

1573. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrṇa' when the sense is 'mixed therewith'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टाः = चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder'.

१५७४ । लवणाल्लुक् । ४ । ४ । २४ ॥

लवणेन संसृष्टो लवणः सूपः । लवणं चाकम् ॥

1574. The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith' is elided by लुक्, after the word 'lavāṇa'.

Thus लवणेन संसृष्ट = लवणः 'mixed with salt', as लवणं सूपः 'soup mixed with salt.' See लवणं चाकं. लवणं चाकम् : ' (I. 1. 51).

Note :—The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

१५७५ । मृदायाक् । ४ । ४ । २५ ॥

मैत्र जोड़न ॥

1575. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga', when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars टक् ॥ Thus मैत्र जोड़न: 'rice mixed with mudga pulse'.

१५७६ । व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्तं । ४ । ४ २६ ॥

टक् । इध्ना उपसिक्तं राक्षिकम् ॥

1576. The affix टक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus इध्ना उपसिक्तं = राक्षिकम् 'sprinkled with curd.'

Note:—Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्तं जोड़नः ॥

१५७७ । ओजः सहोऽम्भसा वर्तते । ४ । ४ । २७ ॥

ओजसा वर्तते औजसिकः शूरः । साहसिकधोरः । आम्भसिको मत्स्यः ॥

1577. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'it exists', after the words 'ojas', 'sahas', and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिकः शूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also:—साहसिकः 'a thief.' आम्भसिकः 'a fish'.

१५७८ । तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् । ४ । ४ । २८ ॥

द्वितीयाऽन्तादन्माहूर्तत इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे टक् स्यात् । क्रियाविशेषणत्वाद्वितीया । प्रतीपि वर्तते प्रातीपिकः । आन्वीपिकः । प्रातिलोमिकः । आनुलोमिकः । प्रातिकूलिकः । आनुकूलिकः ॥

1578. The affix टक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists', after 'īpa,' 'loma,' and 'kūla,' preceded by 'anu' and prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपि वर्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिपत्ता आषा ऽ सिक्, the वा changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97), retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आन्वीपिकः ॥ 'favourable.' प्रातिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' प्रातिकूलिकः आनुकूलिकः ॥ The —o words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

१५७६ । परिमुखं च । ४ । ४ । २६ ॥

परिमुखं परंते परिमुखिकः । आत्मापरिमुखिकः ॥

1579. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं परंते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present.'

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As आत्मापरिमुखिकः ॥

Note:—The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of 'exclusion' (I. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यैः सेवको वर्त्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं सतस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

१५८० । प्रयच्छति गृह्यम् । ४ । ४ । ३० ॥

द्विगुणार्थं द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति द्वैगुणिकः । वैगुणिकः ॥

वृद्धेर्द्विगुणिभावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वार्धुणिकः ।

1580. The affix टक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति = द्वैगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double, i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थं 'for the sake of double'. Similarly वैगुणिकः ॥

Part:—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृद्धि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुणिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase'. Or the word वृद्धि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Note:—Why do we say गृह्यम् 'with a mean motive'? Observe द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति अशुभार्थः 'the debtor gives double'.

१५८१ । कुसीदवशैकादशात् छन्दचौ । ४ । ४ । ३१ ॥

गृह्यार्थं व्याख्यास्यते स्तः प्रयच्छतीत्यर्थः । कुसीदं वृद्धिस्तदर्थं इत्यं कुसीदं तत्प्रयच्छतीति कुसीदिकः । कुसीदिकी । एकादशार्थव्यवहारः ते च ते वस्तुतो ददा योति दिग्दंडकारः समाधानं इह च निवर्तते । शैकादशिकः । दशैकादशिकी । शैकादशान्प्रयच्छतीत्युत्तमं एतेहादि तद्विनायः ॥

1581. The affixes छच् and छच् come respectively after the words 'kusida' and 'daśaikādaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीर means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादश ॥ This sūtra debars डक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes डन् and डक् is in the accent (VI. I. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीर + डन् = कुसीरिक्; fem. कुसीरिणी (IV. I. 41). So दशैकादशिकैः fem. दशैकी ॥

१५८२ । उज्जति । ४ । ४ । ३२ ॥

बदराण्डुजति बादरिकः ॥

1582. The affix डक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleanes that'.

Thus बदराण्डुजति = बादरिकः 'who picks up jujubes'.

Note:—To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उज्ज ॥

१५८३ । रक्षति । ४ । ४ । ३३ ॥

समाजं रक्षति सामाजिकः ॥

1583. The affix डक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'.

१५८४ । शब्ददुर्द्वं करोति । ४ । ४ । ३४ ॥

शब्दं करोति शाब्दिकः । शर्दुरिकः ॥

1584. The affix डक् comes after the words 'Śabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes words' i. e. a grammarian. So शर्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

१५८५ । पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्धन्ति । ४ । ४ । ३५ ॥

स्वरूपस्य पर्यायानां त्रिविधानां च ग्रहणम् । मत्स्यपर्यायेषु मीनस्यैव । पक्षिणो हन्ति पक्षिकः । पक्षुनिकः । मायुरिकः । मात्स्यिकः । मेनिकः । शकुनिकः । मार्गिकः । द्वारणिकः । सारङ्गिकः ॥

1585. The affix डक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. i. 68).

Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मातृरिक्तः ॥ So also with मत्स्यः as, मात्स्यिकः, मैनिकः, शाकुनिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, हारिणिकः, सारङ्गिकः ॥

१५८६ । परिपन्थं तिष्ठति । ४ । ४ । ३६ ॥

अस्माद्विहीयान्तत्तिष्ठति हन्ति परित्ये ठक् स्यात् । पन्थानं वज्रदिश्या व्याप्य वा तिष्ठति पारिपन्थिकः । परिपन्थं हन्ति पारिपन्थिकः ॥

1586. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वज्रदिश्या तिष्ठति. - यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man".

Note:— The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the classical form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with पन्थ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

१५८७ । माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

दण्डाकारो माथः पन्थाः दण्डमाथः । दण्डमाथं धावति दण्डमाथिकः । पादविकः । आनुपदिकः ॥

1587. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words 'padavi' and 'anupada'.

Thus a road (mātha) straight like a stick (daṇḍa) is called दण्डमाथः । From it दण्डमाथं धावति = दण्डमाथिकः 'who runs on a high way'. Similarly पादविकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means 'a way'.

१५८८ । आक्रान्दाह्वं ४ । ४ । ३८ ॥

आक्रान्दस्य स्यादाह्वं धावन्त्यर्थे । आक्रान्दं दुःखितो रोदनस्थानं धावति आक्रान्दिकः ॥

1588. The affix ठक् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'Akraunda', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'.

The word आक्रान्द means 'a place where persons weep' e. g. a battle-field. It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c. The difference between ठक् and ठक् is in the accent. Thus आक्रान्दं धावति = आक्रान्दिकः or आक्रान्दिकः, i. आक्रान्दिकी 'a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'.

१५८८ पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति । ४ । ४ । ३९ ॥

पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति पौर्वपदिकः । औत्तरपदिकः ॥

1589. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पौर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥

Note :—The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule, when पद is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

१५९० प्रतिक्ण्ठार्थलक्ष्मं च । ४ । ४ । ४० ॥

एभ्यो गृह्णात्यर्थे डक् स्यात् । प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति प्रातिकण्ठिकः । आर्थिकः । लालम्बिकः ॥

1590. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikanṭha', 'artha', and 'lalāma' being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, लालम्बिकः ॥

Note :—The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Apyayi-bhāva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगतः कण्ठं = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

१५९१ धर्मं चरति । ४ । ४ । ४१ ॥

धार्मिकः ॥ अधर्माद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आधार्मिकः ॥

1591. The affix डक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practises that'.

Thus धर्मं चरति = धार्मिकः "religious".

Vārtika :—It must be stated that the affix डक् comes after adharma also. As आधार्मिकः "irreligious, undutiful",

१५९२ प्रतिपथमेति डञ्च । ४ । ४ । ४२ ॥

प्रतिपथमेति प्रतिपथिकः ॥

1592. The affix डञ् as well as डक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes.'

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रतिपथिकैः "who goes along the road" the डक् causes Vṛddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst डञ् does not.

१५९३ । समवायान्समवैति । ४ । ४ । ४३ ॥

सामवायिकः । सामुहिकः ॥

1593. The affix **ठक्** comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there.'

Thus **समवायान् समवैति** = **सामवायिकः** 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also **सामजिकः**, **सामूहिकः**, **सामनिवेशिकः** ॥

Note :—The word **समवाय** means combination, collection &c. The word **समवायान्** is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form **समवाय** but to its synonyms also. **समवैति** means coming together.

१५९४ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । ४४ ॥

परिषदं समवैति परिषदः ॥

1594. The affix **ण्य** comes after the word 'parishad, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ Thus **परिषदं समवैति** = **परिषदः** 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

१५९५ । सेनाया वा । ४ । ४ । ४५ ॥

ण्यः स्यात्पक्षे **ठक्** । सैन्याः । सैनिकाः ॥

1195. The affix **एय** comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word **senā**.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus **सेनां समवैति** = **सैन्यः** or **सैनिकः** 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

१५९६ । संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुटयो पदयति । ४ । ४ । ४६ ॥

ललाटं पदयति ललाटिकः सेवकः । कुक्कुटीणां तस्याताईः स्वल्पदेशो लक्ष्यते । कौक्कुटिको भिक्षुः ॥

1596. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalāṭa' and 'kukkuṭi', in the second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus **ललाटं पदयति** = **ललाटिकः** 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also **कौक्कुटिकः** 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikṣu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word **कुक्कुटी** ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the

ground, and hence he is called कौकुर्युक्तः ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

१५९७ । तस्य धर्म्यम् । ४ । ४ । ४७ ॥

आपणस्य धर्म्यमापणिकम् ॥

1597. The affix ढक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word धर्म्ये means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word तस्य shows the case of the word. Thus कुक्कशाखाया धर्म्ये = कौक्कशानिकः 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also आकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौत्मिकम् ॥

१५९८ । अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । ४८ ॥

महिष्या धर्म्ये माहिषम् । राजानाम् ॥

1598. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law', after the word 'mahishi' &c.

This debars थक्. Thus महिष्या धर्म्ये = माहिषम् 'the usages of queens.' So राजानाम् ॥

1 महिषी, 2 प्रजापति, 3 प्रजावति, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 प्ररोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतु 11 यजमान ॥

१५९९ । ऋतोऽञ् । ४ । ४ । ४९ ॥

यातुधर्म्ये याचम् ॥ नराद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नरस्य धर्म्या नारी ॥ विशसितुर्दिलोपश्चाञ्च वक्तव्यः * ॥ विशसितुर्धर्म्ये वैशखम् ॥ विभाजयितुर्दिलोपश्चाञ्च वाच्यः * ॥ विभाजयितुर्धर्म्ये वैभाजिवम् ॥

1599. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law', after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ढक् ॥ Thus यातु धर्म्ये = याचम् 'the office of a Yātrī, i. e. a pilgrim'.

Vart.—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vart.—So also after the word विशसितु, the इङ् affix being elided. Thus विशसितु + अञ् = वैशखम् ॥

Vart.—So also after the word विभाजयितु its शि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अञ् = वैभाजिवम् ॥

१६०० । अवक्रयः । ४ । ४ । ५० ॥

यदवक्रावक्रञ् स्वावक्रयेऽर्थे । आपणस्यावक्रय आपणिकः । राजमाहं इत्यवक्रयः ॥

1600. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'its tax' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means, 'Government-tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent' &c coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase,'. Thus अपणस्य अवक्रयः = आपणिकः ॥

Note :—Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same ? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

१६०१ । तदस्य पण्यम् । ४ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपणाः पण्यस्य आपणिकः ॥

1601. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपणाः पण्यं अस्य = आपणिकः 'a cake-vendor.'

१६०२ । लवणादठक् । ४ । ४ । ५२ ॥

लावणिकः ॥

1602. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent. Thus लवणं पण्यस्य = लावणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

१६०३ । किसरादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । ५३ ॥

किसरं पण्यस्य किसरिकः । पिष्ठाङ्गीप् । किसरिकी । किसर, रशीर, गलाद इत्यादि । किसरादयः सर्वे सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषवाचिनः ॥

1603. The affix छन् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c.

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किसर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किसराः पण्यस्य = किसरिकः । किसरिकी (IV. 1. 41) नैष्ठिकः । नैष्ठिकी ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीप् as the affix has an indicative च ॥

1 किसर (किसर), 2 नरद, 3 ननद, 4 स्यागल, 5 लगर, 6 सुम्बुल, 7 रशीर 8 इविद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु, 10 पर्णी, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रादयो ॥ All these words denote different kinds of sweet scents.

१६०४ । शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५४ ॥

अस्याच् पठे ठक् । शालालुकः । शलालुकी । शलालुका । शलालुकी । शलालुः सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषः ॥

1604. The affix छन् comes optionally, in the case of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'shalalun'.

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative. शलालु is a kind of

sweet scent. Thus शान्तु पण्यमस्य = शैलाहुकः / शैलाहुकी ॥ In the alternative with डक्, शान्तुहुकः / शैलाहुकी ॥

१६०५ । शिल्पम् । ४ । ४ । ५५ ॥

शृङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य मार्दङ्गिकः ॥

1605. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose art', after a word denoting art, in the first case in construction.

Thus शृङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य = मार्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mridanga drum".

१६०६ । मङ्गुकर्म्मरादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५६ ॥

मङ्गुकर्वादनं शिल्पमस्य माङ्गुकः । माङ्गुकिकः । हार्हारः । हार्हारिकः ॥

1606. The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose art', after the words 'maṅḍuka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus मङ्गुक न शिल्पमस्य = माङ्गुकः or माङ्गुकिकः, so also हार्हारः and हार्हारिकः ॥

१६०७ । प्रहरणम् । ४ । ४ । ५७ ॥

तत्संज्ञैव । अस्तिः प्रहरणमस्य आसिकः । धातुष्कः ॥

1607. The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the first case in construction.

Thus अस्तिः प्रहरणमस्य = आसिकः 'a swordsman'. So धातुष्कः ॥

१६०८ । परश्वघाटञ्च । ४ । ४ । ५८ ॥

परश्वधिकः ॥

1608. The affix डक् as well as डक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix डक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus परश्वधिकः or पैरश्वधिकः ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'.

१६०९ । शक्तियष्टयोक्क । ४ । ४ । ५९ ॥

शालीकः । यात्रीकः ॥

1609. The affix- ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'śakti' and 'yashī'.

This debars इक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणस्य = शक्तिकः, So also चाटीकः ॥

१६१० । अस्ति नास्ति दिष्टं मतिः । ४ । ४ । ६० ॥

तदर्थेत्येव । अस्ति परलोक इत्येवं मतियस्य स आस्तिकः । नास्तीति मतियस्य स नास्तिकः ।
दिष्टमिति मतियस्य स दैष्टिकः ॥

1610. The affix इक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nāsti' and 'diṣṭa',

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिकः 'who believes that it is' i. e. the here-after exists, नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no here after', an athiest, 'दैष्टिकः' 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

Note:—The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

१६११ । शीलम् । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य आशुपिकः ॥

1611. The affix इक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य = आशुपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'.

Note:—The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

१६१२ । छात्रादिभ्यो णः । ४ । ४ । ६२ ॥

हरेर्गोपायानादराद्ये छात्रे तच्छीलमस्य छात्रः ॥

1612. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this' after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars इक् ॥ Thus छात्रं शीलमस्य = छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the weaknesses of the teacher'.

Note:—The word ह्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga ; thus आह्या संस्था, आह्या &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, सुगुरुलक्षणां सुगुणं सिध्यरक्षण-
म् ह्यायाः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or सिध्येन च सुगुरुलक्षणां परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

१ छत्र, २ गिरा ३ मरिच (प्रसिद्ध), ४ ह्या (आह्या, संस्था, आह्या), ५ सुगुणा, ६ सुगु, ७ सिधिया, ८ उपर्याय, ९ कृषि (क्षति), १० कर्मन्, ११ विश्रया, १२ तपस्, १३ सत्य, १४ धर्मन्,

15 विशिष्टा*, 16 विशिका (शिषिका), 17 भृत्*, 18 वृत्स्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (!)*, 20 विशा*, 21 भृत्ता*, 22 मन्त्र ।

१६१३ । कर्मस्ताच्छील्ये । ६ । ४ । १७२ ॥

कर्म इति ताच्छील्ये जे दिलोपो निपाद्यते । कर्मशीलः कर्मः । गस्तद्धिते इत्येव शिष्टे भवकार्ये ताच्छील्ये येषु । तेन श्रीरी तापसीत्यादि सिद्धम् । ताच्छील्ये किम् । कर्मणः ॥

1613. कर्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or proficient therein'.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62 S. 1612). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144 S. 679 the form कर्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण् and ण affixes, in the sense of tāchchhīlika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167 S. 1155 would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim :—ताच्छील्ये षेङ् कृत्वादि भवन्ति ॥ " The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix ण्, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though ङीप् is added to ण्-formed words, it is also added to ण-formed words, in the feminine : as श्रीरी ; तापसी &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101 S. 1908 and III. 1. 140, S. 2902 is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that ? Observe कर्मण इवम् = कर्मणम् ॥

१६१४ । कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

प्रथमान्तराद्यर्थे डङ् स्यादध्ययने वृत्ता वा क्रिया सा शैथन्यमात्रास्वार्थः । ऐकान्तिकः । यस्याध्ययने प्रवृत्तस्य परीक्षाकाले विपरीतोपाकरणरूपं स्थलितमेकं जाते सः ॥

1614. The affix डङ् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vṛittam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकान्तवृद्धयने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्तिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अशब्द) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading, is called ऐकान्तिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अशब्दयने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

१६१५ । बहुचूर्णपदादङ् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

प्रतिषेधये । द्वादशान्यतने कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तान्तस्य द्वादशान्तिकः । द्वादशपदादा सत्यं जात इत्यर्थः ॥

1615. The affix डच् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in 'study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars डच् ॥ Thus :—द्वादशान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययेन वृत्तानि अस्ति = द्वादशान्यानिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So त्रयोदशान्यानिकः त्रयोदशान्यानिकः ॥ The word अन्विच् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udatta, or *vice versa*.

१६१६ । हितं भक्षः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अपूर्वभक्ष्यं हितमस्मै आहूयिकः ॥

1616. The affix डक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom"

Thus अपूर्वभक्ष्यं हितमस्मै = आहूयिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also वाष्पुनिकः, मोक्षिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आहूयिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

Note :—The words तद् and अस्मै (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हिते governs dative (II. 3. 13, S. 570 Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्मै हितं भक्षः, the word अस्मै being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्मै should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way, however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise:

65 हितं भक्षः तदस्मै and 66 दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

१६१७ । तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अपभोजनं नियतं दीयते अस्मै आपभोजनिकः ॥

1617. The affix डक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given rightfully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word दीयते नियुक्तम् means नियोगेन i. e. सत्यभित्तरेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अस्मै भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आपभोजनिकः 'a Brāhmana always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'.

Note :—Some say that the word नियुक्तम् means नियते 'always'. According to the old sūtra the word नियुक्तम् means दीयते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

१६१८ । आगामास्मादनादित् ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

आखा नियुक्त दीयतेऽस्मै आधिकः । आधिकी । मांसोदनग्रहणं सेवत्तविमृदीतार्यम् । मांसोद-
निकः । मांसिकः । ओदनिकः ॥

1618. The affix टिङ्क् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आखा and मांसोदन ॥

This टिङ्क् debars डक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the इ indicates that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आखा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आधिकः f. आधिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनीकी ॥ The affix टिङ्क् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also. (But डक् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vriddhi (VII. 2. 117) which टिङ्क् does not). Thus ओदन + टिङ्क् = ओदनिकः f. ओदनिकी ॥ With डक् the form would have been ओदनिकः which is not wanted.

Note:—The difference between डक् and टिङ्क् is in accent, the former having udatta on the final (VI. 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of डक् and टिङ्क् will both be formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix डक् resembles टिङ्क् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not डक् used instead of टिङ्क्, for it would have produced exactly the same form? True, as regards the words आखा and मांसोदन the affix डक् might have been employed instead of टिङ्क् ॥

The words आखा is Past Participle (क्त) of खा 'to cook'. The खा is not changed to ख् as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nightह स is changed to ण (VIII. 2. 43). The form खात is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is खृते = क्षीरम् (VI. 1. 27).

१६१६ । भक्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ड । ड । ६८ ॥

पक्षे डक् । भक्तमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते भक्तः । भक्तिकः ॥

1619. The affix अङ्क् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' 'i. e. a retainer.'

१६२० । तत्र नियुक्तः । ड । ड । ६९ ॥

आकरे नियुक्त आकरिकः ॥

1620. The affix डक् comes, in the sense 'of appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction.

Thus आकरे नियुक्त = आकरिकः 'a superintendent of the mines.'

Note:—The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by 11 I. ३६.

S. 723. The word *niyukta* here has a different meaning from that in IV. 4. 66, S. 1617 hence its repetition here.

१६२१ । अगारान्तादङ् । ४ । ४ । ७० ॥

देवागारे नियुक्तो देवागारिकः ॥

1621. The affix *ङ्* comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra.'

This debars *ङ्*. The difference is in accent and want of *Vṛiddhi*. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः ॥

१६२२ । अप्यायिन्यदेशकालात् । ४ । ४ । ७१ ॥

निषिद्धदेशकालवाचकाद्ङ्क स्यादध्येतारि । श्मशानेऽधीते श्माद्यानिकः । चतुर्दश्यामधीते चा-
तुर्दशिकः ॥

1622. The affix *ङ्* comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word *अदेशकाल* means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. *अप्यायिन्* means one who studies. Thus श्मशाने-
ऽधीते = श्माद्यानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातु-
र्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.'

Note :—Why do we say 'improper time and place? Observe धृत्तऽधीते
पूर्वाह्निऽधीते ॥

१६२३ । कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति । ४ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । वंशकठिने व्यवहरति वंशकठिनिकः । वंश वेणवः कठिना वस्त्रिन्द्रेणे स वंशकठिनस्त-
शिन्येणे वा क्रिया वयातुहेया तां तथैवातुतिष्ठतीत्यर्थः । प्रास्तारिकः । संस्थानिकः ॥

1623. The affix *ङ्* comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina, and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वंशकठिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket,' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i. e. तस्मिन्द्रेणे वा तत्र वा यथागृहेया तां तथैवातुतिष्ठति ॥ So also प्रास्तारिकः, संस्थानिकः ॥

१६२४ । निपटं चर्चति । ४ । ४ । ७३ ॥

निपटारिको निपटु ॥

1624. The affix *ङ्* comes in the sense of 'who dwells,' after the locative word 'nikāṭa.'

Thus-निकटे वसति = नैकटिकः 'an ascetic, because a sannyāsi lives *near* the city, and enters the city only for the sake of begging, but does not live therein."

Note :—This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations.

१६२५ । आवसथात् इङ् । ४ । ४ । ७४ ॥

आवसथे वसति आवसथिकः । दित्वाङ्गीप् आवसथिकी ।

आकर्षात्पर्षादेर्मखादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राय ।

आवसथपठिकसर्गः दितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥

षडिति सूत्रषट्केन विहिता इत्यर्थः । मत्स्यास्तु सप्त ॥

1625. The affix इङ् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'Āvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The इ of इङ् is for accent (VI. 1. 193 S. 3676), the ण् is for ङीप् (IV. 1. 41 S. 498). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i. e. a house-holder as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of इङ् as ordained in IV. 4. 1 S. 1548. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

The ष of इङ् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra IV. 4. 7 S. 1555. To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : " आकर्षात् पर्षादेर्मखादिभ्यः कुसीदसूत्राय, आवसथात् किसर्गदेः दितः षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥ In the six sūtras IV. 4. 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, S. 1557, 1558, 1566, 1581, 1625, and 1603 the affixes have indicatory 'sh' i. e. they are part of the affix. Though the sūtras are six, the number of affixes taught therein is seven. Here ष being इङ्, the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 41).

Here ends the chapter on Thagadhikāra.

अथ तद्धित प्राग्वितीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXI.

PRĀG-GHITĪYA AFFIXES.

१६२६ । प्राग्विताद्यत् । ४ । ४ । ७५ ॥

सर्गमहितमित्यनः प्राक् यत्प्रतिक्रियते ॥

1626. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitani' (V. 1. 5. S. 1665), the affix यत् bears rule.

Note :—Thus in the next sūtra तद्धृति रथयुगमासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथः, युगः, मासङ्गः ॥

१६२७ । तद्धृति रथयुगमासङ्गम् । ४ । ४ । ७६ ॥

रथं वहति रथः । युगः । यस्तानां वनकाले स्तब्धे यत् काष्ठमासङ्ग्यते स मासङ्गः । स पद्धति मासङ्गः ॥

1627. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsaṅga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युगः 'a yoke-bearing ox', मासङ्गः 'being trained in a break'. मासङ्गः is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking.

Note :—This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as पुररथः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 S. 1501, 1503. also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or रथः therefore रथस्य रथः will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. S. 1500 read with IV. 3. 121. S. 1501 its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Drigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 88 1. S. 1080.

Thus दो रथो वहति = द्विरथः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under IV. 3. 121. S. 1501. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛt affix (III. 1. 121. S. 2873), that युग्य differs from the present in accent, when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by त्यक् and thus is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156 S. 3499. यद्युग्येय् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युगे must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति राथा कर्त्तुं शक्यं वा ॥

१६२८ । युगे यद्दुर्गो । ४ । ४ । ७७ ॥

रथि यति संघं प्रापे ॥

1628. The affixes *यत्* and *इष्* come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction.

Thus *धुरं वेदति* = *धुर्यः* (formed by *इष्*) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 S. 354. is prevented by the next sūtra, because *धुर* is a Bha-stem, or *धैर्य* (formed by *इक्* VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'a beast of burden'.

Note :—This sūtra might have stood as *धुरो इक् च*, for *यत्* would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75. S. 1626.

१६२८ । न भ कुर्तुमा ॥ ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

नस्य कुर्तुरीकोपधाया दीर्घो न स्यात् । धुर्यः । धैर्यः ॥

1629. The lengthening of the vowel does not take place under VIII. 2. 77. S. 354, when the Nominal stem ending in *र* or *च्* is called Bha (i. e. when a *य्* follows), and also not in *कुर* and *हुर* ॥

Thus *धुर्यः* (*धुरं वेदति* IV. 4. 77. S. 1628 or *धुरि साधुः*) ॥ Or *धैर्यः* with *dhak*.

Note :—Why have we qualified the word *भ* by saying that it must end in *र* or *च्*? Observe *प्रतिदीक्ष*, *प्रतिदीक्षे* ॥ For here the stem which ends in *इ* is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in *च्* but in *न्* ॥

१६३० । खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ४ । ४ । ७८ ॥

सर्वधुरे वहति सर्वधुरीणः ॥

1630. The affix '*kha*' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word '*sarva-dhurâ*', being in accusative construction.

Thus *सर्वधुरां वहति* = *सर्वधुरीणः* (VII. 1. 2 S. 475).

Note :—The affix *ख* applies to other compounds also ending in *धुर* e. g. *वसतधुरीणः*, *वहतिधुरीणः* ॥ The word *सर्वधुर* is a compound of *सर्व* + *धुर* (II. 1. 49 S. 726), the samāśanta *ख* being added by V. 4. 74 S. 940. The word *धूः* being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26 S. 812. The word *सर्वधुरात्* in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulating the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact *सर्वधुर* in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal stem or *prātipadika* equal to *सर्वधुस्* ॥

१६३१ । एकधुरात्लुक् ॥ ४ । ४ । ७९ ॥

एकधुरे वहति एकधुरीणः । एकधुरः ॥

1631. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhura' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरम् वहति = एकधुरीयः or एकधुरः ॥

Note:—The compounding is taddhitārtha (एकं धुरां वहति) to which is added the samāsānta च and then the affix खः ॥

१६३२ । शकटादङ् ॥ ४ । ४ । ८० ॥

शकटं वहति शाकटो गोः ॥

1632. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car.

Note:—This could be evolved by तद्धेदम् अण् as शाकटस्य बोहू = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटो वहति = द्विशकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88 .S. 1080)

१६३३ । हलसीराद्धठ् ॥ ४ । ४ । ८१ ॥

हलं वहति हलिकः । बैरिकः ॥

1633. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'hala' and 'sira', in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हलिकः 'a ploughman,' बैरिकः 'a plough ox'.

Note:—The ठक् would have come by IV. 8. 124, S. 1504 the specification, shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वेहालिकः, द्वेसीरिकः ॥

१६३४ । सद्मायां जन्या ॥ ४ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अग्नी पत्न्यः सां वहति मापवति जन्या ॥

1634. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janī,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus अग्नी वहति = जन्याः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. जन्या 'a bride's-maid.' The word अग्नी means 'bride.' जन्या lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c.

Kālidāsa has used it in the sense of the bearers of the vehicle in which the bride goes. As दाहति जन्यावद्वनं कन्याम् ॥

१६३५ । विरयस्यधनुरा ॥ ४ । ४ । ८३ ॥

विभीषणोर्विभीषणीस्यै दाह्यात रोषेण धनुः कर्णम् । पार्श्वे विरयसि पत्न्याः सार्द्धम् ॥

1635. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it', after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैदाः (VI. 3. 53, S. 991) पैर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles.

Note:—Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अथनुवा" ? Observe पादौ विध्यन्ति धनुवा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुस् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, धनुर्विध्यति ॥

१६३६ । धनगणं लब्ध्वा । ४ । ४ । ८४ ॥

सुत्रन्तमेतत् । धनं लब्ध्वा धन्यः । गणं लब्ध्वा गण्यः ॥

1636. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gṛha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्ध्वा = पैन्धः, so also गृह्यः ॥ लब्ध्वा is formed from लभ् by वृत्, hence it takes the accusative.

१६३७ । अन्नाणः । ४ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अन्नं लब्ध्वा आन्नः ।

1637. The affix लु comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्ध्वा = आन्नः 'fed,' 'who has obtained food.'

१६३८ । वशं गतः । ४ । ४ । ८६ ॥

वश्यः परेच्छातुयाती ॥

1638. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word वाग्, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वेदगमः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = कामं दृच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेच्छातुयाती ॥

१६३९ । पद्मस्मिन्दृश्यम् । ४ । ४ । ८७ ॥

पद्मः कर्दमः । नातिशुष्क इत्यर्थः ॥

1639. The affix यत् comes after the word pada,' in the sense of 'in it is visible,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्ति न = पद्मः कर्मः 'mud' literally, soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot.

Note:—So पद्मः पतितः 'dust' for in it also the impression of foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means दृश्यते द्रष्टुम् this having the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

१६४० । मूलमस्यावर्हि । ४ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आवर्हणनावर्हि उत्पादनं तदस्यास्तीत्यावर्हि । मूलमावर्हि येषां ते मूल्या मुद्राः ॥

1640. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आवर्हि from $\sqrt{\text{वृह}}$ 'to uproot,' means 'uprooting,' = उत्पादनं ॥ मूलमेवमावर्हि = मूल्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. माषा मुद्राः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant.

Note:—According to Padamanjari the word should be आवर्हि and not आवर्हि with a व and not व ॥

१६४१ । संज्ञायां धेनुष्या । ४ । ४ । ८९ ॥

धेनुवदस्य पुगागमो यत् प्रत्ययस्य स्वार्थे निपात्यते संज्ञायाम् । धेनुष्या नन्दके स्थिता ॥

1641. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding पुक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udātta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called गीमधुष्या ॥ As धेनुष्यां भवते वसति ॥ See Amarakośha II. 9. 72. "धेनुष्या नन्दके स्थिता" ॥

१६४२ । गृहपतिना संयुक्तः ज्यः । ४ । ४ । ९० ॥

गृहपतिर्यजमानस्तेन संयुक्तो गार्हपत्योऽग्निः ॥

1642. The affix घ्य comes in the sense of 'joined with,' after the word 'grihapati' in the third case in construction.

The word grihapati means 'sacrificer'. Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्य 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder.

Note:—The word गार्हपत्य of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यम् means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire is

which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatyā. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakṣiṇāgni. Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatyā.

१६४३ । नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यस-
मसमितसम्मितेषु । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

नौवा तार्ये नाव्यम् । वयसा तुल्यो वयस्यः । धर्मेण प्राप्यं धर्म्यम् । विधेयं वध्यो विध्यः । मूलेन,
षानाम्यं मूल्यम् । मूलेन सती मूल्यः । सीतया समितं सीत्यं क्षेत्रम् । तुलया समितं तुल्यम् ॥

1643. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that they should be so. Thus:—

1. नौवा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', literally, what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit, one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma'.

Note:—Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्माद्वयस्ये (IV. 4. 92 S. 1644) ? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.

4. विधेयं वध्यः = विध्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or "to be overpowered or bent by the root".

Note:—The word षानाम्य (which is formed from the root षन् 'to bow' by the affix ष्यत् contrary to rule III 1. 98 S. 2844 which required वन्), means षानिवर्णीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.

6. मूलेन सप्तः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth यतः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.
7. सीतया समितं = सीत्यं 'a field', lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne.

Note:—The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāśikā. सीत् therefore, literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीतं चत्तमसीत्, विसीत् ॥

8. तुलया समितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit, 'meted out by the balance'. समित means समानं, समं ॥

१६४४ । धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते । ४ । ४ । ९२ ॥

धर्मादनपेत् धर्म्यम् । पथ्यम् । अर्थ्यम् । न्याय्यम् ॥

1644. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेत् = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रियान् पथी यदनपेत् तत् पथ्यं, न तु तस्यादनपेत्तदधोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.'

Note:—The word संज्ञार्था (IV. 4. 89 S 1641) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

१६४५ । छन्दसो निर्मिते । ४ । ४ । ९३ ॥

छन्दसा निर्मिते छन्दस्यम् । इच्छया कृतमित्यर्थः ॥

1645. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दम् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

१६४६ । उरसोऽण्य । ४ । ४ । ९४ ॥

आद्यम् । उरसा निर्मितः पुत्र बोऽसः । उरस्यः ॥

1646. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras,' in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = पौरुषैः 'own son, not an adopted son,' lit. "produced through the loins." With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loins, because the word संज्ञार्था (IV. 4. 89.) governs this sūtra also.

१६४७ । हृदयस्यप्रियः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

हृदयो देशः । हृदयस्य हृदयेति हृदयेशः ॥

1647. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hṛidaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृदयः (VI. 3. 50 S. 988) 'pleasant to the heart.' c. g. हृदयो देशः हृदयं वनम् ॥

Note :—But we cannot say हृदयः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञार्थं (IV. 4. 99 S. 1641) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

१६४८ । बन्धने सर्वो । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

हृदयस्यैवान् पश्यन्ताहन्धने यत् स्वाह्वेदेऽभिषेदे । हृदयस्य बन्धनं हृदो वशीकरणमन्त्रः ॥

1648. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hṛidaya,' being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋदि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धनं ॥ The word ऋदि means here the Veda or the Vaidic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनवृदिः = हृदयः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

१६४९ । मतजनहृत्तात्करणजल्पकर्षेणु । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मते ज्ञानं तस्य कारणं भाषः साधनं वा मयम् । जनस्य जल्पो जल्पः । हृतस्य कर्षो हृत्यः ॥

1649. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata' 'jana', and 'hala', in the sense respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मतस्य कारणं = मतः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. Mata means knowledge. जनस्य जल्पः = जल्पः 'a rumour'. हृतस्य कर्षः = हृत्यः 'ploughed'.

Note :—So also हिहृत्यः, विहृत्यः the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यङिप्रो ।

१६५० तत्र साधुः । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अत्र साधुः शम्भुः । साधुस्तु साधुः साधन्यः । ये आभावकर्मणापत्त प्रकृतिभावः । कर्मण्यः । शरण्यः ॥

1650. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard hereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः = सामर्थ्यः (The *सु* remains unchanged by VI. 4. 158 S. 1154) 'conversant with the Śāma-Veda'. So also कर्मण्यः, शरण्यः &c. The साधुः here means प्रवीणः, or योग्यः, 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारकः 'a benefactor or a good person'.

Note :—When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

१६५१। प्रतिजनादिभ्यः सञ् । ४। ४। ६६ ॥

प्रतिजनं साधुः प्रतिजनीनः । सांयुगीनः । सार्वजनीनः । वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1651. The affix सञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः = प्रतिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'suitable against an adversary' or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also सांयुगीनः, सार्वजनीनः, वैश्वजनीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजनः, 2 इत्युगः, 3 सद्युगः, 4 समयुगः 5 परयुगः, 6 परकुलः, 7 परत्यकुलः, 8 अमृत्यकुलः, 9 सर्वजनः, 10 विश्वजनः, 11 पराजनः, 12 पञ्चजनः ॥

१६५२। भक्ताणः । ४। ४। १०० ॥

भक्ते साधवो भक्ताः शालयः ॥

1652. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta',

This debars यत् ॥ Thus, भक्ते साधवः = भक्ताः शालयः 'rice,' lit. suitable or excellent for food'.

१६५३। परिषदो ण्यः । ४। ४। १०१ ॥

पारिषदः । पारिषद इति योगविभाषाण्येऽपि । पारिषदः ॥

1653. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishad' (as well as ण).

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषदः ॥ The affix ण is also employed here by the method of splitting up a single sūtra into two. Thus (1) परिषदः and (2) ण्यः ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः = पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council', 'a minister'.

१६५४। कथादिभ्यष्टक् । ४। ४। १०२ ॥

कथायां साधुः काथिकः ॥

1654. The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathā' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः = काथिकः (कथा + टक् = कथ् + टक् VI. 4. 148 S. 311) = नायकः इव (VII. 2. 116 S. 7282) 'a narrator of stories'.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा, 4 संकथा, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुप्रविद् (कुट्ट
विद्, कुप्रवित्) 7 अनवाद, 8 अनवाद, 9 जानोवाप* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संमह (सम्पद),
12 शुष, 13 गण, 14 आपुर्षदः ॥

१६५५ । गुडाविध्यष्टञ् । ४ । ४ । १०३ ॥

गुदे साधुगौडिक इष्टुः । साकुको ययः ॥

1655. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'gūḍa &c'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुदे साधुः = गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. साकुलः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्पाय, 3 सक्त, 4 अप्रस, 5 मांसीवन, 6 इष्टु, 7 वेष्टु, 8 संमाय,
9 संपात, 10 संक्राम*, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास ॥

१६५६ । पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् । ४ । ४ । १०४ ॥

पथि साधु पाथेयम् । आतिथेयम् । वसने वसतिस्त्व साधुर्वसतिथी रात्रिः । स्वापतेर्धनम् ॥

1656. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः = पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2 S. 475) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वसतेर्धनम् 'habitable' as वसतिथी रात्रिः, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

१६५७ । सभाया यः । ४ । ४ । १०५ ॥

सम्भः ॥

1657. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhā' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3 S. 3708 and VI. 1. 185). Thus सभायां साधुः = सैभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

१६५८ । समानतीर्थे वासी । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

साधुपति निवृत्तम् ॥ वसतीति वासी । समाने तीर्थे गुरौ वसतस्ति सतीर्थ्यः ॥

1658. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛtti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थ्यः (VI. 3. 87 S. 1015)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

१६५९ । समानोदरे शयित श्रो चोदात्तः । ४ । ४ । १०७ ॥

समाने उदरे शयितः स्थितः समानोदरौ शयता ॥

1659. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sāmānodara' in the locative construction, and the udātta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = समानोदरेः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88 S. 1016.

१६६० । सोदराद्यः । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

सोदर्यः । अर्थः प्राग्भवत् ॥

1660. The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udātta, as it was in the last ; the udātta here falls on य ॥

Here ends the chapter on Pragghitiyā.

अथ तद्धितछयद्विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE AFFIXES छ and यत् ।

१६६१ । प्राक् क्रीताच्छः । ५ । १ । १ ॥

तेन क्रीतमित्यतः प्राक् छोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1661. From this sūtra forward up to 'tenā-kṛitam V. 1. 37 S. 1702 the affix 'chha' bears rule.

Note:—The affix छ has the various senses taught in these thirty-seven Sūtras V. 1. 1 to 37 S. 1702. Thus in the Sūtra तस्मैहित्वे 'suitable for that', V. 1. 5 S. 1665 the word छ must be read to complete the sense. Thus पत्नीभ्योऽहितो = पत्नीयो गोघुक्; करणीय उष्ट्रः, चकरणीयः, नयत्नीयः ॥ The limitation of the jurisdiction of छ has been indicated in the sūtra with regard to the meaning of the affix, and not with regard to the affix. As an affix, छ has no force beyond V. 1. 17, S. 1679 the affix दम् being the ruling affix thereafter.

१६६२ । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । २ ॥

प्राक् क्रीतामित्येत । उगवान्ताद्वयाविभ्यश्च यत्स्याच्छस्त्वपवादः । नाभि नभे च ० ॥ नभ्योऽष्टः । नभ्यमञ्जवम् । एषवाभावेदेवम् ॥ हुनः संवसारणं वा च दीर्घत्वम् * ॥ श्वयम् । हुन्यम् । ज्युषोऽनश् च ० ॥ ऊयम् ॥

1662. The affix 'yat' comes after a prātipadika ending with उ (long or short), and after the words गो and the rest, the senses of the affix being those taught upto Sūtra V. 1. 37 S. 1702.

The senses of Prāk-kṛītya affixes are three, viz those taught in sūtras V. 1. 5, S. 1665 V. 1. 12 S. 1674 and V. 1. 16 S. 1678. This यत् debars छ ॥

Note:—the words समह्युः meaning 'a kind of leather', and यद्वा 'a kind of हविः offering', and सक्तुः 'a kind of food', all end in य and are governed by this sūtra, in spite of V. 1. 15 S. 1677 which applies especially to leathers, and V. 1. 4 S. 1664 and its vārtika which applies especially to 'offerings' and 'food-modifications'. This is an example where a subsequent sūtra does not debar a prior sūtra (I. 4. 2). Thus समह्यु + यत् = समह्युयं चर्म, 'leather fit for making Samangu', यद्वा + यत् = यद्वायं स्वपहुताः 'rice fit for making chhara', सक्तु + यत् = सक्तुयं धानम् 'barley fit for making Saktu'.

Gaṇa Sātra :—नाभि is replaced by नभ when the affix यत् is added. Thus नाभये हितः = नभयः meaning अक्षः 'axis, axle' lit. 'fitted for the navel of the wheel'; or a wood fit to be made the navel of a wheel or घृञ्जनम् the grease.

Note :— When the word नाभि means 'the navel' of a living being, then it will not take this यत्, but it will take the यत् of V. 1. 6 S. 1666. In that case, नभ will not replace नाभि; e. g. नाभि + यत् = नभयम् 'suitable for navel' i. e. oil.

Gaṇa Sātra :—The word दध्न् takes samprasāraṇa, द being changed to ढ, and optionally this ढ is lengthened; and the udātta accent falls on the final. As दध्न् + यत् = दुध्न्यम् or दध्न् + यत् = शुध्न्यम् fit for a dog. Contrary to VI. 4. 144, the न् of दध्न् is not elided before the taddhita affix यत् ॥

Gaṇa Sātra :—The final of the word ऊध्न् is replaced by अन्द्; e. g. ऊध्न् + यत् = ऊध् + अन् + य = ऊध्न्यः कूपः 'a well'.

1 गो, 2 द्विस्, 3 अक्षर, 4 विध, 5 अर्हिस्, 6 अष्टका, 7 स्वदा (स्वदा), 8 युग, 9 वेधा 10 कुच (अक्ष), 11 नाभि नभं च, 12 शुनः संसारणं वा च वीर्यं तत्संनिधौगेन चान्तेषां 13 ऊध्नोऽनृष, 14 कृष, 15 खद, 16 द्र (चक्र), 17 खर 18 अक्षर, 19 अन्धन (अध्वन; अध्वा) 20 खर, 21 वेद, 22 बीज, 23 ईश (ईश) 24 स्कन् ॥

१६६३ । कम्बलाश्च संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ३ ॥

यस्यात् । कम्बल्यपूर्णपञ्चशतम् । संज्ञार्थं किम् । कम्बलीया कर्णा ॥

1663. The affix यत् comes in the Prāk-kṛtīya senses, after the word 'kambala', when a name is meant.

This debars 'chha'. Thus कम्बल + यत् = कम्बल्यम् 'A kambalya-measure of wool' = 100 Palas of wool. This is the name of a measure, such as कम्बल्यपूर्णपञ्चशतम् ॥

Why do we say संज्ञायाम्? Observe कम्बलीया कर्णा "wool" lit. 'fit for making blanket', which is formed by छ ॥

१६६४ । विभाषा हविरपूपादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ४ ॥

आनिश्चं दधि । आनिक्षीयम् । पुरोडाश्यास्तण्डुलाः । पुरोडाशीयाः । अपूप्यम् । अपूपीयम् ॥

1664. The affix यत् comes optionally after the words denoting, 'ffering,' and after "apūpa &c," in the sense of Prak-kṛtīya.

Thus आनिश्चं दधि, "fit for making आनिश्च" i. e. curd :—or आनिक्षीयं with छ ॥ So also पुरोडाश्याः or पुरोडाशीया स्तण्डुलाः, 'suitable for making Puroḍāśa' i. e. a kind of rice.

Note :— The word हवि occurs in the गदावि class (V. 1. 2. S. 1662) and it necessarily takes यत् there being no option. The हवि here, therefore, means things denoting sacrificiofferings, and not the word-form 'havi.'

So also after अपूप्यादि. as अपूप्यम्, or अपूपीयम् ॥

1 वायुः, 2 तण्डुलः, 3 (अभ्यूषः), 4 अभ्येषः, 5 अघोषः, 6 अभ्येषः, 7 पृथुकः, 8 शोषनः, 9 स्रपः, 10 पूषः, 11 क्षिप्रः, 12 प्रशीपः, 13 पुनलः, 14 कटकः, 15 कर्णवेष्टकः, 16 इर्मलः, 17 अर्मलः, 18 अनाधिकारियः, 19 दूषः, 20 स्यूनाः, 21 शीप (पीप), 22 अभ्यः, 23 यपः, 24 कटः, 25 अघः स्यूणः.

Gāṇa Sūtra :—The affix यत् comes optionally after words denoting modifications of food : such as सक्तु ॥ In the case of 'saktu' however, no option is allowed. See V. 1. 2 S. 1662.

१६६५ । तस्मै हितम् । ५ । १ । ५ ॥

वस्तेभ्यो हितो वस्तीवो गोधुक् । सक्तुने हितं सक्तुन्यं शर । गन्धम् । हविष्यम् ॥

1665. An affix comes after a word in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of 'good for that.'

Thus वस्तेभ्यो हितो गोधुक् = वस्तीवः 'fit for calves' i.e. a cow-milker. So also सक्तुने हितं = सक्तु + यत् = सक्तुन्य (VI. 4. 146, S. 847. VI. 1. 79 S. 63). As सक्तुन्यं शर, 'wood', 'fit for a stake' गन्धम्; हविष्यम् ॥

१६६६ । शरीरावयवाद्यत् । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

हन्धम् । कण्ठम् । * नम् नासिकायाः ॥ नस्यम् । नाभ्यम् ॥

1666. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after a word denoting a part of the body.

The word शरीर means animal organism. This debars छ, thus, हन्धम् 'good for the teeth.' कण्ठम्, ओष्ठम्, नस्यम्, नाभ्यम् such as dentrifice, snuff, oil &c. See VI. 1. 213.

Vart :—The नम् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and तम्, and the word श्रुत् follow : as, नस्यम्, नसः, नम् श्रुत् ॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3. 55 S. 1430 and V. 1. 6 S. 1666; तम् is taught in V. 4. 45 S. 2126.

The word शिरस् 'head', is also governed by this rule, but शिरस् is replaced by शीर्षम् before यत् by the next sūtra.

१६६७ । ये च तद्धिते । ६ । १ । ६१ ॥

यावो तद्धिते परे शिरस्यवस्य शीर्षादेशः स्यात् । शीर्षण्यः । तद्धिते किम् । शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति ॥ वा केवायु ० ॥ शीर्षण्यः शिरस्यः वा केवाः । नाभि शीर्षे इति वाच्यम् ॥ * अजा तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षादेशः । स्थूलशिरस इदं स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥

1667. There is the substitution of शीर्षम् for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षम् is understood here, from the preceding *Ashṭādhyāyī* sūtra. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरम् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि द्वयोः भवति. शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix यत् is here added

by V. 1. 6 S. 1666. The word क्षीर्षन् retains its original form before this affix वन्, the final वन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vart :—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As क्षीर्षयः केशः or शिरस्यः केशः ॥

Vart :—There is the substitution of क्षीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हास्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हास्तिक्षीर्षिः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इन् (IV. 1. 96 S. 1096). So also स्थूलशिरस् इदम = स्थूलक्षीर्षम् ॥

Note :—Had the word been क्षीर्षन् (instead of क्षीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154).—Again in forming the feminine of हास्तिक्षीर्षिः by adding व्यङ् (IV. 1. 78 S. 1198), arises this difficulty :—व्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तिक्षीर्षिः, we must apply the last rule and change the क्षीर्ष into क्षीर्षन् (for क्षीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस् is *prima facie* a substitute of क्षीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61 S. 1667). The form which we get will be this, हास्तिक्षीर्षिः + व्यङ् = हास्तिक्षीर्षिन् + य (VI. 1. 61 S. 1667) = हास्तिक्षीर्षयः (VI. 4. 168 S. 1154). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हास्तिक्षीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this ? Thus हास्तिक्षीर्षि + व्यङ् = हास्तिक्षीर्षि + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लोपयिष) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthānivat to य, thus the affix य not being directly applied to क्षीर्षि, because this zero intervenes, क्षीर्षि is not replaced by क्षीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, S. 1667, for it is not followed by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthānivat to इन् affix.

१६६८ । खलयवमापतिलवृषग्रहणञ्च । ५ । १ । ७ ॥

खलाय दितं खल्यम् । दल्यम् । गल्यम् । तिल्यम् । वृष्यम् । ग्रहण्यम् । चाग्रह्यम् ॥

1668. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the word 'khala,' 'yava,' 'māsha,' 'tila,' 'vrisha' and 'brahmaṇa.'

This debars छ ॥ Thus खल्यम् "suitable for threshing floor". So also दल्यम्, गल्यम्, तिल्यम्, वृष्यम्, or ग्रहण्यम् ॥

Note :—No secondary derivatives can, however, be formed of the following वृष्यो दितम् । ग्रहण्यो दितम्; the full phrases must be used in these cases, for these words take neither छ nor वन् though वृष्य is = वृष्यन् and ग्रहण्य is = ग्रहण्यन् ॥

The word य in the sūtra indicates that the rule applies to words other than those enumerated. Thus रघाय दित = रघ्या ॥

१६६९ । अजगधिऽयां ध्यन् । ५ । १ । ८ ॥

अजध्या वृधिः । अविध्या ॥

1669. The affix *व्यन्* comes in the senses of 'good for that,' after the words 'aja' and 'avi.'

This debars 'abha.' Thus अजध्या वृधिः 'the yellow jasmine called yāthi.' अविध्या वृधिः ॥

१६७० । आत्मन्विश्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात्तः । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

1670. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the words 'ātman,' and 'viśvajana' and after compounds having the word 'bhoga' as their second term.

This debars क् ॥ In the sūtra, the न् of आत्मन् has not been elided, indicating that it should not be compounded with the word भोग which would have been the case otherwise. It therefore follows from this irregular construction of the sūtra, that the word भोगोत्तरपद does not apply to the words आत्मन् and विश्वजन, but these words are themselves prakṛiti. Thus आत्मन् + ख = आत्मनीयम् 'suitable for one's self' the न् of ātman, which required to be elided by VI. 4. 149 S 679, is saved by the next sūtra.

१६७१ । आत्माध्वानौ खे । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

एतौ खे प्रकृत्या स्तः । आत्मने हितमात्मनीयम् । विश्वजनीयम् । कर्मधारयोद्वेष्यभै ० ॥ पट्टी-
तरपुरुषाद्वृद्धीदृश क् एव । विश्वजनीयम् ॥ पञ्चजन्यादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चजनीयम् ॥ सर्वजनाद्वच्
खञ् ० ॥ सार्वजनिकः । सर्वजनीनः । महाजन्याद्वच् ० । माहाजनिकः । माहभोगीणः । वित् भोगीश्वः ।
राजभोगीणः ॥ आचार्यविण्त्वं च * ॥ आचार्यभोगीणः ॥

1671. The final of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः (V. 1. 9. S. 1670).

Note :—अध्वानमजङ्गामी (V. 2. 16 S. 1817). अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsānta affix टच् added to the avyayibhāva (V. 4. 108 S. 678), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85 S. 958').

So also विश्वजनीयम् 'suitable for all men.' The word विश्वजन must be a karmadhāraya compound, meaning 'all men,' for the application of this rule; when it is a Tatpuruṣa or a Bahuvrīhi compound, it will take क् ॥ As, विश्वजनाय हितं = विश्वजनीयम् 'beneficial for man-kind.'

Vārt :—So also after Karmadhāraya Compound पञ्चजन, e, g, पञ्चजनीयम्, otherwise पञ्चजनीयम् ॥

Vārt :—After the Karmadhāraya compound सर्वजन, there are the affixes इञ् and ख, as सर्वजनीनं and सर्वजनिकम् ; otherwise सार्वजनीयम् ॥

Vārt :—The affix इञ् comes always after the word महाजन whether it be a Karmadhāraya or a Tatpuruṣa, but not so when it is a Bahuvrīhi Com-

pound. As महाजनय हितं माहाजनिकं ॥ In a Bahuvrīhi it will be महाजनयः with छ ॥

Compounds having भोग as their final term also take the affix ख, as, मातृभोगीशः and पितृभोगीशः ॥ The word भोग means 'body. But माजीव and पित्रीयः with छ, when the word भोग does not follow.

Vārt :—The words राजा and आचार्य followed by 'bhoga' take always the affix ख, as राजभोगीनः and आचार्यभोगीनः ॥

Gaṇa sūtra :—In the case of आचार्यभोगीनः the न् is not changed into न (VIII. 4. 2.) The words do not take the affix ख when used singly. As, राज्ञोहितम्, आचार्यस्य हितम्, no affix being employed.

१६७२ । सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णट्जौ । ५ । १ । १० ॥

सर्वोणो वेति वक्तव्यम् • सर्वस्मै हितं सार्वम् । सर्व्वियम् ॥ पुरुषादधिकारसमुद्भूतेनकृतेषु • ॥ भाष्यकारप्रयोगान्तेत्यस्य इन्द्रमध्ये निवेष्टाः । पुरुषस्य वधः पौरुषेयः । तस्येहमित्यपि प्राप्ते । पुरुषस्य विकारः पौरुषेयः । प्राणिरजसादिभ्योऽङ् इत्यपि प्राप्ते । समूहेऽप्यपि प्राप्ते । एकाकिनोऽपि परितः पौरुषेयवृत्ता इवेति नाथः । तेनकृतेग्रन्थेऽपि प्राप्ते अग्रन्थे तु प्रासादादावप्राप्त एवेति विवेकः ॥

1672. The affixes ण and ट्ज् come respectively in the sense of 'good for that' after the words 'sarva' and 'puruṣa'.

Vārt :—The affix ण comes optionally after सर्व as सर्वस्मै हितं = सर्व्वियम् or सार्वम् ॥

Vārt :—The affix ट्ज् comes after पुरुष when the word so formed means: 'slaughter', 'modification', 'a crowd', or 'made by him'.

The word तेन is placed in the middle of the Dvandva, according to the employment of the author of Mahābhāṣya.

Thus पुरुषस्यवधः = पौरुषेयः 'man-slaughter.' Here णञ् (IV. 3. 120. S. 1500) is debarred. So also पुरुषस्य विकारः = पौरुषेयः "human." Here णञ् (IV. 3. 154. S. 1532) is debarred.

Similarly in the sense of समूहः "crowd," as in the following line of Māgha;—

एकाकिनोऽपि परितः पौरुषेयवृत्ता इव ॥ Here also the णञ् of तस्य समूहः is debarred.

So also in the sense of "the book composed," the affix णञ् would have come, but this debars it. When the thing made is not a book but "place" &c then no other sūtra applies, and this ordains ट्ज् as a vidhi. Thus पौरुषेयो ग्रन्थः "a human book", as opposed to अर्षीरुदेया वेदाः "the non-human Vedas". So also पौरुषेयः प्रासादः "a man-built palace."

१६७३ । मानवचरकाभ्यां णञ् । ५ । १ । ११ ॥

मानवाय हितं मानवीयम् । चारकीयम् ॥

1673. The affix णञ् comes in the sense of 'good for that', after the words 'mānava', and 'charaka'.

This debars छ ॥ As नागवाय दितं = मागवीनम् ॥ So also चारकीनम् ॥

१६७४ । तदर्थविकृतेः प्रकृतौ । ५ । १ । १२ ॥

विकृतिवाचकाद्यतुल्यन्तात्तदर्थार्थं प्रकृतौ वाच्यार्थं छप्रत्ययः स्यात् । अङ्गारेभ्य एतानि अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि । प्राकारीया इटकाः । अङ्गुल्यं वारम् ॥

1674. After a word being the name of a product, the above-mentioned affix छ comes, to denote a thing which is the primitive that is serviceable for that.

Note:—The word प्रकृति means primitive or the material cause of a product. The word विकृति means 'the product' or 'modification of such primitive'. तदर्थे 'serviceable for that' i. e. the primitive being serviceable for the product. The word तदर्थं shows that the primitive must be serviceable for that particular product and nothing else. That is to say, an affix will not come to denote any product in general, but only when the primitive is serviceable for a particular product and nothing else. The word तदर्थं shows also that the word must be in the 4th case when the affix is added. Some read the words सस्मै हितं also into this sūtra.

Thus अङ्गारेभ्यो हितानि एतानि काष्ठानि = अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि 'wood serviceable for making charcoal'; so also प्राकारीया इटकाः 'bricks serviceable for making a wall'. Here अङ्गारीय and प्राकारीय are formed by छ V. 1, 1. S. 1661. Similarly अङ्गुल्यं वारम् 'wood serviceable for a spear'.

Note:—Why do we say तदर्थम् 'serviceable thereto'? Observe घनानां धानाः, धानानां सक्तवः ॥ Here there is modification of primitive, but सक्तम् is the product also of other things than धानाः such as लज्जा &c.

Why do we say विकृते: 'after a product'? Observe उदकार्यः कुपः, there is no affix. For कुपः 'a well' and उदक 'water' do not stand in the relation of प्रकृति and विकृति i. e. material cause and effect. As 'water' is not the modification or product of 'the well' though it is found in the well, and therefore the affix is not employed.

Why do we say प्रकृतौ 'to denote a primitive.' Observe अस्वर्था कोशी 'a sheath serviceable for a sword'. The sword is a product of iron, but a sheath is not the primitive of the sword.

By using the words प्रकृति and विकृति it is further shown that the prakṛiti is liable to modification or vikṛita.

१६७५ । छदिरुपधिबलेर्दञ् । ५ । १ । १३ ॥

छादिष्वेयाणि नृणामि । बालेयस्तदुल्लः ॥ उपधिशब्दात्स्वार्थे इत्यनेन ॥ उपधियेत इत्युपधीः रपाङ्गं सदेव औपधेयम् ॥

1675. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'cbhadiś,' 'upadhiś,' and 'baliś' denoting the product.

This debars छ. Thus छादिष्वेयाणि नृणामि, बालेयस्तदुल्लः ॥

Ishli:—The affix comes after the word उपधि without changing the sense. उपधियत् इत्युपधिः=रयांश्च part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference or the wheel itself. The word औपधेयम् also means the same.

१६७६ । ऋषभोपानहोऽर्थः । ५ । १ । १४ ॥

छन्दोपधायः । आर्धभ्यो वस्त्रः । औपानहो वृजः । अर्धपद्ममेव पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

1676. The affix ष्य comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'rishabha' and 'upānah' denoting the products.

This debars छ ॥

○ Thus आर्धभ्यो वस्त्रः औपानहो वृजः ॥ Even when the primitive is 'leather चर्म' the affix 'nya' will come after उपानह् debarring by anticipation the ष्य of V. 1. 15. S. 1677. Thus औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

१६७७ । चर्मणोऽञ् । ५ । १ । १५ ॥

चर्मणो या विकृतिस्तथाचकारम् स्यात् । वधूर्द्धं इदं वार्त्तं चर्म । वारत्तं चर्म ॥

1677. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after a word expressing the product of leather.

The word चर्मणः in the aphorism is in the genitive case. This अञ् debars छ ॥ Thus वार्त्तं चर्म and वारत्तं चर्म a leather serviceable for making a 'vārdhta' and 'vāratra' i. e. a leather thong.

१६७८ । तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति । ५ । १ । १६ ॥

प्रकार आसामिदकानां स्वाध्याकारीया इदकाः । प्रासादीये वाह । प्राकारोऽस्मिन् स्वात् प्राकादीयो देवः । इतिशब्दो औक्तिको विषयामनुसारयति । तेनेह न । प्रासादे देवदत्तस्य स्वादिति ॥

1678. The above mentioned affixes come after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive or a locative, when the word in the first case is agent of the verb 'syāt';—in other words—the above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of 'very well sufficient there to' and 'very well sufficient to be made therein

Note:—The word न् shows that the word in construction must be in the first case, the words अस्य 'of it' and अस्मिन् 'in it' show the senses of the affix, the word स्यात् 'it can be' qualifies the primitive, the word इति, is for the sake of distinction.

Thus प्रकार आसामिदकानां स्यात्=प्राकादीया इदकाः 'the bricks sufficient to raise a wall'. So also प्रासादीये वाह ॥ Similarly प्राकारोऽस्मिन्नेह स्यात्=प्राकादीयो देवः 'place sufficient to make a wall therein'. प्रासादीया भुवि ॥

Notes :—The word स्यान् being in the Potential Mood (विधिलिङ्) of अस् 'to be', has the force of संभावन् 'potentiality, sufficiency' as given in Sūtras III. 3. 154. S. 2811 &c. Such as when the large number of bricks makes it possible to raise a wall, we say प्राकार आसामिदृक्तानां स्यान् ॥ Similarly when the quality (गुण) of a land, such as its area, situation &c, makes it possible to erect a palace therein, we say, प्रासादाऽस्मिन्देशे स्यान् ॥

In the examples under this sūtra, there is no modification (विकार) of the primitive (प्रकृति) into a product, as was the case under sūtra V. 1. 12. S. 1674. The examples under this sūtra show merely the 'adequacy, fitness or sufficiency' of a thing for a certain purpose. Herein lies the difference between this sūtra and the previous ones.

The repetition of the word तद् twice in this sūtra shows the existence of the Grammatical maxim: अनेकस्मिन् ग्रहणार्थे प्रत्येकं स्वर्थं विभक्तिः संबन्धनयः 'when the sense of an affix is more than one, the case in construction to which the affix must be added must be shown in each case.'

Why there is no affixing in this case: प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यात्? The use of शक्ति in the Sūtra would prevent this, the force of शक्ति being that the classical usage must be looked to in forming these derivatives.

१६७६ । परिखाया ढञ् । ५ । १ । १७ ॥

परिखेयी भूमिः ॥

1679. The affix ढञ् comes, after the word 'parikhā' in the above senses of 'this is sufficient for that', and 'this is sufficient therein'.

This debars छ ॥ Thus परिखेयी भूमिः 'land sufficient to make a mote thereon'.

Up to this Sūtra was the governing force of the affixes छ and यद्. Hereafter another affix will be taught.

Here ends the chapter on छ and यद् affixes.

अथ तद्धितार्हीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ARHIYA AFFIXES.

१६८० । प्राग्वनेष्टञ् । ५ । १ । १८ ॥

तेन तुल्यमिति वार्ति वक्ष्यति ततः प्राक् ङमधिक्रियते ॥

1680. Upto Sūtra V. 1. 115 S. 1778. (excluding that) the affix ङ् bears rule.

Note :—The affix ङ् governs all the succeeding sūtras upto तेन तुल्यमिति चेद्वति, and has the senses given to it in Sūtras V. 1. 37 S. 1702 &c. Strictly speaking the affix ङ् governs only upto V. 1. 110 S. 1773 and not upto 115. Thus in V. 1. 72, the affix ङ् must be read ; as पासायणिकः, वीसायणिकः, चान्द्रायणिकः ॥

१६८१ । आर्हीदगोपुच्छसंख्यापारिमाणादङ् । ५ । १ । १९ ॥

तदर्थंतीत्येतदभिव्याप्य ङमाधिकारमध्ये ङमोऽपवादश्चमधिक्रियते गोपुच्छादीन्वर्जविरहा ॥

1681. Upto Sūtra V. 1. 63 S. 1728 inclusive, the affix ङ् bears rule, 'with the exception of the word 'gopuchchha', or a Numeral, or a word denoting a measure of capacity.

Note :—Strictly speaking ङ् governs upto sūtra V. 1. 65. S. 1730. The word आर्हीद् is made up of आ + अर्हीद् । The force of आ here is अग्निसिद्धि or inclusive, so that in the Sūtra तदर्थंति (V. 1. 63.) also, the ङ् will be employed. The affix ङ् debaras ङम् ॥ The sense will be the same as given in V. 1. 37 S. 1702. &c. the difference between ङ् and ङम् being in accent only. Thus निष्कया कृतिं=निष्किकेम् । So also पात्रिकेम् ॥

१६८२ । अस्मासे निष्कादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । २० ॥

आर्हीदित्येतत्तेन क्रीतमिति यावत्तत्तद्वच्च सङ्ख्यामनुवर्धते । निष्कदिभ्योऽस्मासे ङ् स्यादार्हीवे-
ष्येषु । निष्किकेम् । सप्तति । तु ङम् ॥

1682. The affix ङ् comes after the words निष्क &c, when they are not parts of a compound, the sense of the affix being that taught in the subsequent sūtras upto V. 1. 63, S. 1702.

The word आर्हीद् is understood in the sūtra also. This ङ् debaras ङम्
Thus निष्किकेम् ॥

But when it is a part of a compound, then the word निष्क will take the affix डञ् ॥

Thus परमनिष्क + डञ् ॥ Here applies the following rule.

Note :—The following seven are nishkādi words :—1 निष्क, 2 पण, 3 पाव, 4 भाव, 5. बाह; 6. द्रोण; 7. पलि ॥ Drona denotes measure, śhaṣṭhi denotes numeral and would have taken डञ् ॥

१६८३ । परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

अपरपदवृद्धिः स्वात् मिदावै ॥ परमनैष्किकः । असमाप्तमहयं ज्ञापकं भवति । इतः प्राक् सप्तविधिरिति । तेन सुगन्धम् । अथापूयमित्यादि ॥ इतः कर्ष्यं तु संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तमहयं मौनद्वेरेष्यते तद्याल्लोके ॥ पारायणिकः । द्वैपारायणिकः । अलुकीति किम् । द्वाभ्यां शर्षाभ्यां क्रीते द्वियर्षम् । द्वियर्षेण क्रीते शर्षादञ् वा भूत् । किं तु डञ् । द्वियौर्षिकम् ॥ 'असंज्ञा' इति किम् । पञ्चक-काषाः परिमाणस्य पञ्चकलाधिकम् । तदस्य परिमाणमिति डञ् ॥

1683. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

Thus परमनैष्किकः ॥

The words 'asamāsa etc when they are not parts of a compound' of the last sūtra are jānāpaka, indicating that in the preceding sūtras the tadanta-vidhi applied. Thus we have not only गन्धं, but सुगन्धम् also (V. 1. 2. S. 1662), not only अद्वयम् but अथापूयम् also (V. 1. 4. S. 1664). But in the sūtras that follow, the tadanta-vidhi applies only when the first member of the compound is a numeral, and that too when there is no luk-elision of the affix. As पारायणिकः and द्वैपारायणिकः ॥ (But when not preceded by a numeral, the tadanta-vidhi does not apply : as परमपारायणम् वर्तयति ।). Why do we say 'when there is no luk'. Observe द्वाभ्यां शर्षाभ्यां क्रीते = द्वियर्षम् ॥ द्वियर्षेण क्रीते = द्वियौर्षिकम् with डञ् not अञ् ॥ V. 1. 26 S. 1691).

Why do we say 'when it is not a name?' Observe पञ्चकलाधिकम् ॥ It has taken the affix डञ् by V. 1. 57 S. 1723

Note :—The word परिमाण in this sūtra has its technical signification, and not its etymological sense. Technically परिमाण does not include सप्तम्, etymologically it does. Pāṇini has used this word परिमाण in some sūtras in its technical sense, in others in its etymological sense. Thus in sūtras IV. 1. 22. S. 480, and V. 1. 19. S. 1681 the technical sense is taken, while in sūtras IV. 3. 156. S. 1534 and V. 1. 57. S. 1723 the etymological sense is meant. Technically परिमाण means सर्वतो मन्द् or a measure of capacity, and surface, namely length and breadth and height or depth, such as प्रस्रः &c. i. e. a cubic-measure and a square measure. In this sense it is to be distinguished from the measures of length or lineal measure. (technically

called प्रमाण such as a धितस्य 'a cubit' &c, on the one side, and the measures of weight, technically called उन्माण such as पद्म, &c on the other side. In short उन्मान means a measure of weight or gravity, परिमाण means a measure of volume or capacity, प्रमाण means a lineal measure, and a संख्या is beyond all these.

Note :—Q. Is not the employment of the word अंतर्वाले in the Sūtra redundant? For by the maxim मध्यवता प्रतिपदिक्तेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika, does not, contrary to I. 1. 72, S. 26, denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself;" the prātipadika निष्क being especially mentioned in the sūtra, the rule will apply to the word निष्क and not to a word ending with निष्क ॥

A. The employment of the word अंतर्वाले in this Sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that in spite of the above maxim, the तदन्तविधिः I. 1. 72, S. 26 applies to the previous sūtra, while in the subsequent sūtras it does not. As उगवादिभ्यो यत् (V. 1. 2, S. 1662) the यत् applies not only to गो &c but to words ending in गो &c. As मय्यम् and जुगम्यम्, अतिजुगम्यम् ॥ Not only अपूप्यम्, अपूपीयम् (V. 1. 4. S. 1664) but also यवापूप्यम् यवापुपीयम् ॥ Not only इम्य (V. 1. 6. S. 1666) but also राजदम्यम् ॥

While in the sūtras subsequent to this V. 1. 20, S. 1662 the tadanta-vidhi applies only to words preceded by a Sankhyā and that also in Sūtras upto V. 1. 115. S. 1778 and not there after as, द्वैपारायणिकः and द्वैपारायणिक (V. 1. 72. S. 1726). Even in this latter case, when an affix is elided by लुक् the tadanta-vidhi does not apply. Thus क्षायां यर्षायां कृति = हि यर्ष + ट् (V. 1. 18. S. 1689) = द्वियर्षम्. (the affix being elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693). Now in forming a tertiary derivative from this word द्वियर्षम्, the tadanta-vidhi will not apply. Thus द्वियर्षेण कृति, here what affix are we to subjoin? If tadanta-vidhi applied, we get the affix घञ् (V. 1. 26 S. 1691) in the alternative. But tadanta-vidhi not applying, we get the general affix ट् V. 1. 8. S. 1668, and have द्वियर्षोर्षिकम् ॥ Here the affix ट् is not elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693 as there is no Dvigu compounding. The above rule is summarised in the following ishti प्राप्तेः सङ्ख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तमहणमलुकि ॥

१६८४। अर्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा । ७ । ३ । २६ ॥

अर्धात्परिमाणवाचकस्योत्तरपदस्यदेशेऽप्यो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा मिति किति किति च । अर्धश्रोत्रेण श्रोतव्यं अर्धश्रोत्रीकम् । अर्धश्रोत्रीकम् ॥

1684. Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory स्, ण्, or क्, the Vṛddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्ध ॥

As अर्धश्रोत्रीकम् or अर्धश्रोत्रीकम्, with ट् (V. 1. 18.).

*Note :—*Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe अर्धश्रोत्रीकम् only (— अर्धश्रोत्रः श्रोतव्यमस्य) ॥

१६८५ । नातः परस्य । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

अर्धस्थित्यस्य परिमाणकारस्य वृद्धिर्न पूर्वपरस्य तु वा विधादौ । अर्धप्रस्थिकम् । अर्धमास्थिकम् ॥ अतः किम् अर्धकौडिकम् । तपरः किम् । अर्धस्त्रायो भवः अर्धस्त्री । अर्धस्त्रीर्भाव इत्यत्र वृद्धिर्निमित्तस्येति पुंवद्भावनिषेधो न स्यात् ॥

1685. When the first vowel of the second member preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vṛddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, इ, or ऊ; and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i. e. अर्धे) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिकः or अर्धमास्थिकः (V. 1. 18 S. 1680) ॥ अर्धकौडिकः or अर्धकौडिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe अर्धकौडिकः ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध स्त्रायो भवः = अर्धस्त्री ॥ Here Vṛddhi is substituted for the आ of स्त्री, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed. For अर्धस्त्री being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vṛddhi in forming a Bahuvrīhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI. 3. 39. S. 840 as अर्धस्त्रीर्भावः (= अर्धस्त्रीर्भावस्य) (वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c.)

Note:—Wherever Vṛddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix, that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrīhi compound referring to a male person वैद्याकरणो भार्यो अस्त्य = वैद्याकरणभार्यः ॥ The word वैद्याकरण is formed by prohibition of Vṛddhi. See VII. 3. 3.

१६८६ । शतस्य ऽन्यतावशते । ५ । १ । २१ ॥

एतेन कीलं घटिकम् । शतम् । अशते किम् । शतं परिमाणस्य शतकः सङ्ख्यः । इदं प्रत्ययार्थो यस्तुतः प्रकृत्यर्थान्निवृत्ते । तेन अन्यतो न किंतु कनेन । असमास इत्येव । द्विशतेन कीलं द्विशतकम् ॥

1686. The affix *शत* and *यत्* come in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word *शत* when it is not a part of a compound, and when it does not mean merely a 'hundred'

The word *आर्द्रात्* V. 1. 19 S. 1681 is understood here also. These affixes *हन्* and *यत्* debar the affix *कन्* V. 1. 22 S. 1687. Thus एतेन कीलम् = शतम् or घटिकम् 'purchased for a hundred gold coins'.

Why do we say *अशते* 'when not meaning merely 'a hundred'? Observe शतपरिमाणस्य = शतकं निदानम् 'a band whose measure is hundred'. The word *अशते* qualifies the sense of the affix, and not that of the base, the latter not being possible; for the word *शत* as a base must always mean 'a hundred'. The following examples will illustrate the meaning; शतमभ्यस्तं परिमाणस्य यत्पदम्

शतकः 'a book consisting of hundred Adhyayas'. In this case there is essentially no difference between the base (prakṛti) and the sense of the affix (pratyayārtha), though there is apparent difference, for the sake of applying the affix. For शतकः is a book essentially consisting of hundred, while शतं 'a carriage purchased for a hundred coins,' does not contain hundred as its essential part. Similarly शतको गौसंघः 'a herd of cows hundred in number'. Here the संघः essentially consists of शत and so there is the affix कन् and not इन् or यन् (V, 1. 58). But not so in the case of शतं चादकशतं, शतिकं चादकशतं, for here the sense of the affix is formed by the sentence, and not discovered merely from the word. Hence the following Vārtika शतप्रतिषेधेऽन्यशतस्येऽप्राप्तिरिति ।

The word च in the sūtra draws in the word अथवासे from the previous sūtra. Thus द्वौ च शतं च = द्विशतं, द्विघनेन क्रीतं = द्विशतकम् 'purchased for a hundred and two coins'. Here the affix is कन् V. 1. 22 S. 1687. So विशतकम् ॥ According to the lṅhī given in the Sūtra VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 the tadanta-vidhī applies here.

१६८७ । संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन् । ५ । १ । २२ ॥

संख्यायाः कन् स्वावार्हविशेषे ननु सन्तशदन्तायाः । पञ्चभिः क्रीतः पञ्चकः । बहुकः । सन्तायास्तु साम्निकः । शदन्तायाः आत्यारिशतकः ॥

1687. The affix kan comes after a Numeral, when it does not end with सि or श्व, the sense of the affix being that taught hereafter upto V. 1. 63. S. 1728.

The word आर्हान् is to be read into this sūtra also. The word संख्या is defined in I 1. 23 S. 258. This कन् debars इन् ॥ Thus पञ्चभिः क्रीतः = पञ्चकः, बहुकः, सप्तकः ॥

Why do we say 'when it does not end in सि or श्व'? Observe साम्निकः, आत्यारिशतकः formed by इन् ॥

१६८८ । घतोरिद्धा । ५ । १ । २३ ॥

यशन्तात्कन इद्धा स्यात् । तावन्निकः । तावत्कः ॥

1688. 'The affix, Kan' coming after a Numeral ending with चत् takes optionally the augment इद्, the sense of the affix being those given upto V. 1. 62.

The words ending in चत् are संख्या ; see I. 1. 23 : and would consequent take कन् by V. 1. 22. The present sūtra ordains the optional affixing of इद् to this कन् ॥ Thus तावत्कः Or तावन्निकः ॥

१६८९ । विशतिप्रिशद्भ्यां इत्थुनसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २४

वेगविभागः कर्मस्थः । शब्दायां कन् स्यात् । शतसंज्ञायां इत्थुन स्यात्कनोऽपवादः । विशतकः विशतकः । शब्दायां न विशतिका । विशतकः ॥

1689. The affix **इवुन्** comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728. after the words 'Viṅśati' and 'triṅśat' when it does not denote a Name: ann the ति and अत् of the base are dropped before this affix.

The affix कन् will be added by dividing the sūtra into two : viz: (1) विंशतिर्विंशद्भां (2) इवुनसंज्ञायाम् ; the meanings being (1) the affix 'Kan' is added to viṅśati and triṅśat ; (2) The affix ḍvun is added to the same words, when not denoting a name.

Thus विंशति + इवुन् = विंश + भक् (VI. 4. 142 S. 844) = विंशकः, विंशत + इवुन् = विंश + भक् (VI. 4. 143 S. 316) = त्रिंशकः ॥

When not denoting a Name विंशतिकः त्रिंशकः formed by affix कन् V. 1. 22.

१६९० । कंसाद्विट् । ५ । १ । २५ ॥

वे ङीर्घः । इकार उच्चारणार्थः । कंसिकः । कंसिकी ॥ अर्धकिति वक्तव्यम् ० ॥ अर्धिकः । अर्धिकी ॥ कार्पाषणद्विट् वक्तव्यम् प्रतिपद्येयम् वा ० ॥ कार्पाषणिकः । कार्पाषणिकी । प्रतिकः । प्रतिकी ॥

1690. The affix **टिट्** comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63 S. 1728 after the word कंस ॥

This debars ङ्, the anubandha टि of टिट् shows that the feminine of the word will be formed by ङीर् (IV. 1. 15 S. 470). The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ण् of टिट् is for accent (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686). Thus कंसिकः fem कंसिकी ॥

Vart :—So also it must be stated after the word अर्धः e. g. अर्द्धिकः अर्द्धिकी ॥

Vart :—So also after the word कार्पाषण, e. g. कार्पाषणिकः fem. कार्पाषणिकी ॥ Sometimes the word प्रति is substituted for कार्पाषण before this affix, as प्रतिकः, fem. प्रतिकी ॥

१६९१ । शूर्पादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । २६ ॥

शूर्पम्, शूर्पिकम् ॥

1691. The affix **अन्** comes optionally in the senses taught upto VI. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the word 'śūrpa'.

This debars ङ् which comes in the alternative. As, शूर्पण ङीत् = शूर्पेण् or शूर्पिकम् ॥

१६९२ । शतमानविंशतिषसहस्रवसनाद् । ५ । १ । २७ ॥

एथोऽङ् शताद्विंशतिषसहस्रवसनाद्वाः । शतमणिकः ङीत्, शतमणम् । विंशतिकम् । सहस्रम् । शतम् ॥

1692. The affix **अण्** comes in the senses taught upto V. 1. 63, S. 1728 after the words 'śatamāna', 'viṅśatīka', 'sahasra', and 'vasana'.

This debars **हम्**, **ठक्** and **क्** ॥ Thus **घतमानेन क्रीतं** = **घातमानम्**, so also **वैशतिकम्**, **साहस्रम्** and **वासनम्** ॥

१६९३ । **अभ्यर्धपूर्वादिगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २८ ॥**

अभ्यर्धपूर्वादिगो यः परस्मैस्यस्य लुक् स्यात् । **अभ्यर्धकंसम्** । **द्विकंसम्** । **संज्ञायां तु पाञ्चकलापिकम्** ॥

1693. The affix having the senses taught upto V. 1. 63, S. 1728, is elided by **लुक्**, after a stem beginning with the word **adhyardha**, and after a Dvigu compound, when it is not a Name.

The word **आर्हात्** is understood here also. Thus **अभ्यर्धकंसम्**, **द्विकंसम्**, **अभ्यर्धपूर्वम्**, **द्विर्धर्मम्**, **विकंसम्**, **त्रिर्धर्मम्** ॥ Here the affixes **दिङ्** and **अण्** are elided.

Note :—Though in the word **द्विर्धर्मम्** &c. the affix is elided, it is only so when the affixing of the taddhita occasions a Dvigu compounding (II. 1. 51. S. 728) such as in **हस्त्यां दुर्धर्मां क्रीतं** = **द्विर्धर्मम्** ॥ Here the resultant is a Dvigu compound. But in forming tertiary derivatives the affix is not elided, as **द्विर्धर्मेन क्रीतं** = **द्विर्धोपिकम्** ॥ Hence the following rule : **द्विगोर्लुकि सन्निमित्तप्रहणम्** ॥ See IV. 1. 88, V. 1. 20.

Why do we say **असंज्ञायाम्** 'when not a Name'? Observe **पाञ्चलोदितिकम्** or **पञ्चलोदितिकम्** and **पाञ्चकलापिकम्** being names of certain measures. The feminine word **लेहिनी** is changed into the masculine by the *Vārtika* **मत्स्ये तद्धिते** given under VI. 3. 35. The *lohini* is the *red* seed with which gold &c. is weighed.

Note :—The word **अश्वर्द्ध** is a *Saṅkhyā* (See I. 1. 23. S. 258) and a word beginning with it will be a Dvigu compound. Its separate mention in this *sūtra* may appear superfluous. It is however so mentioned, in order to indicate (jñāpaka) that this word is not always a *Saṅkhyā*. Thus for the purposes of the application of the affix **कृत्वष्टक्** (V. 4. 17, S. 2085) this word is not a *saṅkhyā*.

१६९४ । **विभाषा कार्पाषणसहस्राभ्याम् । ५ । १ । २९ ॥**

लुग्या स्यात् । **अभ्यर्धकार्पाषणम्** । **अभ्यर्धकार्पाषणिकम्** । **द्विकार्पाषणम्** । **द्विकार्पाषणिकम्** । **पञ्चकलापिकम्** । **द्विकं** । **लुक्** । **पञ्च** । **अभ्यर्धमतिकम्** । **द्विपतिकम्** । **अभ्यर्धसहस्रम्** । **अभ्यर्धसाहस्रम्** । **द्विसहस्रम्** । **द्विसाहस्रम्** ॥

1694. The affix having the senses taught up to V. 1. 63, S. 1728 is optionally *luk*-elided, after the words **kārshāpaṇa**, and **sahasra**, when they are preceded by **adhyardha** or are members of a Dvigu compound.

This sūtra makes the elision optional, when it was compulsory by the last sūtra. Thus अघ्यर्द्धकार्षापणम् or अघ्यर्द्धकार्षापणिकं द्विकार्षापणम् or द्विकार्षापणिकम्, here the affix दिङ् (V. 1. 25 S. 1690) is elided in one case, and not elided in the other. When it is not elided, प्रति may be substituted for कार्षापण (V. 1. 25. S. 1690) अघ्यर्द्धमतिकम्, द्विमतिकम् ॥

So also after the word सङ्ग. e. g. अघ्यर्द्धसङ्गम् or अघ्यर्द्धसाङ्गम्, द्विसङ्गम् or द्विसाङ्गम् ॥ When the affix is not elided, the forms above shown with the irregular Vṛiddhi of the second stem, are evolved by sūtra VII. 3. 15, S. 1752.

१६६५ । द्वित्रिपूर्वाभिष्कात् । ५ । १ । ३० ॥

लुक्वा स्यात् । द्विनिष्कम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । त्रिनिष्कम् । त्रिनैष्किकम् ।

बहुपूर्वाभिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ बहुनिष्कम् । बहूनैष्किकम् ॥

1695. The Ārīya-affix (V. 1. 63. S. 1728) is optionally elided after a Dvigu occasioning compound, of the word nishka, preceded by dvi and tri.

The word द्विगोः 'a taddhita occasioning a Dvigu compound' of V. 1. 28, S. 1693 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus द्विनिष्कम् or द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनिष्कम् or त्रिनैष्किकम् (VII. 3. 17. S. 1683).

Vart:—So also when nishka is preceded by बहु e. g. बहुनिष्कम् or बहूनैष्किकम् ॥ The irregular Vṛiddhi of the second term is caused by VII. 3. 17.

१६६६ । बिस्तान्त् । ५ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वित्रिबहुपूर्वादिस्तादासीयस्य लुक्वा स्यात् । द्विबिस्तम् । द्विबिस्तिकनित्यादि ॥

1696. The ārīya-affix (V. 1. 37-63) occasioning a Dvigu compound is optionally elided after the word bista, preceded by dvi or tri.

The word च in the sūtra draws in the words द्वित्रिपूर्वात् ॥ Thus द्विबिस्तम् or द्विबिस्तिकम् ॥

Note:—The separation of this sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

१६६७ । विशतिकान्त् । ५ । १ । ३२ ॥

अघ्यर्द्धपूर्वादिगोरितिव । अघ्यर्द्धविशतिकीनम् । द्विविशतिकीनम् ॥

1667. The affix 'kha' (ईन्) comes in the ārīya senses. (V. 1. 37-63) after the word viṁśatika when preceded by the word adhyarddha or a Numeral, occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अघ्यर्द्धविशतिकीनम्, द्विविशतिकीनम् ॥

Note:—Being especially ordained, this affix ख is not elided by V. 1. 26.

१६६८ । खार्या ईकन् । ५ । १ । ३३ ॥

अध्यर्धखारीकम् । द्विखारीकम् ॥ औवलायाश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ० ॥ खारीकम् ॥

1698. The affix *ikan* comes in the *Ārhiya* senses (V. 1. 37-63), after the word *khārī*, when preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a *Dvigu*.

Thus अध्यर्धखारीकम्, द्विखारीकम् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word *खारी* alone, as *खारीकम्* ॥

१६६९ । पणपादमापशताद्यत् । ५ । १ । ३४ ॥

अध्यर्धपण्यम् । द्विपण्यम् । अध्यर्धपाद्यम् । द्विपाद्यम् । इह पादः पक्षिति न । यत्वेति लोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् । पण्यतदर्थे इत्यपि न । प्राण्यङ्गार्थस्यैव तत्र ग्रहणम् ॥

1699. The affix *yat* comes in the *ārhiya* senses (V. 1. 37-63) after the words *paṇa*, *pāda*, *māsha* and *śata* when preceded by the word *adhyardha*, or a Numeral occasioning a *Dvigu*.

Thus अध्यर्धपण्यम्, द्विपण्यम्, so also अध्यर्धपाद्यम्, द्विपाद्यम् ॥ Here पाद is not changed to पद् by VI- 4. 130. S. 414; because the elided य of पाद is *sthānivat*.

Thus द्विपाद + यत् = द्विपाद् + ० (अ लoped by यत्वेतिच VI. 4. 148. S. 311) + यत् ॥ This *lopa* elided अ becomes *sthānivat* and द्विपाद is not considered as ending in पाद् but पाद् and so VI. 4. 130 S. 414 does not apply.

Nor is पाद् not changed into पद्, by VI. 3. 53. S. 991. The substitution enjoined by VI. 3. 53 takes place when पाद् means the *foot* of a living being, while here it means a measure of capacity.

१७०० । शाणाङ्गा । ५ । १ । ३५ ॥

यस्तस्यात्यक्षे इम् । तस्य लुक् । अध्यर्धशाण्यम् । अध्यर्धशाणम् ॥

1700. The affix *yat* comes optionally after the word *śāpa* in the *ārhiya*-senses (V. 1. 63), when it is preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a *Dvigu*.

This debars इम् which also comes in the alternative, and is then elided by V, 1. 28 S. 1693 Thus अध्यर्धशाण्यम् or अध्यर्धशाणम् ।

१७०१ । द्वित्रिपूर्वादण् च । ५ । १ । ३६ ॥

शाणादित्येव । शाणत् । तेन श्रैक्ष्यम् । पतिमायान्तस्या संज्ञाशाण्योति पृथुतासादादिश्रुद्धिरेव । द्विशाण्यम् । द्विशाण्यम् । द्विशाण्यम् । इह उभादयस्योदृष्टमवस्था. प्रकृत्यास्तेषां समर्थविमल्लोड्यांश्चाकाङ्क्षितान् इदानीमुच्यन्ते ॥

1701. The affix **अण्** as well as 'yat' optionally also comes after the word **sâpa**, in the ârĪhya-senses (V. 1. 37-63) when preceded by the words **द्वि** and **त्रि**

The **यत्** comes optionally by the last sūtra and is also drawn into this by the word **च**. Thus we have three forms, **द्विसाप्यम्**, **द्विसाणम्**, and **द्विसाणम्** ॥

Note :—The irregular Vṛiddhi of the second term in cases of compounds of numerals, taught in VII. 3. 15-17 S. 1752, 1754, 1683, does not however take place in the case of **साण** this word being especially excluded from the operation of those rules, see VII. 3. 17. The Vṛiddhi here is regular as taught by the general rule VII. 2. 117.

Thus in the preceding sūtras V. I. 18. to V. I. 36. thirteen affixes have been taught, but the meaning of those affixes have not been given, nor the construction of the words to which they are to be added. In the following sūtras are given the meanings and the construction.

१७०२ । तेन क्रीतम् ॥ १९ । ३७ ॥

उम् । गोपुच्छेनक्रीतं गोपुच्छिकम् । सप्ततिकम् । मास्थिकम् । उक् । नैष्ठिकम् ॥

1702. The thirteen affixes taught in V. 1. 18-36, have the sense of " purchased with this price ", and are added to a word in the third case in construction.

The thirteen affixes **उम्**, **उक्**, **उन्**, **यन्**, **कम्**, **उज्जम्**, **दिठम्**, **सम्**, **अण्**, **य**, **ईवम्**, **यत्**, and **अण्** have already been taught. Now is taught their sense, and the case construction of the word to which they should be added. The **तेन** shows that the words must be in the 3rd case in construction : and **क्रीतम्** shows that the sense is that of ' purchased '. The illustrations have already been given in the previous sūtras. Some more may be mentioned here. Thus **गोपुच्छेन क्रीतम्** = **गोपुच्छिकम्** (the accent falling on **गौ**); so also with words denoting Numbers and Measures, as **सप्तस्याक्रीतम्** = **सप्ततिकम्**, **मास्थिकम्**, **नैष्ठिकम्** ॥

१७०३ । इद्रोण्याः । १ । २ । ५० ।

गोण्या इद्रियाच्छित्तलुकि । लुकोऽपवादः । पञ्चभिर्गोणीभिः क्रीतः पटः पञ्चगोणिः ।

1703. The short **इ** is substituted in the place of **गोपि**, when the Taddhita affix is elided by **luk**.

By the sūtra I. 2. 49. S. 1408 when a Taddhita is elided, the long **ई** of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word **गोणी** in which under similar circumstances the short **इ** replaces the long **ई**, as in the compound **पञ्चगोणिः** purchased for five gonis. Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of " purchased," has been

rejected after गोर्णो by V. 1. 28. S. 1693 therefore by the previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ ॥

Note :—This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called *yoga-vibhāga*. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of a Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ ॥ Thus purchased with five needles = पंचाभिः सूत्रीभिः क्रीतः = पंचसूत्रिः दशसूत्रिः ॥ This is restricted to such examples of purchase only

१७०४ । तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पादौ । ५ । १ । ३८ ॥

संयोगः संबन्धः । उत्पातः शुभाशुभसूचकः । शक्तिकः शक्त्यो वा धनपतिसंयोगः । शक्तिकं शक्त्यं वा दक्षिणाक्षिप्यन्तम् । शतस्य निमित्तमित्यर्थः ॥ दानपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः क्षमनकोपनयोरुपसंख्यानम् • ॥ वातस्य क्षमनं कोपनं वा वातैकम् । पित्तैकम् । श्लेष्मैकम् ॥ सन्निपाताद्येति यस्तद्व्यम् • ॥ सान्निपातिकम् ॥

1704. The above affixes have further the sense of “for its sake”, when the meaning is a relation or an unwonted appearance.

The word तस्य shows that the word in construction must be in the 6th case, the word निमित्तं ‘cause or occasion’ gives the sense of the affix ; संयोग means ‘a connection, or relation’ ; उत्पातः means ‘a portent indicative of good or bad luck.’ Thus शतस्य निमित्तं धनपतिना संयोगः = शतः ‘a connection with a rich man for the sake of getting a hundred.’ So also शक्तिक, साहस्रम् ॥ So also शतस्य निमित्तमुत्पादौ दक्षिणाक्षिप्यन्तम् = शतम्, शक्तिकम्, साहस्रम् “the twiching of the right eye for the sake of a hundred” i. e. indicative of acquiring or losing a hundred, a thousand &c.

Vart :—The above affixes come after the words वात, पित्त, and श्लेष्म in the senses of allaying or vitiating. As वातैकम् ‘allaying or vitiation of windy humour.’ So also पित्तैकम्, श्लेष्मैकम् ॥

Vart :—Also after the word सन्निपातः as, सान्निपातिकम् ॥

१७०५ । गोद्वयोऽसंख्यापरिमाणाश्वादेर्यत् । ५ । १ । ३९ ॥

गोर्नित्तं संयोग उत्पादौ वा गन्धः । द्वयः, धन्यः । दशत्यः । स्वर्थः । गोद्वयः किम् । विशद्वयं वैजयिक्तः । असंख्येत्यादि किम् । पञ्चानां पञ्चकम् । सप्तकम् । मास्थिकम् । सारीकम् । अश्वादि, आश्विकम् । आश्विकम् ॥ ब्रह्मवर्षसादुपसंख्यानम् • ॥ ब्रह्मवर्षस्यम् ॥

1705. After the word गो and after a word having two syllables, with the exception of a Numeral, or a Measure of capacity, or aśva &c, the affix yat (य) is added, in the above sense of ‘a relation or a portent for the purpose of that

This debars डम् ॥ As यो निमित्तं संयोगं कृत्वातो वा = वैद्यः 'a connection or a portent for the sake of a cow.' So also after a word of two syllables, as, वैद्यः, स्वयं, यदाहं ॥

Why do we say "when not a word denoting a Numeral or a Measure of capacity or अश्व &c"? Observe पञ्चानां निमित्तं = पञ्चकम्, सप्तकम्, अष्टकम्; प्रांसिकम्, खासिकम्, आश्विकः formed by V. 1. 22, 18, 19.

Vārt:—The word ब्रह्मवर्चस should be enumerated: e. g. ब्रह्मवर्चसस्य निमित्तं गुरुणा संयोगः = ब्रह्मवर्चसस्य "relationship with a teacher in order to acquire Brahmavarchasa."

1 अश्वः, 2 अश्वम्, 3 गणः, 4 कर्णः, 5 उना, 6 गङ्गा (भङ्ग भङ्गा), 7 वर्षा (वर्ष), 8 वसु ॥

१७०६ । पुत्राच्छ च । ५ । १ । ४० ॥

वाप्यम् । प्रजीयः । पुत्र्यः ॥

1706. After the word putra, the affix chha (ईय) also comes, as well as yat (य), in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that.'

The word पुत्र being a dissyllabic word would always have taken यत् by the last aphorism. This ordains छ also. Thus पुत्रस्य निमित्तं संयोगं कृत्वातो वा = पुत्रीयः or पुत्र्यः ॥

१७०७ । सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामण्वौ । ५ । १ । ४१ ॥

सर्वभूमेर्निमित्तं संयोगं कृत्वातो वा सर्वभौमः । पार्थिवः । सर्वभूमिशब्देऽनुसृष्टिकादिषु पठ्यते ॥

1707. The affixes ञ्ग and ञ्ज are respectively added to the words sarvabhūmi and prithivī, in the above mentioned sense of "a connection or a portent for its purpose".

This debars डम् ॥ Thus सर्वभूमिनिमित्तं संयोगं कृत्वातो वा = सर्वभौमः, so also पार्थिवः ॥ In सर्वभौमः there is Viddhi of both members of the compound by VII. 3. 20. S. 1438.

१७०८ । तस्येश्वरः । ५ । १ । ४२ ॥

1708. To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivī, are added the same affixes ञ्ग and ञ्ज respectively, in the sense of "lord thereof".

Note:—Thus तस्येश्वरीश्वरः = सार्वभौमः 'the lord of the whole earth', पार्थिवः 'the lord of the earth'.

Note:—The word तस्य, showing the positive construction of the base, has been repeated in this sūtra, though its अनुवृत्ति was running into it from V. 1. 39 S. 1704 in order to show that the senses given in V. 1. 38 do not extend further.

Had तस्य not been repeated here, the word ईश्वरः would have been an attribute, like the words संयोग and उत्पात, of the word निमित्तः ॥

१७०९ । तत्र विदित इति च । ५ । १ । ४३ ॥

सर्वभूमेश्वरः सर्वभूमौ विदितो वा सार्वभौमः । पार्थिवः ॥

1709. To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivī, being in the 7th case in construction, are added the same affixes an and añ respectively, when the sense is that of "known therein".

The word विदितः means known, published &c. सर्वभूमौ विदितः = सार्वभौमः "known in the whole world." So also पार्थिवः ॥

१७१० । लोकसर्वलोकादृश् । ५ । १ । ४४ ॥

तत्र विदित इत्यर्थे । लौकिकः । अतुष्टानिकारिव्यादुभयपक्षवादेः । सार्वलौकिकः ॥

1710. The affix tñ comes in the sense of 'known therein', after the words loka and sarvaloka, in the 7th case in construction.

Thus लोके विदितः = लौकिकः, सार्वलौकिकः ॥ The irregular Viddhi of both members takes place by VII. 3. 20 S. 1438.

१७११ । तस्य वापः । ५ । १ । ४५ ॥

प्रत्येकं क्षतिवृत्तिः वापः क्षेत्रम् । प्रत्येकं वापः प्रास्थिकम् । द्वैष्टिकम् । खारिकम् ॥

1711. The above mentioned affixes (V. 1. 18 &c) come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'sown with so much'.

The word वापः means 'sown therein' i. e. a field. Thus प्रत्येकं वापः क्षेत्रम् = प्रास्थिकम् 'sown with a Prastha', द्वैष्टिकम्, खारिकम्, i. e. a field sown with a quantity of grain measuring a Prastha or a Droṇa or a Khāri.

१७१२ । पात्रात् ष्ठन् । ५ । १ । ४६ ॥

पात्रस्य वापः क्षेत्रं पात्रिकम् । पात्रिकी क्षेत्रमक्षिः ॥

1712. The affix śṭhan comes in the sense of 'sown with so much', after the word pātra.

This debars ढम् ॥ The ष् of ष्ठन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197, S. 3686) the ष् is for ष्ठीम् (IV. 1. 41). The word वापः denotes a measure of capacity. Thus वापस्यवापः = पात्रिकं क्षेत्रम्, sem पात्रिकी क्षेत्रमक्षिः ॥

१७१३ । तदस्मिन्ष्टस्यायत्नाभश्लोपदा दीयते । ५ । १ । ४७ ॥

वृद्धिर्दीयते इत्यादि कमेण प्रत्येकं संबन्धादेकवचनम् । पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धिः आद्यः लाभः शुल्कम्
उपश या दीयते पञ्चकः । शक्तिकः । शस्यः । साहस्रः । उत्तमैर्धनं भूजातिरिक्तं प्राप्तं वृद्धिः । ग्रामादिषु स्वाभि-
प्राप्तौ भाग आद्यः । विवेचना सूत्र्यादिषु प्राप्तं लाभः । रक्षानिवेशो राजभोगः शुल्कः । उत्कीच उपश ॥
चतुर्थ्यर्थ उपलब्धयानम् ॥ पञ्चास्मै वृद्धादिर्दीयते पञ्चको देवदत्तः । समग्रब्राह्मणे दानमितिवशधिकार-
व्यवस्था वा ॥

1713. The above mentioned affixes have also the sense of "an interest, or a rent, or a profit, or a tax, or a bribe given thereby or in that".

The affix is added to a word in the first case (तद्) in construction. The sense of the affix is that of a locative (अस्मिन्). The word दीयते 'is given' in the singular number joins with each one of the word वृद्धिः आद्य &c. The sum paid by a debtor to his creditor over and above the principal, is called वृद्धि or interest. The share of profit taken by the landlord in villages &c. is called आद्य or rent. The increase over the capital by sale of cloth &c. is called लाभ or profit. The share of the king for protection &c. is called शुल्क or tax. The present or bribe is called उपश ॥ Thus पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धि र्वा आद्यो वा लाभो वा शुल्को वा दीयते = पञ्चकः 'that transaction &c. in which five percent is given as interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe'. Similarly शस्य, शक्तिकः, साहस्रः &c.

Vart.—So also in the sense of a Dative. As पञ्चास्मै वृद्धिर्वा आद्यो वा लाभो वा उपश दीयते = पञ्चको देवदत्तः "Devadatta to whom five per cent is given as interest &c". This Vārtika may be redundant, if we take the locative as sometime having the force of dative also. As in the sentence समग्रब्राह्मणे दानं ॥

१७१४ । पुरस्कारार्थेऽट् । ५ । १ । ४८ ।

यथाकर्म ढक्वित्तोत्पत्त्याः । द्वितीयो वृद्धादिस्मिन् दीयते द्वितीयिकः । तृतीयिकः । चतुर्थिकः । अर्धशब्दो रूपकस्यार्थे कृत् ॥

1714. The affix *than* comes in the same sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein" after a word denoting an ordinal, and after the word *ardha*.

This debars ढक् and टिट् ॥ Thus द्वितीयो वृद्धादिस्मिन् दीयते = द्वितीयिकः, तृतीयिकः, पञ्चमिकः, सप्तमिकः, अष्टमिकः ॥ The word षट् is technically the name of रूपकार्थः ॥

१७१५ । भागारब्धे । ५ । १ । ४९ ॥

यादृक् । भागशब्दोऽपि रूपकस्यार्थे कृत् । भागो वृद्धादिस्मिन् दीयते भाग्यं भागिकं शस्यम् । भाग्यं भागिका विद्यातिः ॥

1715. The affix *yat* (य) comes after the word *bhāga* in the sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein."

By the word **ये** in the sūtra **उन्** also comes. This denotes **उन्** ॥ Thus **भागो वृद्धादिरस्मिन् दीयते** = भाग्यं or भागिकं दत्तम्; भाग्या or भागिका विंशतिः ॥ The word **माग** also denotes रूपकार्थं ॥

१७१६ । तद्धरति वहत्यावहति भाराहंशादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ५० ॥

यशादिभ्यः परं यो भारश्च्यस्तान्तं यज्यातिवारिकं तच्चट्टतिकाद्वितीयान्तादित्यर्थः । यशभारं हति वहत्यावहति वा वांशभारिकः । ऐक्षुभारिकः । भाराहंशादिभ्य इत्यस्य व्याख्यान्तरं भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्य इति । भारभूतान्यंशान् हति वांशिकः । ऐक्षुकः ॥

1716. The above mentioned affixes, after the word **भार** preceded by the word **यश** &c, have the sense of 'who carries away, or conveys or brings that'.

The case in construction here is accusative (**तद्**) ॥ Thus **यशभारं हति**, **वहति** व्यावृत्ति वा वांशभारिकः, ऐक्षुभारिकः ॥

According to another explanation, the phrase **भारान् वंशादिभ्यः** is explained as **भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्यः** ॥ Then the sūtra will mean "the above named affixes come after **यश** &c. when they denote a load". Thus **भारभूतान् वंशान् हति** = वांशिकः, ऐक्षुकः ॥

Note.—The word **हति** means 'to carry to another place or to steal'; **वहति** means 'to carry on ones back or head,' **आवहति** means 'to produce or bring.

1 यश, 2 कुटज, 3 बन्ज, 4 मूल, 5 स्तुगा, (स्तुण) 6 मस, 7 अदन्, 8 अश्व, 9 लक्षण, 10 चक्षु, 11 खट्वा ॥

१७१७ । वस्तद्रव्याभ्यां ठन्कनौ । ५ । १ । ५१ ॥

यथासंख्यं सः । यत्र हति वहत्यावहति वा यक्षिकः । द्रव्यकः ॥

1717. The affixes **than** and **kau** come respectively after the words **vasna** and **dravya**, in the second case in construction, in the same sense of 'who carries &c.'

Thus **यत्र हति वहति** वा = यक्षिकः, द्रव्यकः ॥

१७१८ । संभवत्यवहरति पचति । ५ । १ । ५२ ॥

मस्य संभवति मस्थिकः कटाहः । मस्य स्वास्मिन्मविशयतीत्यर्थः । मस्थिकी ब्राह्मणी । मस्यमवहरति पचति देव्यर्थः ॥ तत्पचतीति श्रेयादन् च ॥ पाहन् । प्रोचं पचतीति श्रेयी । श्रेयिणी ॥

1718. The above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of "what is capable of holding that; or takes away that, or cooks that."

The word **तद्** is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the accusative. The word **संभव** means the capacity to hold the exact quantity; **अवहार** means 'taking

away, or containing'. Thus ग्रस्थं संभवति = ग्रस्थिकः 'a vessel capable of holding a prastha measure.' So ग्रस्थमवहरति or पचति = ग्रस्थिकः 'a vessel or a person that takes away, holds or cooks a Prastha measure.' Similarly कौष्ठिकः and खारीकः ॥ The word संभव does not govern the word पचति, thus ग्रस्थं पचति ब्राह्मणी = ग्रस्थिकी Brāhmaṇī who cooks a Prastha.'

Vart :—The affix अण् also comes after the word ग्रस्थ in the sense of 'who cooks that.' e. g. ग्रस्थं पचति ब्राह्मणी = ग्रोक्षी or ग्रोक्षिकी ॥

१७१९ । आढकाचितपात्रात्खोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । ५३ ॥

पचै ङम् । आढकं संभवति अवहरति पचति वा आढकीना । आढकिकी । आचितिनी । आचितिकी । पापीया । पाचिकी ॥

1719. The affix kha (ईन) may optionally be added in the above sense of 'being capable of holding &c,' after the word ādhaka, āchita, and pātra.

This ख debars ङम् which comes in the alternative. Thus आढकं संभवति, अवहरति, पचति वा = आढकीना or आढकिकी, आचितिनी or आचितिकी, पापीया or पाचिकी ॥

१७२० । द्विगोः छञ् । ५ । १ । ५४ ॥

आढकाचितपात्रादिवेप । आढकाद्यन्ताद्विगोः संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु छञ्चौ वा लः । पचै ङम् । तस्याध्वर्थेति लुक् । चित्वाच्चीप् । आढकिकी । आढकीना । द्विगोरिति ङीप् । आढकी । आचितिकी । आचितिनी । अपरिमाणेति ङीप् निषेधात् । आचितः । द्विपाचिकी । द्विपापीया द्विपापी ॥

1720. The affix śthan as well as the affix ख (ईन) may optionally come, after the same words ādhaka, āchita, and pātra, being final of a Dvigu compound, the sense being that of 'what can hold,' &c.

The ख is read into the sūtra by the word च of the aphorism. These two affixes ख and छञ् being especially ordained, are not to be elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. But when, in the alternative, we add the general affix ङम्, then it is elided by V. 1. 28. S. 1693. The च् of छञ् is for accent (VI. 1. 19. S. 2645), and the प् for ङीप् ॥ Thus we have 3 forms ;—आढकिकी, आढकीना, or आढकी ; आचितिकी, आचितिनी, आचितः ॥ In this case of आचितः the feminine is not formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 21. S. 479) because of the specific prohibition contained in IV. 1. 22. S. 480. So also द्विपाचिकी, द्विपापीया and द्विपापी ॥

१७२१ । कुलिजाल्लुक्खौ च । ५ । १ । ५५ ॥

कुलिजान्ताद्विगोः संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु लुक्खौ वा लः । आङ् छञ् । लुक्कावे ङम् । अवणम् । द्विकुलिखी । द्विकुलिखिकी । द्विकुलिखीना । द्विकुलिखिकी ॥

1721. After the word kulija, being the final of a Dvigu, there is optionally the elision of the above affixes, or

the adding of the affix ख (इन्), in the sense of 'what can hold that &c'

By च the affix इन् is also added. The elision being optional, the affix इन् V. 1. 18 S. 1680 may *optionally* be elided by V. 1. 28 S. 1693. Thus we get *four* forms : विकुल्लिजिक्की (इन्), विकुल्लिजिना (ख), विकुल्लिजो (उच्च् लुक्), विकुल्लिजिक्की ('उच्च्) ॥ In the last example, there is not viddhi of the second term, though it was so required by VII. 3. 17.S./1683. The anomaly is explained by holding that the word विकुल्लिजि should be included in the exception along with संज्ञा and वाच्य of VII. 3. 17.

१७२२ स्तोत्रस्यांशवस्त्वभृतयः । ५ । १ । ५६ ॥

अंशो भागः । वस्त्वं सूत्रम् । अतिर्वेतनम् । पञ्च अंशो वस्त्वो अतिर्वाच्य पञ्चकः ॥

1722. The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have also the sense of 'this is his portion, price or pay.'

The स्तोत्र shows that the case in construction is nominative. The word अंश means 'share,' वस्त्वं means 'price,' अतिर्वेतनम् means 'wages.' Thus पञ्च अंशो वस्त्वो वा अतिर्वाच्य = पञ्चकः 'whose portion, price or pay is five.'

१७२३ । तदस्य परिमाणम् । ५ । १ । ५७ ॥

ग्रस्य परिमाणमस्य मास्यिको राशिः ॥

1723. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1680 &c have the sense of "this is its measure."

The word तद् shows that the word in construction should be in the nominative case. Thus ग्रस्य परिमाणमस्य = मास्यिको राशिः 'a heap whose mass is a Prastha.' So also छातीकः, राशयः, राशिकः, साहस्रः, द्रौणिकः, कीडविकः, वार्षशक्तिकः, वार्षसहस्रिकः ॥ So also राशिर्विहित परिमाणमस्य = पात्रिकः, द्विसप्ततिकः ॥

Note:—Why the words तदस्य have been repeated in this sūtra, when their anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the last aphorism, the word स्तोत्र स्य and तदस्य being the same? The repetition shows that the affixes are again ordained, so that the elision taught in V. 1. 28 S. 1693 does not apply. Thus द्वेद्वितीयादित्परिमाणमस्य = द्विपात्रिकः, द्विसप्ततिकः, ॥ Here the affix is not elided by V. 1. 24.

१७२४ । संख्यायाः संज्ञासंज्ञसूत्राध्ययनेषु । ५ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वसप्तमनुपपत्तेः । तत्र संज्ञायां स्वार्थे मत्वयो वाच्यः । यथा द्वैकयोऽतिवैकसंख्यामात्रवृत्तेः परिमाणानि प्रत्ययः । पञ्चपदे पञ्चपदाः षाड्गुणयः । पञ्च परिमाणपर्यायिणि वा । सङ्ख्ये पञ्चकः । ध्वे अष्टकं पञ्चिनीयम् । सहस्रकस्य मास्यिकस्यैव सप्तदास्यस्यैव पृथगुपात्तम् । पञ्चकमध्ययनम् ॥ स्तोत्रे इतिभिः • ॥ पञ्चपदस्य मन्त्राः परिमाणमस्य पञ्चपदस्यः । सप्तपदाः । एकविंशः । सोमयागेषु छन्दोगेः क्रियमाणा पृथग्विहितिका स्तुतिः स्तोमः ॥

1724. The affixes V. 1. 18 S. 1893 &c come after a word denoting a numeral, in the sense of "this is its measure,"

when the word so formed means a Name, a Multitude, a Book, or a fixed way and mode of stud,

The phrase तदस्य परिमाणम् is understood here. The word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case. When it is a Name, the affix does not change the sense of the radical. Thus पंचकाः = पंचः 'the Five' as पंचका सकुनका; त्रिकाः 'the Three' 'शालकुरुयनाः ॥' The sense of the primitive is changed when it means a संघ 'a multitude or flock' as पंचकाः संघः, जटकाः ॥ So also when it means a सूत्र 'a Book', as अष्टादश्यायाः परिमाणस्य सूत्रस्य = अष्टकं पण्यनीयम् 'The Ashtaka of Pāṇini viz a Book comprising Eight Adhyāyas'. So also अष्टकं वैद्यप्रदीपम्, विक्रम काचकृत्स्नम् ॥ Is not a collection of Adhyāyas the same as संघाः? No, the word संघः is confined to a collection of living beings only.

The word अण्ययन means 'study'. Its numerical measure (संख्या परिमाण) means the particular number of times, or ways in which it should be read. Thus पंचकोऽधीतः 'what is studied five-times, or in five modes सप्तकोऽधीतः so also जटकाः or जयकाः ॥

Vart :—The affix ड comes after the words पंचदश &c, when the word means a Stoma. As, पंचदश मन्त्राः परिमाणस्य = पंचदशः स्तोमः, सप्तदशः स्तोमः &c. The indicatory ड causes the elision of final (दि) by VI. 4. 143, S. 316 in the cases of words like एकविंशः &c. In the case of पंचदशः the श् is elided by VI. 4. 144. S. 679. Stoma is the praise-hymn sung by the Chhandoga priests. at the soma-sacrifice. A triad of verses by repetition becomes 15, 17 &c. Thus in sapta-daśa stoma the last verse of the triad is repeated seven-times, the other two five times each, thus we have seventeen verses. Similarly when every verse of the triad is recited five times, we have pancha-daśa stoma. When every verse of the triad is recited seven times, it becomes eka viṃśa stoma &c.

१७२५ । पङ्क्तिर्विंशतिर्विशष्टत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्पष्ठिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम् ।
५ । १ । ५६ ॥

एते रुढिवाच्य निपात्यन्ते ॥

1725. The following words are anomalous: pañktī 'a verse', viṃśati 'twenty', triṃśat 'thirty', chatvāriṃśat 'forty', pañchāśat 'fifty', śaṣṭhi 'sixty', sapṭati 'seventy', aṣṭi 'eighty', navati 'ninety', and śata 'a hundred'.

Note :—The words तदस्य परिमाणम् are understood here also: पङ्क्ति is formed by adding ति to पंच, the final being elided, meaning 'a verse the measure of which is five', i. e. a half-quarter consisting of 5 syllables. The word विंशति is formed by adding शतिच् to the word विन् which replaces the two word दशो-

दशतः as दशैः दशतौ परिमाणस्य सप्तस्य=विंशतिः ॥ So the affix दशतु comes after चिन् representing प्रयोगदशतः ; so for चतुर्थी दशतौ we have चत्वारिन् and then add दशतु, similarly with द्वाद्यादशतु ॥ Similarly with the rest.

Note :—All the rest appears to be the conjectural etymology of Patanjali and Kāśikā Kāra, and hence it is omitted.

Note :—The word पंक्ति also means 'a line'. As ब्राह्मणपङ्क्तिः, विपीलित्वा पंक्तिः ॥ Here the sense has no relation to its etymology.

१७२६। पञ्चदशतौ वर्गे वा । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

पञ्च परिमाणस्य पञ्चदशतः । दशतु । पक्षे पञ्चकः । दशकः ॥

1726. 'The word pañchat and daśat in combination with varga, may be anomalously so formed, in the sense of 'this is its measure'.

This ordains दति instead of कन् V. 1. 22, which also comes in the alternative. As पञ्चदशतः, दशदशतः or पञ्चकोवर्गः, दशकोवर्गः ॥

१७२७। त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतो ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ६२ ॥

त्रिंशदध्यायाः त्रिंशत्परिमाणेनां ब्राह्मणानां त्रिंशत् । चत्वारिंशत्तानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥

1727. 'The affix दशतु comes after the words triṅśat and chatvāriṅśat, in the sense of 'this is its measure', when it is the Name denoting a Brāhmaṇa-book.

The word वर्ग does not govern this sūtra. The indicatory इ causes the elision of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it (VI. 4. 143. S. 316). The force of the locative case in ब्राह्मणे is that of अभिषेक and not विषय, i. e. when the word means a Brāhmaṇa itself. Had the force been that of विषय, it would have meant, 'in the Brāhmaṇa literature'. As त्रिंशदध्यायाः परिमाणमेवां ब्राह्मणानां=त्रिंशत्तानि ब्राह्मणानि The Brāhmaṇa containing thirty Adhyāyas'. So चत्वारिंशत्तानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥ These are the names of certain Brāhmaṇas.

Thus छव नित्यमर्हति = छेदिकः, so also वैरक्षिकः ॥

1 छेद, 2 भेद, 3 वेद, 4 वेद, 5 नर्त (वर्त), 6 कर्ष, 7 तीर्थ, 8 सम्प्रयोग, 9 विप्रयोग, 10 प्रयोग, 11 विप्रकर्ष, 12 प्रेषण, 13 सम्प्रक्ष, 14 विप्रक्ष, 15 विकर्ष, 16 प्रकर्ष, 17 विराम विरुद्ध च (from विराम is formed वैरक्षिक). ॥

१७३० । शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

शिरश्छेदं नित्यमर्हति शीर्षच्छेद्यः । शीर्षच्छेदिकः । यद्यकोः सन्नियोगेन शिरसः शीर्षभावे निवात्यते ॥

1730. The affix yat as well as the above affixes come after the word Śirshachchheda in the accusative, in the sense of 'who deserves that under all circumstances'.

Thus शिरश्छेदं नित्यमर्हति = शीर्षच्छेद्यः, or शीर्षच्छेदिकः ॥ The word शिरस् is changed irregularly into शीर्ष before the affix.

१७३१ । दण्डादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

दण्डो यत् स्यात् । दण्डमर्हति दण्डयः । अर्थः । दण्ड्यः ॥

1731. After the words dāṇḍa &c in the accusative, the affix ya comes in the sense of 'who deserves that'.

The word नित्य does not govern this sūtra. This च debars इक् V. 1. 19. S. 1681. Thus दण्डमर्हति = दण्डयः 'deserving to be killed'. अर्थः, दण्ड्यः ॥

1 दण्ड, 2 दण्डन, 3 मधुपर्क, 4 कक्षा, 5 अर्थ, 6 मेघ, 7 मेघा, 8 सुवर्ण, 9 तदक, 10 पथ, 11 युग, 12 युगा, 13 भाग, 14 इम, 15 भङ्ग ॥

Note :—The Kāśikā gives the sūtra as दण्डादिभ्यो यः ; another version gives the sūtra as दण्डादिभ्यः only drawing the affix यत् from the last sūtra.

१७३२ । पात्राद् यञ्च । ५ । १ । ६८ ॥

पात्रात् तर्हतीत्यर्थे । पात्रियः । पात्र्यः ॥

1732. The affix ghan together with yat comes in the sense of "deserving that", after the word pātra.

This debars इक् and उक् ॥ The word पात्र denotes measure also. Thus पात्रमर्हति = पात्र्यः or पात्रियः ॥

१७३३ । कडङ्गुरदक्षिणाच्छ च । ५ । १ । ६९ ॥

पात्रात् । कडं करोतीति विभेद अत एव निपातनात् खप् । कडङ्गुरं माषहस्ताधिकारमर्हतीति कडङ्गुरीयो गौः । कडङ्गुर्यः । दक्षिणामर्हतीति दक्षिणीयः । दक्षिण्यः ॥

1733. The affix ebhan (ईय) as well as yat (य) comes in the sense of 'deserving that', after the words kaḍaṅkara and dakṣhiṇā.

This debars इक् ॥ Thus कडङ्गुरमर्हति = कडङ्गुरीयः or कडङ्गुर्यः 'one deserving straw' such as a cow. So also दक्षिणीयः or दक्षिण्यो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana deserving alms.'

१७३४ । स्थालीविलान् १५ । १ । ७० ॥

स्थालीविलमर्हति स्थालीविलीयास्तद्भुजाः । स्थालीविल्याः । पाकयोग्या इत्यर्थः ॥

1734. The affixes *clha* (ईय) and *yat* (य) come in the sense of 'deserving that', after the word *sthālibila*.

This debarṣ ढक् ॥ Thus स्थालीविलीयास्तद्भुजाः ७० स्थालीविल्याः 'rice deserving the pot' i. e. cookable rice.

१७३५ । यज्ञस्विज्यां यज्जौ १५ । १ । ७१ ॥

यथासंख्यं स्तः । यज्ञस्विजं वर्द्धति यज्ञियः । आस्विजीनो यजमानः ॥ यज्ञस्विभ्यां तत्कर्मदि-
तास्तुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ यज्ञियो देशः । आस्विजीनं कूत्विक् ॥

1735. The affixes *gha* and *स्वञ्* come respectively after the words *yajña* and *ritvija*, in the sense 'of deserving that.'

This debarṣ ढक् ॥ Thus यज्ञियो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana worthy of honor at a sacrifice.' आस्विजीनो ब्राह्मणः ॥

Note :—After the words *yajña* and *ritvija*, these affixes have also the sense of "deserving the performance thereof". Thus यज्ञकर्मार्हति = यज्ञियो देशः 'a place fit for the performance of sacrifice.' कूत्विक् कर्मार्हति = आस्विजीनं ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Here ends the governing power of ढक् V, I. 19. S. 1681 hence forward is the government of ढक् V. I. 18.

अथ तद्धित ठञाधिकार प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE AFFIX ठञ् ।

१७३६ । पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायणं वर्तयति । ५ । १ । ७२ ॥

पारायणं वर्तयति पारायणिकश्छात्रः । तुरायणे यद्विधेयः । तं वर्तयति तैरायणिको यजमानः ।

1736. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of 'who performs this', after the words *pārāyaṇa*, *turāyaṇa* and *chān-drāyaṇa* being in the 2nd case in construction.

The force of *वर्तयति* ceases. Thus पारायणिकः छात्रः, a pupil, who reads under a teacher': तैरायणिको यजमानः, चान्द्रायणिकस्तपस्वी ॥ the word पारायण means a teacher, (यस्य कृतेति) ॥

१७३७ । संशयमापन्नः । ५ । १ । ७३ ॥

संशयविषयीभूतोऽर्थः सांशयिकः ॥

1737. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after the word *saṁśaya* in the accusative construction, the sense being "fallen into this, or thrown into it".

Thus संशयमापन्नः प्रातः—सांशयिकः स्याद्युः " a doubtful pillar ", i. e. in a precarious state.

१७३८ । योजनं गच्छति । ५ । १ । ७४ ॥

योजनिकः । क्रोशसतयोजनगतयोरुपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ क्रोशसतं गच्छति क्रोशानिकः । योजन-
गतिकः ॥ ततोऽभिगमनमर्हतीति च वक्तव्यम् ॥ ० ॥ क्रोशसताभागमनमर्हतीति क्रोशसतिको भिक्षुः ।
योजनगतिक आचार्यः ॥

1738. The affix *ṭhañ* comes in the sense of 'who goes', after the word *yojana* in the accusative construction.

Thus योजनं गच्छति = योजनिकः ॥

Vart :—So also after the words *क्रोशसत* and *योजनसत* ॥ As क्रोशसतिकः
योजनगतिकः ॥

Vart :—The affix after these two words means also " who is worthy to be approached from so far ". As क्रोशसताभिमनमर्हतीति = क्रोशसतिको भिक्षुः.
योजनगतिक आचार्यः ॥

१७३९ । पृथः पठन् । ५ । १ । ७५ ॥

पृथोऽर्थः । पठ्यान् गच्छति पथिकः । पथिजी ॥

1739. The affix *shkan* comes in the same sense of 'who goes there', after the word *patha*, being in the 2nd case in construction.

Of the affix *क्त्*, *प्* is for *ङीप्* (IV, 1. 41 S. 498). and *ञ्* for accent (VI.1. 197 S. 3686). As *पन्थानं गच्छति* = वैयिकः fem पथिकी ॥

१७४० । पन्थो ण नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति पान्यः । पन्था ॥

1740. The affix *na* comes after the word *pantha* which becomes the substitute of *pathin*, the sense of the affix being "who always goes".

The word *नित्य* qualifies the sense, of the affix. Thus *पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति* = पान्यः as *पान्यो भिक्षां याचते* ॥ Why *नित्यं* ? See पथिकः ॥

१७४१ । उत्तरपथेनाहतं च । ५ । १ । ७७ ॥

उत्तरपथेनाहतं भौत्तरपथिकम् । उत्तरपथेन गच्छति औत्तरपथिकः ॥ आहतप्रकरणे वारिजङ्गलस्थलकान्तारपूर्वादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ * वारिपथिकम् ॥

1741. The affix *उञ्* comes, after the word *uttara-patha* in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who passes by that way' 'what is conveyed by that way.'

The construction of the *sūtra* shows that the base must be in the 3rd case. The word *ञ* shows that the word *गच्छति* 'who passes by that way' should also be read into the aphorism. Thus *उत्तरपथेनाहतं* = औत्तरपथिकम्, or *उत्तरपथेन गच्छति* = औत्तरपथिकः ॥

Vart :—So also after the word *पथ* preceded by the words *वारि*, *जङ्गल*, *स्थल*, *कान्तार* the affix has the sense of 'conveyed by that way' or passing by that way. As *वारिपथेनाहतः* = वारिपथिकम्, *वारिपथेन गच्छति* = वारिपथिकः masculine or neuter according as the affix means conveyed or passing.

१७४२ । फालात् । ५ । १ । ७८ ॥

पुहादिभ्योऽगिरतः प्राक्प्रकारेऽयम् ॥

1742. In the following *sūtras*, the phrase "after a word denoting time" should be supplied to complete the sense.

The word *फालात्* bears rule in the following aphorisms upto V. 1. 97. S. 1761 exclusive. Thus the next *sūtra* *तेन निर्वृत्तम्* means 'accomplished by means thereof'. We must read the word *कालं* into it. As *मातेक निर्वृत्तम्* = मातृकम्, &c.

१७४३ । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

अद्वा निर्वृत्तमाहिकम् ॥

1743. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after a word denoting time, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of "to be accomplished by that time".

Thus अद्वा निर्वृत्तं = आहिकम् "to be accomplished in a day" i.e. a certain portion of reading &c, चार्थमाहिकम्, सांस्वरिकम् ॥

१७४४ । समधीष्टोभृतोभृतो भावी । ५ । १ । ८० ॥

अधीष्टः सङ्कल्प व्यापारितः । भृतो वेतनेन क्रीतः । भृतः स्वसन्तथा व्यापककालः । भावी तादृशएवा नागतः कालः । मासमधीष्टो मासिकोऽध्यापकः । मासं भृतो मासिकः कर्मकरः । मासं भृतो मासिको व्याधिः । मासं भावी मासिक उल्लवः ॥

1744. The above-named affixes come after a word expressing time, in the accusative case in construction, in the sense of "solicited to instruct for such a period," "hired for such a period," "which had lasted for such a period," or "which will last so long".

The word *अधीष्टः* means "honorary office", therefore 'one solicited to teach, but who accepts no pay' III. 3. 161, *भृतः* means "engaged on wages", *भृतः* means 'the time pervaded or occupied by its existence', and *भावी* the same as last in the future. The word denoting time will be in the second case by II. 3. 5 S. 558. Thus मासमधीष्टः = मासिकोऽध्यापकः, so also मासंभृतः = मासिकः कर्मकरः, मासंभृतः = मासिको व्याधिः, मासंभावी = मासिक उल्लवः ॥

१७४५ । मासाह्वयसि यत्त्वञ्चौ । ५ । १ । ८१ ॥

मासं भृतो मास्यः । मासीना ॥

1745. The affixes *yat* and *khañ* come after the word *māsa*, in denoting 'age'.

This debars उम् ॥ The word *भृतः* of the previous *sūtra* should be read into this. Thus मासंभृतः = मास्यः or मासीनाः 'a month old'.

Note:—Why do we say when denoting 'age'? Observe मासिकः ॥

१७४६ । द्विगोर्यप् । ५ । १ । ८२ ॥

मासाह्वयसीत्यनुवर्तते । द्वौ मासौ भृतो द्विमास्यः ॥

1746. The affix *yap* comes after the word *māsa* when forming a *Dvigu* compound; and meaning 'age'.

Thus द्वौ मासौ भृतः = द्विमास्यः, त्रिमास्यः ॥

१७४७ । वयसासाण्यच्च । ५ । १ । ८३ ॥

वयसिल्लेव । यद्यप्यनुवर्तते । चाट्म् । वाण्मास्यः । वयसास्यः । वाण्मासिकः ॥

1747. After the word *shaṇmāsa*, come the affixes *nyat* as well as *यप्* and *ठञ्*, in the sense of 'age'.

The word *vayasi* is understood here. So also the affix *यप्* ॥ By force of *च* we draw in *ठञ्* also.

Thus *वाण्मास्यः*, *वयसास्यः*, and *वाण्मासिकः* ॥

१७४८ । अत्रयसि षष्ठ्य । ५ । १ । ८४ ॥

वाण्मास्यः । वयसासिको व्याधिः । वाण्मास्यः ॥

1748. The affix *than* comes also after the word *shaṇmāsa*, when 'age' is not meant.

The *च* draws in the affix *ष्यत्* also. Thus *वयसासिको व्याधिः* or *वयसास्यः* 'a disease lasting six months'.

१७४९ । समायाः खः । ५ । १ । ८५ ॥

समावधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा समीनः ॥

1749. The affix *kha* (ईन) comes in the fourfold senses of "solicited," "hired", "lasted", and "will last," after the word *samā*.

This debars *ठञ्* ॥ Thus *समावधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = समीनः* ॥ Some say, the sense of the affix is *तेन निर्वृत्ते* V. 1. 79, S. 174; as *समया निर्वृत्तः = समीनः* ॥

१७५० । द्विसमीनः । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

समायाः ख इत्येव । तेन परिजग्येत्यतः मास्तिर्नृत्तादिषु पञ्चपदेषु प्रत्ययाः । द्विसमीनः । द्विसमिकः ॥

1750. The affix *kha* comes optionally in the fivefold senses taught in V. 1. 79. 80 S. 1743 and 1744 after the word *Samā*, forming a *Dvigu*.

In the alternative *ठञ्* will also apply. Upto *sūtra* V. 1. 93. S. 1757, the affixes have the fivefold senses of, to be accomplished by that time (S. 1743) 'solicited', 'hired', 'lasted' and 'will last' (S. 1744). Thus *द्विसमीनः* or *द्विसमिकः* ॥ Then *Vārtika* taught in V. 1. 20 (प्राग्वत्ते संख्यापूर्वपदानां सप्तमपदान्तरादि) applies here also. Thus *द्विसमीनः* or *द्विसमिकः*, *त्रिसमीनः*, or *त्रिसमिकः* ॥

१७५१ । राज्यहः संवत्सराच्च । ५ । १ । ८७ ॥

द्विसमीनः । द्विसमिकः । त्रिसमीनः । त्रिसमिकः । समासात्मन्यपि धेरनित्यत्वात् ण्यत् । द्विसमिकः ।

1751 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses (V. 1. 79, 80 S. 1743 and 1744) after the words *rātri*, *ahan*, and *samvatsara*, occasioning a *Dvigu*.

The word *dvigu* is understood in this *sūtra*.

In the alternative इम् will also come. Thus द्विसन्धीनः, द्विरात्रिकः, द्विहानः VI. 4. 145 S. 789 or द्विवृद्धिकः ॥ The *saṁāsānta* affix not being universally applicable, we have no इम् ॥ द्विसंवत्सरीयः, द्विसांवत्सरिकः VII. 3. 15 S. 1752. This form gets the irregular *vṛiddhi* by the following.

१७५२ । संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च । ७ । ३ । १५ ॥

संख्याया उच्यते इत्यत्र वृद्धिः स्याद् भिन्नार्थे । द्विसांवत्सरिकः । द्वे पक्षे प्रत्ये द्विरात्रिकः । संख्यायाः परिमाणान्तस्थेऽपि सिद्धे संवत्सरमहर्षे परिमाणमहर्षे कालपरिमाणस्थमहर्षेऽपि । तेन द्वैतमिदं दृष्टव्यम्-
वृद्धिर्न ॥

1752. After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the *Vṛiddhi*, before a *Taddhita* having an indicative अ, ण्, or इ ॥

Thus द्विसांवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टौ प्रती प्रती or मासी (V. 1. 80 S. 1744) द्विरात्रिकः = द्वे पक्षे अधीष्टौ प्रती प्रती or मासी वा ॥ The words द्वि, पक्षी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII. 3. 16 S. 1754), and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under *kāladhikāra* (V. 1. 78-97). The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though) this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the *sūtra* VII. 3. 17 S. 1683 implies that the word परिमाण in that *sūtra* does not mean the measure of time, but a measure of any other thing than time. Therefore, with other time-words than *samvatsara*, the *Vṛiddhi* takes place in the regular way : as द्विसमिदम् ॥

Note :—Similarly in *sūtra* IV. 1. 22, S. 480 the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as निचर्षा, द्विचर्षा मायनिका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these *sūtras* (and elsewhere III. 2. 23, II. 3. 46 &c.) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general.

१७५३ । वर्षाल्लुक् च । ५ । १ । ८८ ॥

वर्षशब्दान्ताद्धिर्नोर्षा खः । पक्षे उम् वा च लुक् । वीणि क्पाणि । द्विचर्षाणि व्याधिः । द्विरार्थिकः । द्विचर्षः ॥

1753. The above affixes kha and ṭhañ may also be elided after a *Dvigu* ending in *varshā*.

The affix ख as well as इम् come in the five fold senses V. 1. 79, 80, after the word वर्ष forming a *Dvigu* ; and these two affixes may also be elided optionally. -Thus we have three forms ; द्विचर्षाणि, द्विचर्षाणो or द्विचर्षा व्याधिः 'a disease that lasted two years'. (Compare VII. 3. 16, S. 1754. but when the

sense is that of भवी, the form will be द्वैवर्दिकः ॥) To get this irregular vṛiddhi, the following sūtra applies.

१७५४ । वर्षस्याभविष्यति । ७ । ३ । १६ ॥

उत्तरपक्षे वृद्धिः स्यात् । द्विवर्दिकः । भविष्यति तु द्वैवर्दिकः । अधीष्टन्नसोरभविष्यतीति प्रतिषेधो न । गम्यते हि तत्र भविष्यत्ता न तु वृद्धितार्थः । द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यतीति द्विवर्दिको मनुष्यः ॥

1754. After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time.

As द्विवर्दे अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो वा = द्विवर्दिकः ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्दिकः, त्रैवर्दिकः "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence अथ त्रैवर्दिकं धान्यं निहितं भूयवृक्षे अधिकं वापि विद्येत स तोमं पातुमर्हति ॥ (= अधीष्टि वर्षाणि भवी) ॥ The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधीष्ट and भूत (V. 1. 80 S. 1744), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the taddhita-affix: as द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवर्दिको मनुष्यः ॥ Here VII. 3. 17. S. 1683 applies and it causes the vṛiddhi of the second member. This sūtra is again given below for the sake of context.

१७५४ क । परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशरणयोः । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

हो कुटुंबो प्रयोजनमस्य द्विकौटुम्बिकः । द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णभ्यां कृतं द्विसौवर्धिकम् । द्विनेष्टिकम् । असंज्ञेति किम् । पञ्च कपालः परिमाणस्य षाण्णकपालिकम् । तद्वितान्तः संज्ञा । द्वैशानम् । कुलिज-शब्दमपि केशिरवदन्ति । द्वैकुलिजिकः ॥

1754 A. After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शान) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name.

As हो कुटुम्बो प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौटुम्बिकः (V. 1. 109 S. 1772) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णभ्यां कृतं = द्विसौवर्धिकम् (V. 1. 37 S. 1702), द्विसौवर्धिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V. 1. 29 S. 1694. When the affix is elided there can be no Vṛiddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनेष्टिकम्, द्विनेष्टिकम् (V. 1. 30 S. 1695). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe षाण्णकपालिकम् (= षण्णकपालानि परिमाणस्य V. 1. 30 S. 1695) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शान? Observe द्वैशानम् ॥ द्वैशानम् formed with शण् (V. 1. 35 S. 1700 and 36 S. 1701). Some read the sūtra as असंज्ञाशानकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिकः (V. 1. 55 S. 1721) द्वैकुलिजे द्वैयशानमस्य ॥

१७५५ । चित्तवति नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

वर्षशब्दान्ताद्विगो. प्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लुक् स्यात् चेत्तेन प्रत्ययार्थे । द्विवर्षो शरकः ॥

1755. The affixes meaning "accomplished &c V. 1. 79, 80" are necessarily elided after the word varshâ forming a Dvigu, when it refers to a being endowed with reason.

Here the elision is compulsory and not optional. Thus द्विवर्षो शरकः 'a boy two years old'.

Note :—Why do we say चित्तवति "when meaning endowed with reason"? Observe द्विवर्षीणो व्याधिः ॥

१७५६ । षट्टिकाः षष्टिरात्रेषु पच्यन्ते । ५ । १ । ८७ ॥

बहुवचनमसम्बन्धम् । षट्टिको धान्यविशेषः । वृत्तीत्यान्तात्कन् रात्रिशब्दसौपम्य निपात्यते ॥

1756. The anomalously formed word shashtikâh has the meaning of "what are matured in six nights".

The word is not necessarily always plural, though so exhibited in the sūtra.

The word षट्टिकाः may be said to be formed by adding कन् to षष्टिरात्रि in the 3rd case in construction, then eliding the word रात्रि, the force of the affix being 'matured'. Thus षष्टिरात्रेषु पच्यन्ते = षट्टिकाः 'a kind of barley'. It is a name of barley and therefore does not apply to pulse, beans &c, though they may also ripen in six days.

१७५७ । तेन परिजड्यतश्चकार्यसुकरम् । ५ । १ । ८८ ॥

मासेन परिजड्यो जेतुं शक्यो मासिको व्याधिः । मासेन लभ्य कार्यं सुकरं वा मासिकम् ॥

1757. The affix त्हां comes after a word denoting time, in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of "to be subdued", "to be gained or attained", "to be completed" and "to be easily completed in that time".

Thus मासेन परिजड्यः (शक्यते जेतुं) = मासिको व्याधिः, मासेन लभ्य कार्यं or सुकरम् मासिकम् ॥

१७५८ । तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् । ५ । १ । ८९ ॥

द्वितीयान्तात्कालवाचिनोऽस्त्येवार्थे प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । मासं ब्रह्मचर्यमन्य स मासिको ब्रह्मचारी । भार्गवमासिकः । यद्वा मयनान्तादस्त्येवार्थे प्रत्ययः । मासोऽस्येति मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्यम् ॥ महानाम्नादिभ्यः षष्ठ्यन्तेभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ महानाम्नो जान विदामपयमित्वाद्या वृत्त्याः । तासां ब्रह्मचर्यमन्य माहावाचिकः । इदमस्तु भव्याद इति पुनश्चावाम्नादानादधिक इत्याह ॥ अतुर्नासात्प्यो वस्ते नञ् भव इत्यर्थे * ॥ अतुर्गु मासेषु भवन्ति आतुर्गस्यानि यस्तकर्माणि ॥ संज्ञायाम्ण * ॥ अतुर्गु मासेषु वसन्ति आतुर्गस्तौ मापादी । लण्जनन्वादीन् ॥

1758. The affix *than* comes after a word of time in the sense of "an abstinence that lasts so long" or "who practises abstinence so long".

The word *तद्* shows that the word must be in the accusative case : *अस्य* shows the force of the affix. *ब्रह्मचर्यः* joins both. Thus *मासं ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य* = *मासिको ब्रह्मचारी* "who practises abstinence for a month". So also *आर्धमासिकः*, *सांवत्सरिकः* ॥ The second case is by II. 3. 5. S. 558.

Another explanation is, the affix *than* comes after a word in the *first* case in construction, in the sense of an abstinence which lasts for such a period. As *मासोऽस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम्* = *मासिकं ब्रह्मचर्यम्* "an abstinence lasting for a month". *आर्धमासिकं*, *सांवत्सरिकं* ॥

In the first case the affix relates to a person, in the second, to the vow itself. Both these explanations are valid, as the structure of the aphorism is open to both constructions.

Vart :—So also after the words *महानामी* &c in the genitive construction. As *महानामिकः* ॥ *Mahānāmī* are certain Rik verses. But *Haradatta* gives the form *महानामिकः* by applying the rule of masculinisation of the *Vārtika* *भक्त्यादे* (VI. 3. 35. S. 836) In this case VI. 4. 144. S. 679 causes the elision of *हि* ॥

After these words, the affix means also 'who practises that'. As *महानामीप्रति* = *महानामिकः*, *आविज्जप्रतिकः*, *गौडविकः* ॥ *महानामी* + *उभ्* = *महानामन्* + *उभ्* (VI. 3. 35. S. 836 *Vart*) = *महानामिकः* (VI. 4. 144 S. 679).

Note :—The affix *जिनि* comes after the words *अपान्तरदीक्षा* &c, in the sense of 'who practises'. As *अपान्तरदीक्षाप्रति* = *अपान्तरदीक्षी*, *तिलप्रतिम्* ॥

Note :—The affixes *इवुन्* and *जिनि* come after the word *अष्टपत्वारिंशद्*, as *अष्टपत्वारिंशद्वर्णि* *प्रसेचरति* = *अष्टपत्वारिंशकः* or *अष्टपत्वारिंशिन्* ॥

Note :—The same affixes comes after the words *पतुर्मास्य* &c, the final *य* being elided. As *पतुर्मास्यप्रति* = *पतुर्मासकः* or *पतुर्मासिन्* ॥

Vart :—The affix *य्य* comes after *पतुर्मास*, in the sense of 'produced there'. As *पतुर्मुं मासेषु भवायि* = *पतुर्मास्ययि* ॥ It refers to a sacrifice.

Vart :—The affix *जण्* comes, when it is a Name, as *पतुर्मुं मासेषु भवा* = *पतुर्मासी* *पेज्* *पामा* ॥ So also *मायारी*, *कारिणी*, *कात्तुनी* ॥ The feminine *दीप्* is added because it is an *जण्* formed word.

१७५९ । तस्य च दक्षिणा यथावेभ्यः । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

यथावेभ्यः दक्षिणा द्वावेभ्यः । यथावेभ्यः दक्षिणाद्वयम् । आग्निहोत्रिणी । याजुर्वेदिनी ॥

1759. The affix *than*, comes after a word being the name of a sacrifice, in the sense of "the fee thereof".

As *दक्षिणाद्वयं दक्षिणा* = *द्वयदक्षिणी*. So also, *आग्निहोत्रस्य दक्षिणा* = *आग्निहोत्रिणी*, *याजुर्वेदिनी* ॥

The word **वाच्य** in the sūtra implies that the affix comes even after those sacrifice-denoting words which do not express time (V. 1. 78 S. 1742). Had it not been used, the sūtra would have applied only to such sacrifice-denoting words as **एकाहः**, **द्वादशाहः** which are time-denoting words as well. The Vārtika in V. 1. 20. S. 1682 would apply to **द्वादशाहः**, &c. Some texts do not read **च** in the sūtra.

१७६० । तत्र च दीयते कार्यं भववत् । ५ । १ । ९६ ॥

प्रावृषि दीयते कार्यं वा प्रावृष्यम् शारदम् ॥

1760. The affixes having the sense of **भव** (IV. 3. 53, S. 1428, IV. 3. 11 S. 1381) come after a time-denoting word, in the sense of " what is given in that, and what is done in that ".

As **प्रावृषि दीयते** or **कार्यं = प्रावृष्यम्** (IV. 3. 17. S. 1388) **शारदम्** (IV. 3. 16. S. 1387). All these words mean also what is given or done in those seasons. The words **वत्** in **भववत्** means that all the rules of **सचमयः** (IV. 3. 53. S. 1428) apply here.

This sūtra should be divided into two parts, one joining with the previous sūtra, as **तत्र च दीयते**, **यथासंवेद्यः**, as **आग्निष्टोमिकं भक्तं राजसूयिकम्, वाजपेयिकम्** ॥

Here ends the section on Time-affixes.

१७६१ । व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । ९७ ॥

व्युष्टे दीयते कार्यं वा वैश्वदम् । व्युष्ट, तीर्थं, संमान, प्रवास इत्यादि ॥

1761. The affix **अण्** comes after the words **व्युष्ट** &c in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of " being given therein or done therein ".

Thus **व्युष्टे दीयते कार्यं वा = वैश्वदम्, वैश्वम्** ॥

1 व्युष्ट, 2 नित्य, 3 निष्क्रमण, 4 प्रवेक्षण, 5 उपसंक्रमण, 6 तीर्थं, 7 शस्त्ररथ (यास्त्ररथ), 8 सन्मान, 9 संवात; 10 काशिक, 11 पीलूमल (पीलु, मूल) 12 प्रवास, 13 उपवास, 13 संज्ञक, 15 दीर्घ, ॥

१७६२ । तेन यथाकथाञ्च हस्ताभ्यां ख्यतौ । ५ । १ । ९८ ॥

यथाकथाञ्चेत्यवसंवाताच्चृत्तीयान्ताद्धस्तसंवाद्य यथासंवेद्यं ख्यतौ ततः ॥ यथाभ्यां तु यथासंवेद्यं वैश्वदम् ॥ यथाकथाञ्च दीयते कार्यं वा यथाकथाञ्चम् । अन्तर्द्वारेण वेद्यं कार्यं वैश्वदम् । हस्तेन दीयते कार्यं वा इत्यम् ॥

1762. The affixes **ण** and **यत्** come respectively after the words **yathā-kathā-cha**, and **hasta**, being in the third case in construction, having the sense of what is " given or is done in this way or with this ".

The words दीयते and कार्य apply to both; the rule of ययासंख्यः (I. 3. 10 S. 128) not applying to it. The word यया कयाच. is an Indeclinable, meaning contempt. Of course this word cannot take any case-affix, it therefore only gives the sense of third case. As ययाकयाच दीयते कार्ये वा = ययाकयाचम् ; given with contempt or done with contempt, हस्तेन दीयते कार्ये वा = हस्तम् ॥

१७६३ । संपादिनि । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

व्यु । तेनेत्येव । कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि कार्यवेष्टकिकं मुख्यम् । कर्णालंकाराभ्यामवरयं शोभत इत्यर्थः ॥

1763. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of "fitted for that".

The word *संपादिन्* means 'suitable, proper, fit.' The word *संपादिन्* is formed by adding *णिनि* to *संपद्*, the force of the affix being that of necessity (III. 3. 170 S. 3311). as कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां संपादि मुख्यं = कर्णवेष्टकिकं मुख्यं 'a face fit for ear-rings' which becomes beautified by ear ornaments &c. वाङ्मयुगिकम् शरीरम् i. e. वाङ्मयुगेन विशेषतः शोभते ॥

१७६४ । कर्मवेषाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०० ॥

कर्मणा संपादि कर्मण्यं शौर्यम् । वेषेण संपादि देव्यो नटः । वेषः कृत्रिम आकारः ॥

1764. The affix *yat* (य) comes in the sense of "being fitted with that", after the words *karma* and *vesha*, in the third-case in construction.

This debars *ṭhañ*. कर्मणा संपद्यते = कर्मण्यं शौर्यम्, वेषेण संपद्यते = देव्यो नटः ॥ 'Vesha' means artificial appearance, i. e. disguise.

१७६५ । तस्मै प्रभवति सन्तापादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । १०१ ॥

सन्तापाय प्रभवति सान्तापिकः । सांपादिकः ॥

1765. The affix *ṭhañ* comes after the words *santāpa* &c in the dative construction, in the sense of "what is able to effect that".

The word *प्रभवति* means 'able, capable'. The dative here has the force of *भलम्* (II. 3. 16 S. 583). As, सन्तापाय प्रभवति = सान्तापिकः, सांपादिकः

1 सन्ताप, 2 संताप, 3 सपान, 4 संयोग, 5 संपराय, 6 संपेदन, 7 संपेद, 8 निवेदन, 9 सम, 10 निगम, 11 सताप, 12 उपगम, 13 सताप, 14 उपपत्ति, 15 संपान, 16 संपेद, 17 संपाद, 18 संवेदन, 19 सपान, 20 सांतापनादिगुणितानि, 21 सताप, ॥

१७६६ । योगाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०२ ॥

योगाय प्रभवति योग्यः । योगिक ॥

1766. The affix yat (य) is also added in this sense of 'able to effect that', to the word yoga.

By force of the word य 'and' the affix इञ् also applies. Thus योगाय प्रभवति = योग्यः or योगिकः ॥

१७६७ । कर्मण उकाञ् । ५ । १ । १०३ ॥

कर्मणे प्रभवति कारुणम् ॥

1767. The affix ukañ comes after the word karman, in the same sense of 'able to effect that'.

This debars इञ्. As कर्मणेप्रभवति = कारुणं धतुः ॥ This word कारुणम् means always a 'bow', and is never employed to designate anything else.

१७६८ । समयस्तदस्य प्रातम् । ५ । १ । १०४ ॥

समयः प्रातोऽस्य सानयिकम् ॥

1768. The affix thañ comes after the word samaya, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "that has arrived for it".

Thus सानयिकं कर्म = 'a work for which the time has come'.

१७६९ । ऋतोराण् । ५ । १ । १०५ ॥

ऋतुः प्रातोऽस्य वार्तवम् ॥

1769. The affix an comes after the word řitu, meaning "that has come for it".

As ऋतुःप्रातोऽस्य = वार्तवं पुष्पम् (Gūṇa by VI. 4. 146 S. 847) "the flower for which the season has arrived".

१७७० । कालाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०७ ॥

कालः प्रातोऽस्य काल्यं धीतम् ॥

1770. The affix yat (य) comes after the word kâla, in the same sense of 'time for it'.

As काल्यं धीतं ॥ See VI. 1. 213. S. 3701.

१७७१ । प्रकृष्टे ङञ् । ५ । १ । १०८ ॥

कालादित्येव । तदस्येति य । प्रकृष्टो दीर्घः कालोऽस्येति कालिकं देयम् ॥

1771. The affix thañ comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of "longstanding".

As प्रकृष्टो कालोऽस्य = कालिकदण्डम् "long-standing debt", कालिकम् देयम् "long-standing enmity".

In this sūtra काल and तदस्य are understood, but not so the word प्राप्तम् ॥

१७७२ । प्रयोजनम् । ५ । १ । १०६ ॥

तदस्येत्येव । इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य = इन्द्रमहिकम् । प्रयोजनं फलं कारणं च ॥

1772. The affix *thāñ* comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of "that whose occasion or purpose is this".

As इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य = इन्द्रमहिकम्, the word प्रयोजनम् means fruit or cause.

१७७३ । विशाखापाढादश्मन्यदण्डयोः । ५ । १ । ११० ॥

आश्वामेण स्यात्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थे क्रमात्मन्यदण्डयोरर्थयोः । विशाखा प्रयोजनमस्य विशाखो मन्यः । मापादो दण्डः ॥ चूडादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ चूडा, चौडम् । अद्धा, आद्धम् ॥

1773. The affix *an* comes in the sense of 'that whose purpose is this', after the words *visâkhâ*, and *ashâdhâ*, when the derivative of the first is combined with *manya* and that of the second with *ḍanḍ* ॥

As विशाखो मन्यः, मापादो दण्डः ॥

Vidit :—So also after the words चूडा &c. As चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य = चौडम्, अद्धा प्रयोजनमस्य = आद्धम् ॥

१७७४ । अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यश्छः । ५ । १ । १११ ॥

अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1774. The affix *Chha* (ईय) comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the words *अनुप्रवचन* &c.

This debars कम् ॥ Thus अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य = अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1 अनुप्रवचन, 2 उत्थापन, 3 उपस्थापन, 4 संवेक्षण, 5 प्रवेक्षण, 6 अनुप्रवेक्षण, 7 अनुवाचन, 8 अनुवचन, 9 अनुवाचन, 10 कान्धारोद्देश्य, 11 मारम्भण, 12 वात्सम्भण, 13 आरोहण, 14 अनुरोहण, 15 अनुवाहन, 16 प्ररोहण ॥

१७७५ । समापनात्सपूर्वपदात् । ५ । १ । ११२ ॥

व्याकरणस्यापनं प्रयोजनमस्य व्याकरणसमापनीयम् ॥

१७७६ । ऐकागारिकद् चौरः । ५ । १ । ११३ ॥

एकमवहायमगारं प्रयोजनमस्य सुमुच्यते : स ऐकागारिकचौरः ॥

1776. The word ऐकागारिकद् is irregularly formed, in the sense of a 'thief'.

The feminine will be in डीप् ॥ Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्व = ऐकागारिकः fem. की ॥

Note :—This word can be regularly formed by डम्, but it will always be restricted to mean a thief. When any other thing is designated, it will not take this affix. Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य भिक्षाः, here there will be no affixing. The feminine moreover will be in डीप् ॥ Some say the word is formed by adding the affix इक्द् with the irregular Vṛiddhi of the first syllable.

१७७७ । आकालिकडाण्यन्तवचने । ५ । १ । ११४ ॥

समानकालावाधन्ती यस्मैत्याकालिकः । समानकालस्याकाल आदेशः । आद्यु विनाशीत्यर्थः । पूर्वदिने मज्जद्वाद्युक्षयदिनान्तरे तत्रैव नश्यत् इति वा ॥ आकालाहुंश्च ० ॥ आकालिका विशुद् ॥

1777. The word ākālīkaṭ is irregularly formed in the sense of "what coincides with the beginning and the end. i. e. what lasts only an instant".

The word जाकाल is substituted for समानकालः ॥ Thus आकालिकः सप्तमिस्तुः. 'a thunder lasting for an instant'. आकालिकी विशुद्—"a lightning lasting a twinkle". i. e. whose death is equal to its time of birth or dying as born.

Vart :—The affixes डम् and डम् also come after आकालः; as आकालिका विशुद् ॥

So far is the governing power of the affix डम् V. 1. 18.

अथ तद्धित तत्त्वअधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXV.

AFFIXES DENOTING CONDITION AND ACTION.

१७७८ । तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः । ५ । १ । ११५ ॥

ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं ब्राह्मणवदधीति । क्रिया चेद्वतिः किम् । तुल्येत्येव मा भूत् । पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्यूतः ॥

1778. The affix vati (वत्) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "like that", when the meaning is 'similarity of action'.

As ब्राह्मणेन तुल्यं वर्तते = ब्राह्मणवत् ; as in the sentence ब्राह्मणवदधीते ॥

Why do we say "action"? The affix will not be joined when the similarity is in 'quality'. As पुत्रेण तुल्यः स्यूतः "as big as the son".

१७७९ । तत्र तस्येव । ५ । १ । ११६ ॥

मथुरायाविष मथुरावत् सुप्ते माकारः । येनस्येव येनवन्नेवस्य चापः ॥

1779. The affix vati comes also in the sense of "like what is there in or thereof".

As मथुरायाविष = मथुरावत् 'like that in Mathura', as मथुरावत् सुप्ते माकारः, येनस्येव येनवन्नेवस्य चापः &c.

१७८० । तद्धर्मः । ५ । १ । ११७ ॥

विधिर्मर्हति विधिरवत्प्रयत्ने । क्रियामर्हत्तं मयद्वक्तृमुत्पादुवर्तते । तेनेह न । राजानमर्हति छत्रम् ॥

1780. The affix "vati" comes after a word in the second case in construction, in the sense of "befitting that or suited to that".

Thus विधिर्मर्हति = विधिरवत् प्रयत्ने "respected as god". The word kriyā should be read into this sūtra from V. 1. 115, S. 1778, by 'frog-leap' अनु-वृत्ति, for it is not to be read in S. 1779.

Therefore, not here राजानमर्हति छत्रम् "the umbrella as befits a king".

१७८१ । तस्य भागवत्तत्त्वे । ५ । १ । ११८ ॥

मृद्वितृण्दोषे वृत्ताते भागः । गोमर्षो गोमयम् । गोमते : १७८१ अति मयत्तं विद्वत् ।

As गोर्भावः = गोत्वम् or गीता ॥ The word formed by tva is of Neuter gender, that formed by tal is feminine.

१७८२ । आ च त्वात् । ५ । १ । १२० ॥

अप्रत्ययस्त्व इत्यतः प्राक् स्तत्त्वावधिक्रियेते । अपचरिः सह समावेशार्थः । शुश्रूषमादिभ्यः कर्मणि विधानार्थं चेदम् । अकारो नञ् लम्भ्यानपि समावेशार्थः । स्त्रिया भावः स्त्रीणम् । स्त्रीत्वम् । स्त्रीता । पौलम् । पुंसत्वम् । पुंस्त्वा ॥

1782. From this forward as far as the aphorism V. 1. 136, S. 1801 the affixes त्व and ल् bear rule.

Thus in V. 1. 122, S. 1784 त्व and ल् are read, giving the forms पृथुत्वम् and पृथुता &c. This rule is intended to secure admission for these two affixes notwithstanding the bars in the shape of subsequent aphorisms directing the employment of other affixes. These affixes signify, in addition to भाव (nature), कर्म (action) also, in V. 1. 124. S. 1788. The word च in the aphorism is intended to secure their admission notwithstanding the affixes नञ् and लम् (VI. 1. 87 S. 69). Thus स्त्रियाः भावः = स्त्रीणम्, स्त्रीत्वम्, स्त्रीता 'the nature of a female'. पुंसम्, पुंस्त्वा, पौलम् ॥

१७८३ । न नञ्पूर्वात्तत्पुरुषादचतुरसंगतलक्षणवटपुधकतरसल्लेखः । ५ । १ । १२१ ॥

इतः परं ये भावमलयास्ते नञ्त्पुरुषात् तत्पुरुषादीन्प्रविवृता । अपतित्वम् । अपट्वम् । नञ्पूर्वात्क्रियम् । चार्हत्वम् । तत्पुरुषात्क्रियम् । नास्य पदयः सस्त्रीत्वपुंसत्वभावः आपट्वम् । अचतुरेति क्रिप् । अचतुर्व्यम् । आसङ्गत्वम् । आलवण्यम् । अविध्यम् । आयुधम् । आकलयम् । आस्त्वम् । आलस्त्वम् ॥

1783. The affixes denoting 'nature', taught hereafter, do not come after a Tatpuruṣa compound formed by the negative particle नञ्, with the exception of the following :—chatura, saṅgata, lavaṇa, vaṭa, yudha, kata, rasa, and lasa.

Thus the words अपति and अपट् will have two forms only i. e. अपतित्वम् or अपतित्ता, अपट्वम् or अपट्ता ॥

Note :—While by V. 1. 126, S. 1793 other compounds will have ल् also, as चैनालम् ॥ An exception to this is अचतुर्व्यम् (VII-2. 25 S. 3065), as used by the author himself.

Why do we say नञ् पूर्वात् " a Tatpuruṣa whose first member is नञ्". Observe चार्हत्वम्, माआलम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a Tatpuruṣa ?' Observe, when the word अपट् is a Bahuvrīhi compound meaning नास्त्व पदयः सन्नि. its derivative will be आपट्वम्, ॥

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛddhi, the words remain unchanged.; and when these words are vṛddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered. As आद्यधातव्यम् or अयाधातव्यम्, जायधातुर्वयम् or अयाधातुर्वयम् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds are exhibited as दयातय and अयापुर and are Avy-ayibhāvas (II. 1. 7. S. 661), and being neuters, the आ of तया and पुर are shortened.

The words भाव and कर्म bear rule upto the end of the seventh Book chapter three.

Vārt :—The affix does not change the sense in आतुर्वयम् &c, as अत्वार एव वर्णा. = आतुर्वयम्. ॥ अतुसाम्यम्, अस्वयम्, आद्रुष्यम्, सैन्यम्, सान्निध्यम्, सामीप्यम्, औपम्यम्, वैलोक्यम् ॥ &c.

So also सर्ववेदः = सर्ववेदः All-Vedas. One who studies All-Vedas is सर्ववेदः the affix is here luk-elided by the vārtika under IV. 2. 60. S. 1270. This word सर्ववेद takes the affix व्यम् without any change of sense. As सर्ववेदः

Vārt :—There is vṛddhi of both members of the compound अतुर्वेदः 'who studies four Vedas' before śhyañ. As अतुर्वेद + व्यम् = आतुर्वेदः ॥ Instead of अतुर्वेदस्य, another reading of this Vārtika is अतुर्वेदस्य thus अतुर्वेद + व्यम् = आतुर्वेदः । अतुर्वेदः is formed from विद्य by अण् luk elision (IV. 1. 88. S. 1080), अतुर्वेदः by ङक् elision (IV. 2. 60 S. 1270. vārt).

१७९० । स्तेनाद्यप्रलोपश्च । ५ । १ । १२५ ॥

येति संपातमहणम् । स्तेन षैर्य पचायम् । स्तेनस्य भावः कर्म या स्तेयम् । स्तेनादिति योषं विभज्य स्तेन्यमिति व्यञ्जन्तमपि केष्विदिच्छन्ति ॥

1790. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of "nature thereof or action thereof", after the word stena, in the genitive, and न is elided before this affix.

The न in the sūtra is taken in its composite form, i. e. न् + ञ ॥ The elision herein taught is of न NA and not of न् N only. The word स्तेन is formed by अण् of पचादि class.

Note :—Had न् of the sūtra meant the single letter न्, there would arise the following anomaly स्तेन + व्यम् = स्तेन् + य (the य is elided by VI. 4. 148. S. 311). Here the elided ञ becomes sthūnavat by I. 1. 57 S. 50 and so when न् is elided by the present sūtra, we have स्ते + ० + ० + य ॥ The elided य would cause the ए to be changed to अय &c the form would be स्तय ॥ Hence the whole syllable न् is elided by this sūtra and not separately by the application of S. 311 and this sūtra.

As स्तेनस्य भावः कर्म या = स्तेयम् ॥ Some divide the sūtra into two स्तेनाद्य व्यम् भवति (2) सर्वं यत् स्तेयस्य, as स्तेन्यम् and स्तेयम् ॥

१७९१ । सण्युयः । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

सख्युर्भावः कर्म वा सख्यम् ॥ दूतशणिभ्यां च * ॥ दूतस्य भावः कर्म वा दूतम् । शणिश्चमिति काशिका ॥ माधवस्तु शणिज्याशब्दः स्वभावात् स्त्रीलिङ्गः । भाव एव चायं प्रत्ययः न तु कर्मणीत्याह । भावे तु दूतशणिभ्यां चेति नास्त्येव । ब्राह्मणादिस्वाशाणिज्यमपि ॥

1791. The affix य comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word सखि ॥

As सख्यम् 'friendship'.

Vārti:—So also after the words, दूत and शणिक्, as दूतम् ॥ According to Kāśikā we have शणिज्यम् ॥ Mādhava says "शणिज्या is inherently feminine. The affix श्याणि is added to it in the sense of 'nature' and never in the sense of action." In the Bhāṣya this *vārtika* is not at all found. The word शणिज्यम् is formed by V. i. 124, Ś. 1788 शणिक् belonging to ब्राह्मणादि class.

१७९१. कपिज्ञास्योर्ध्वे क् । ५ । १ । १२७ ॥

कपियम् । ज्ञानियम् ॥

1792. The affix धक् comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the words kapi and jāñī.

Thus कपेर्भावः कर्म वा = कपियम्, ज्ञानियम् ॥ The rule of ययासंख्य (I. 3. 10 S. 128) does not apply any where under this head.

१७९३. पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक् । ५ । १ । १२८ ॥

* सैनापत्यम् । पौरोहित्यम् ॥ राजाऽस्ते * ॥ राजघट्टोऽसमासे यन् लभते इत्यर्थः । ओहो भावः कर्म वा राज्यम् । समासे तु ब्राह्मणादित्वात् व्यञ्ज् । आधिराज्यम् ॥

1793. The affix यक् comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a compound ending with pati, and after purohita &c.

Thus सैनापत्ये भावः कर्म वा = सैनापत्यम्, पौरोहित्यम्, राज्यम् ॥

1 पुरोहित, 2 राजास्ते (असमासे, राज्य् अस्ते), 3 ग्रामिक (संघातिक), 4 पिण्डिक, 5 कुशिल*, 6 बाल, 7 मन्द, 8 खण्डिक, 9 क्षण्डिक, 10 धर्मिक (धर्मित), 11 कर्मिक, 12 धर्मिक*, 13 धिक् (शीलिक), 14 क्षतिक, 15 मुक्तिक, 16 तिमिक (तिमिका), 17 शब्जजिक, 18 अज्जजिक, (अज्जतिका), 19 अदिक, 20 पुत्रिक (पुत्रक), 21 अयिक, 22 सान्त्रिक, 23 धर्मिक*, 24 पथिक (पथिका), 25 अयिक, 26 प्रतिक, 27 सारथि (सारथ्यक), 28 आस्तिक, 29 क्षयिक, 30 संस्कार, 31 अयिक (संस्कारयक), 32 नास्तिक*, 33 अजादिक, 34 शक्य (शक्य), 35 नागर, 36 चूडिक, 37 पथिक, 38 मिलिक, 39 स्तानिक, 40 चूडिक, 41 क्षयिक, 42 प्रतिक, 43 पथिक, 44 सज्जिक, 45 पथिक, 46 जलिक, 47 धर्मिक, 48 तिरिक, 49 प्रापिक, 50 पथिक, 51 परिशक, 52 पूजिक, 53 मुक्तिक, 54 स्वरिक ॥

G. Vārti:—The word rājan gets yak augment when not in a compound. As राज्यम् "the nature or action of the king-royal." In the compound it will take śhyāṇi of the Brāhmanādi class." As अधिराज्यम् ॥

१७९४ । प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽङ् । ५ । १ । १२३ ॥

प्राणभृज्जाति । व्याघ्रम् । भौष्ट्रम् । वयोवचनम् । कौमारम् । कैशोरम् । प्रौढावम् । शौत्रेयम् । शौष्ठवम् । दौष्टवम् ॥

1794. The affix *añ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after class names of animals, and words expressing age, as well as after *udgâtri* &c.

Thus व्याघ्रस्य भावः कर्म वा = व्याघ्रम्, भौष्ट्रम्, कौमारम्, कैशोरम्, प्रौढावम्, शौत्रेयम् । शौष्ठवम्, दौष्टवम् ॥

1 वज्रात्, 2 चजेत्, 3 अतिहर्त्, 4 मयास्तु, 5 होत्, 6 पोत्, 7 हर्त्, (कर्त्), 8 रयगणक 9 पत्तिगणक (पत्तिगणक पविगणक), 10 छुत्, 11 हुत्, 12 कथ्यर्त्, 13 वध्, 14 युभय मन्त्रे ॥ In the Mantra literature *sabbhaga* takes *ञम्*, as *महते सौभाग्य*; sometimes there is no *ञम्* as *सौभाग्य मन्त्रे दत्वाय* ॥

१७९५ । हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽङ् । ५ । १ । १३० ॥

हैहायनम् । वैहायनम् । यौवनम् । स्थाविरम् । श्रीधिरस्य यलोपम् ० ॥ श्रीधम् । कुशलचपल-निपुणपिशुनकुलदलक्षेपज्ञा युधादिषु ब्राह्मणादिषु च पच्यन्ते । कौशल्यम् । कौशलमित्यदि ॥

1795. The affix *añ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after compounds ending in *hâyana*, and after *yuvana* &c.

Thus वैहायनस्य भावः कर्म वा = हैहायनम्, वैहायनम्; यौवनम्, स्थाविरम् ॥

Gaṇa-Vârt — The *y* of श्रीधिर is elided, as श्रीधिरस्य भावः कर्म वा = श्रीधम् ॥

1 युवन्, 2 स्थविर, 3 होत्, 4 यजमान, 5 पुरुषासे (पुरुष अन्तर्भासे), 6 भात् (भात्), 7 कृतक (कनक), 8 अन्नग (अन्नम्), 9 कटुक, 10 कलङ्कस्तु, 11 कुली, 12 सुली, 13 हुली, 14 सुमदय, 15 दुर्दय, 16 सुहृद्, 17 हर्द्, 18 सुभात्, 19 दुभात्, 20 वृषल, 21 परिव्राजक, 22 चपल, 23 अन्तर्भासे, 24 हृदयासे (हृदय अन्तर्भासे), 25 कुशल, 26 चपल, 27 निपुण, 28 पिशुन, 29 कुल, 30 छेपज्ञ, 31 श्रीधिरस्य यलोपम्, 32 यात्, 33 कृतक, 34 कुलुक, 35 कन्दुक, 36-पिशुन, 37 कुलदी, 38 महत्, 39 कितम्, 40 पोतः ॥

The word *कुशल*, *चपल*, *निपुण*, *पिशुन*, *कुल* and *छेपज्ञ* belong both to the *Yuvâdi* and *Brâhmanâdi* class. As *कौशल्यम्* or *कौशलम्* &c.

१७९६ । इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वाच्च । ५ । १ । १३१ ॥

इगन्ताच्चः कर्म वा शौचम् । गौचम् । कर्म काव्यम् । काव्यस्य ब्राह्मणादित्याव्यम् ॥

1796. The affix *añ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof,' after a stem ending in *इक्* (इ, ई, उ, ऊ, or ऋ or ए), when the preceding syllable is prosodially light.

Thus इगन्ताच्चः कर्म वा = शौचम्, गौचम् (गुणि), (Why do we say *लघुपूर्वाच्च* 'the preceding syllable being light'? Observe *काव्यस्य*, *पद्यस्य*.) ॥ Why *काव्यम्* from *कवि*? The word *कवि* takes *अम्* as belonging to the *Brâhmanâdi* class V. 1. 124.

१७९७। योपधादशुरुपोत्तमाद्बुञ् । ५। १। १३२ ॥

रामजीयकम् । जामिधानीयकम् ॥ सहायाद्वा = साहाय्यम् । साहायकम् ।

1797. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a polysyllabic stem whose penultimate letter is *य्*, and whose penultimate syllable is prosodially heavy.

Note :—The word *उपोत्तमं* means the last syllable but one in a word of three syllables or more. That word whose penultimate syllable is *शुद्* 'heavy' is called *शुरुपोत्तमम्*; the *योपधा* means 'having penultimate य्' ॥

Thus *रामजीयकम्* from *रामजीय*, *जामिधानीयकम्* ।

Note :—Why do we say "the penultimate letter being य्" ? Observe *विमानस्य* from: *विमान* ॥

Note :—Why do say *शुरुपोत्तमं* "the penultimate syllable being heavy" ? Witness *जामिदश्वम्* ॥

Vat :—Optionally so after the word *सहायाद्* as *साहायकम्* and *साहाय्यम्* ॥

Note :—The words *उपोत्तमम्* and *उपधा* should be distinguished: the first means penultimate syllable (implying thereby the word is of more than two syllables), and the second means penultimate letter.

१७९८। द्वन्द्वमनौशादिभ्यश्च । ५। १। १३३ ॥

शौण्डोपाध्यायिका । मानौहकम् ॥

1798. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a dvandva compound and after the words *manojña* &c.

Thus *गोपालवशुपालानो भ्रातृ* : कर्म या = गोपालवशुपालिका । शौण्डोपाध्यायिका, मानौहकम् ।

1 मनौह, 2 मियक्ष, 3 अभिरक्ष, 4 कल्याण, 5 मेधाविद्, 6 आठय, 7 कुलपुत्र, 8 छात्र, 9 छात्र, 10 श्रीविज, 11 चौर, 12 घूर्त, 13 विश्वदेव (वैश्वदेव), 14 युवर्ष, 15 कुपुत्र, 16 वामपुत्र, 17 वामकुमार, 18 वामपण्ड (वामखण्ड), 19 वामकुमार, 20 सुकुमार, 21 बह्वर्ष, 22 अवश्यपुत्र, (अवश्य) 23 अवश्यपुत्र, 24 अवश्यकुल, 25 सारपथ, 26 शतपुत्र, 27 कुशल, 28 अश्विपुत्र ॥

१७९९। गोत्रचरणाच्छायात्वाकारतद्वेतेषु । ५। १। १३४ ॥

अस्याकारोऽपिलेपः । तद्वेतेस्तेष्वेव चरणयोर्भाषकर्मणोऽपि । अथगतशान्ता । मार्गिकया स्थापते ।

मार्गिक्येन विकस्यत इत्यर्थः । मार्गिकयाऽऽस्थापते । मार्गिकान्वेतः । काठकोन स्थापते ॥

1799. The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a family-name (Gotra), and after the Name of a Vaidic School, when one boasts thereby, or manifests his contempt thereby, or when it means one who has attained that (or has come for an inspection or inquiring thereof).

Note :—The word ग्लाघा means boasting; अत्याकार means 'contempt', तद् अवेतः means तद्मातः 'who has gained that; or तद्भूतः who inquires that'. The word तद् refers to गोत्र and चरण ॥ The word तद्भवेतः means "who has obtained that or who has known that".

To take first ग्लाघा, as गार्गिकयाग्लाघते or काठिकयाग्लाघते "boasts of belonging to the family of Garga, or the school of Kāṭha". To take अत्याकारः, as गार्गिकयात्याकुर्वते, काठिकयात्याकुर्वते "he manifests contempt upon another, because of his belonging to the clan of Garga or School of Kāṭha". To take तद्भवेतः as गार्गिकानवेतः or काठिकानवेतः = मातः or भवगतयाम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when it means boasting &c" Observe तद्भवेतः कठस्त्वम् ॥ The य of तर्ग्य is elided in the above examples by. VI. 4. 148 & VI. 4. 151,

१८०० । होत्राश्च्यश्चः । ५ । १ । १३५ ॥

होत्राशब्दः ब्राह्मिण्याधी स्त्रीलिङ्गः । बहुवचनहोत्रोपमहणम् । अष्टादाकस्य भावः कर्म वा अष्टादाकीयम् । नैवावस्थीयम् ॥

1800. The affix *chha* (श्च) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after words expressing *Hotrā* priests.

The word *hotrā* is feminine and denotes a kind of priest. होत्राभ्यः is plural, to prevent the application of I. 1. 68. §. 25; therefore the rule does not apply to the word-form 'hotrā' derived from हु + तृन् meaning a *ritvij*.

Thus आष्टादाकीयम्, नैवावस्थीयम्, ब्राह्मणचण्डलीयम्, आग्नीधीयम्, मतिप्रस्थाधीयम्, नैष्टीयम्, वेदीयम् ॥

१८०१ । ब्रह्मण्यस्त्वः । ५ । १ । १३६ ॥

होत्राशब्दिनो ब्रह्मण्यश्चात् रयान् । इत्यापवादः । ब्रह्मण्यम् । वेति चर्चये त्वश्चनं सतो वाधनैर्यम् । ब्राह्मणवर्यावासादब्रह्मण्यश्चात् स्वतन्त्रो । ब्रह्मण्यम् । ब्रह्मता ॥

1801. The affix *tva* (त्वं) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word *Brahman*, denoting a kind of *Hotrā* priest.

This debars छि ॥ Thus ब्रह्मणे भावः कर्म वा = ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥ This debars तल्ल ॥

When ब्रह्मण means a *Brāhmaṇa*, by caste, we have ब्रह्मण्यम् or ब्रह्मता ॥

So much for the province of the affixes नञ् and छम् (IV. 1. 87).

अथ तद्धितमत्वर्थीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE AFFIX क्खम् ।

१८०२ । धान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खक् । ५ । २ । १ ॥

भवन्त्यस्मिन्निति भवनम् । धान्यानां भवनं क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रीयम् ॥

1802. The affix *khañ* comes after the name of any particular corn, being in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of "a place of growing," when that place is a field.

Note :—The word धान्यानां 'of grains', shows that the word in construction should be in the genitive case. The plural number shows that the affix is not to be added to the word-form धान्य, but to words which denote various kinds of dhānya (I 1. 63 S. 263). भवन means 'the place where a thing is produced or grows (भवन्ति जायन्ते)' ॥

Thus धान्यानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = क्षेत्रीयम्, क्षेत्रीयम्, क्षेत्रीयम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "of grains" ? There will be no affixing in a case like कृणानां भवनं क्षेत्रं ॥

Note :—Why do we say "when it is a field" ? Observe कुड्मनां भवनं कुड्मने 'a granary where kidney-beans grow'.

१८०३ । व्रीहिहात्योदक् । ५ । २ । २ ॥

व्रीहेयम् । शालेयम् ॥

1803. The affix *ḍhak* comes in the above sense of 'a place of growing, when it is a field', after the words व्रीहि and शालि ॥

Thus व्रीहिनां भवनं क्षेत्रं = व्रीहेयम्, शालेयम्, शालेयम् 'a field fit for growing rice

१८०४ । यवयवकषाष्टिकायत् । ५ । २ । ३ ॥

यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं यव्यम् । यव्यम् । यव्यम् ॥

1804. The affix *yat* comes in the same sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', after the words yava, yavaka and śhaṣṭika.

This debars यम् ॥ Thus यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = यव्यम्, यव्यम्, यव्यम् See VI : 213 S. 3701 for accent.

१८०५ । विभाषा तिलमाषोमाभङ्गाण्यम् । ५ । २ । ४ ॥

यत् वा स्यात् । पक्षे यम् । तिल्यम् । तिलीनम् । मादयम् । मापीयम् । उम्यम् । खौमीनम् । भङ्गयम् । भाङ्गीनम् । अशब्दयम् । आणवीनम् ॥

1805. The affix yat comes, in the sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', optionally after the words tīla, māṣa, umā, bhaṅgā and aṇu.

The affix khañ will come in the alternative. Thus तिल्यम् or तिलीनम् 'a field for growing sesamum', माप्यम् or मापीनम् 'a field for growing beans', खैय्यम् or खौमीनम् 'a field of linseed', भङ्ग्यम् or भाङ्गीनम् 'a field of hemp', अशब्दयम् or आशब्दीनम् 'a field for small grain'.

१८०६ । सर्वचर्मणः कृतः खलजौ । ५ । २ । ५ ॥

अन्तान्धेयै निपातनास्तनासः । सर्वचर्मणा कृतः सर्वचर्मणः । सर्वचर्मणः ॥

1806. The affix kha (ईन) and khañ (ईन) come in the sense of "wholly made thereof", after the word sarva-charman.

The word सर्व is here a part of the sense of the affix, and joins with the word कृतः, and with चर्मन् ॥ The compounding is, in fact, made by the affix, for between सर्व and चर्मन् there is no sāmārthya or construction, and so it can not be compounded with it, by any rule of samāsa. Sāmārthya is necessary for that purpose. Here सर्व is in construction with कृतः ॥ So the compounding of sarva with charman is anomalous. Thus सर्वचर्मणकृतः = सर्वचर्मणः or सर्वचर्मणः "made wholly of leather."

१८०७ । यथामुखसंमुखस्य दर्शनः खः । ५ । २ । ६ ॥

मुखस्य सदृशं यथामुखं प्रतिविम्बम् । निपातनास्तादृश्येऽव्ययीभावः । सन् सर्वे मुखे संमुखम् । समग्रवृत्तान्तलोपा निपातयति । यथामुखं दर्शयति यथामुखीनः । सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः संमुखीनः ॥

1807. The affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of 'a mirror', after the words yathāmukha, and sanmukha being in the 6th case in construction.

The word दर्शनः means that in which something is seen, such as, a looking glass, mirror &c, which reflects things. The word यथामुख "a reflection" is an Avyayībhāva compound, the meaning of यथा being that of likeness (II. 1. 0. S. 652). Thus यथामुखं दर्शनः = यथामुखीनः 'showing or reflecting the likeness of the face'—a mirror. सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः = सममुखीनः 'showing or reflecting the whole face'—a looking-glass. सन् means 'all'; and in forming the compound the final ण् of सन् is elided.

१८०८। तत्सर्वदेः पथ्यङ्गकर्मपत्रपार्त्रे व्याप्नोति । ५ । २ । ७ ॥

सर्वदेः पथ्यङ्गान्ताद् द्वितीयान्ताख्यः स्यात् । सर्वपथाद् व्याप्नोतिसर्वपथीनः । सर्वङ्गीणः । सर्वकर्मिणः । सर्वपत्रिणः । सर्वपार्त्रिणः ॥

1808. After the words pathi, aṅga, kārman, patra or pātra, preceded by sarva, being in the second case in construction, the affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of "what pervades or fills the whole of that".

Thus सर्वपथाद् व्याप्नोति = सर्वपथीनोदयः ; सर्वङ्गीणस्तापः, सर्वकर्मिणः पुरुषः, सर्वपत्रिणः साक्षिणः, सर्वपार्त्रिण्य ब्रीहिनः ॥

१८०९। आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति । ५ । २ । ८ ॥

पदस्थायं प्रपदं तन्मर्यादीकृत्य आप्रपदम् । आप्रपदीनः पदः ॥

1809. The affix kha (ईन) comes after the word āprapada, in the sense of "reaching thereto".

The word प्रपद means the 'top of the foot'. आ means "upto". आप्रपद is an Avyayibhāva compound meaning 'to the top of the foot'. Thus आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति = आप्रपदीनः पदः 'cloth reaching to the end of the feet', i. e. showing the width of the cloth by comparison with the body.

१८१०। अनुपदसर्वाभ्यानयं बद्धाभक्षयतिनेयेषु । ५ । २ । ९ ॥

अनुपदस्थे सादृश्ये च । अनुपदं बद्धा अनुपदीना उपानत् । सर्वाभ्यानि भक्षयति सर्वाभ्यानी भिष्टुः । अभ्यानयः स्थलविशेषः । संवेद्यो उपानयनिः शतरः ॥

1810. The affix kha comes after the words anupada, sarvāṇna, and ayānaya, being in the second case in construction, in the senses of 'so bound', 'eating that', and 'to carry thereto' respectively.

Thus अनुपदं बद्धा = अनुपदीना 'a kind of shoe'; this word is always feminine. The force of अनु here is that of 'length' or 'likeness'. That is 'a shoe of the measure of a foot'. So सर्वाभ्यानि भक्षयति = सर्वाभ्यानी भिष्टुः 'a mendicant who eats the whole food'. So also अभ्यानयनिः शतरः "a chessman or piece that is taken to the position on the chess called ayānaya". The word अभ्यानय is compounded of two words अभ्य, meaning 'going from right to left', and अयन 'from left to right', and it means a particular position in which the pieces moving from right to left and left to right cannot move further, and attack the other pieces.

Note:—According to some अभ्यानयनि is the name of the front pieces in one's own row of chess-men. A piece which moves only on one side, does not admit

of this affix. The piece which is carried from one side to another, admits of this affix. Others move only in one direction अथ or अनथ, but not both. Kaiyāṭa : यन्तु शार एक पार्श्व एव संचरति तत्र न भवति प्रत्ययो, यो हि शारः पार्श्वान्तरमासीयते, स एव अयानयं नीयते, अन्वास्तु अयमेव नीयते, अनयमेव नीयते वा ॥

१८११. परोवरपरस्परपुत्रपौत्रमनुभवति । ५ । २ । १० ॥

परंभारंभानुभवतीति परोवरीणः । अवसरदोषं निपात्यते । परंभ परतरंभानुभवति परम्परीणः । प्रकृतेः परम्परभाषो निपात्यते । पुत्रपौत्रानुभवति पुत्रपौत्रीणः । परम्पराशब्दस्तु अव्युत्पन्नं शब्दान्तरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे सस्मादेव स्वार्थे व्यञ्जिपारम्पर्येण । कथं परोवर्यवदिति । असाधुरेवायम् । सप्रत्ययसन्निधौगेनेव परोवतेति निपातनात् ।

1811. The affix kha comes in the sense of "who witnesses or experiences that", after the words parovara, parampara and putrapautra in the second case in construction.

The word परोवर is compounded of पर and अवर the ओ in रे being irregular, the compounding being caused by the affix परंभापरोच अनुभवति = परोवरीणः "who lives to see high and low". The word परम्पर is compounded of पर and परतर, the compounding being caused by the affix. As परंभ परतरंभानुभवति = परम्परीणः ॥ Similarly पुत्रपौत्रीणः ॥

The word परम्पर is a separate word as well, not formed by or admitting this affix. As मन्थिवरम्पर मन्थं भिमात्ति ॥ This is a feminine word : from this we get by ghyāṭi without change of meaning पारम्पर्यम् । How do you explain the form परोवर्यवत् ? It is certainly incorrect because the form परोवर is valid only before the affix ख and nowhere else.

१८१२ । अवारपाःरात्यन्तानुकामं गामी । ५ । २ । ११ ॥

अवारपाःगामी अवारपारीणः । अवारीणः । पारीणः । पारपारीणः । अत्यन्तं गामी अत्यन्तीणः । अनुकामं गन्तेत्यर्थः । अनुकामं गामी अनुकामीणः । यथेष्टं गन्तेत्यर्थः ॥

1812. The affix kha comes in the sense of "who purposes to go", after the words avārapāra, atyanta, and anukāma, being in the accusative case in construction.

The word गामी means 'गमिष्यति', see 111. 3. 3. S. 3171. The genitive case is prohibited by II. 3. 70 : the word गामी governing the accusative. Thus अवारपाःगामी = अवारपारीणः ॥

So also when the words are reversed. As पारपारीणः ॥ So also when the words are taken separately, as अवारीणः and पारीणः ॥ So also अत्यन्तं गामी = अत्यन्तीणः = यत् गन्ता ॥ So also अनुकामीणः = यथेष्टं गन्ता ॥

१८१३ । समानमां विजायते । ५ । २ । १२ ॥

समांशोऽवशिष्टावस्तानुक न पूर्ववद्विपात्यते । समानमीना गीः । समानमीना ता देव प्रतिदिव प्रसवन् ॥ अथवायादुर्गता यदेतां वा एकस्यः ॥ समानमां विजायते । समानं समानं वा ॥

1813. The affix *kha* comes after the word *samāmsa-mām* in the sense of 'who bears in the womb'.

The word *विजायते* means गर्भे भ्रातयति 'who bears in the womb'. This verb governs the accusative of time *सर्वांसर्वा* by II. 1. 29. S. 691. Thus *सर्वांसर्वा विजायते* = *सर्वासर्वाणां गोः, सर्वासर्वाणां दद्या* ॥

According to others the aphorism means "the affix comes in the sense of to give birth to or to get a young". I. e. *विजायते* = *गर्भमोचनं* ॥ According to them, the verb governs the locative *समायां समायां विजायते* = *सर्वासर्वाणां*, the *यू* of the first *समायां* being elided, the rest of the vibhakti (आय) remains. The word will mean "an animal that gives birth to a young one every year". See *Amarakosha* II. 9. 72.

Vart:—Sometime there is no affixing, but the whole sentence is to be used to express this meaning, or the only of both members is to be elided and a sentence formed. As *सर्वां सर्वां विजायते* or *समायां समायां विजायते* ॥

१८१४ । अद्यस्वीनावद्यथे । ५ । २ । १३ ॥

अद्य स्वी वा विजायते अद्यस्वीना दद्या । आसन्नमृतत्वैत्यर्थः । कैचिद्वि जायते इति नाहुवर्तयन्ति । अद्यस्वीन् नरणम् । आसन्नमित्यर्थः ॥

1814. The word *adyasvina* is anomalous, meaning "a female near delivery".

The word *विजायते* is understood here. The word *अद्यस्वी* means 'imminent, near'. It is formed by *अद्य* + *स्वी* + *क्*, the *स्वी* being changed to *यू* by VIII. 3. 68. S. 2273. Thus *अद्य वा स्वी वा विजायते* = *अद्यस्वीना दद्या* "a mare likely give birth to-day or to-morrow".

Some do not read *विजायते* in to the *sātra*, which then means "The word *adyasvina* is irregularly formed meaning *imminent*". As *अद्यस्वी* नरणे imminent death.

१८१५ । आगवीनः । ५ । २ । १४ ॥

आहुवर्तयन्ति । कर्मकरे समस्तयो निपात्यते । गोः प्रत्ययवर्त्यन्ते यैः क्व करोति स आगवीनः ॥

1815. The word *āgavīna* "a day-servant" is irregularly formed.

This word is formed by adding *व* to the word *गो* preceded by the preposition *आ*, as *आगो* + *व* = *आगवीनः* ॥ The force of the affix is that of 'a servant'. A person who is engaged in business till the return of the cows from pasture i. e. a day-labourer.

१८१६ । अनुवर्तमानो । ५ । २ । १५ ॥

अहुव । गोः वच्चावर्त्यन्ते गच्छति । अनुवर्तमानो गोपाहः ॥

1816. The affix kha comes after the word anugu, in the sense of who is 'fit to follow'.

Thus the word अनुगृह्य means गौः पश्याद् ॥ Thus अनुगृह्य पर्याप्तं गच्छति = अनुगृह्य-
पतिः 'who is suited or able to follow after the cows' i. e. a cowherd.

१८१७ । अध्वनो यस्तौ । ५ । २ । १६ ॥

अध्वानमलं गच्छति अध्वन्यः । अध्वनीनः । ये चाभावकर्मणोः । आत्माध्वानी ये इति सूत्राभा-
वमकृतिमात्रः ॥

1817. The affixes yat (य) and kha (ईन) come after the word adhvan, in the above sense of 'who is fit or able to follow'.

Thus अध्वानमलं गच्छामी = अध्वनीनः or अध्वन्यः 'able to undertake a journey'. By aphorisms VI. 4. 163, 169 S. 1154, and 1671 the word अध्वन् retains its original form before the affixes य and ख, not losing its final न्, which it does before other affixes, by VI. 4. 144. S. 679.

१८१८ । अभ्यमित्राच्छ च । ५ । २ । १७ ॥

आराध्योः । अभ्यमित्रीयः । अभ्यमित्र्यः । अभ्यमित्रिणः । अनिमित्रानिदुस्त्रं सुदुस्त्रं कर्त्तव्यार्थः ॥

1818. The affix Ohha (ईय) also as well as yat and kha. comes after the word abhyamitra, in the sense of 'who is able to go'.

The य draws in यत् and ख ॥ Thus आराध्यं आरं गच्छामी = अभ्यमित्रीयः, अभ्यमित्र्यः
अभ्यमित्रिणः 'a warrior who valiantly encounters his enemy' = अनिमित्रानिदुस्त्रं सुदुस्त्रं
गच्छति ॥

१८१९ । गोष्ठात्थम् भूतपूर्वं । ५ । २ । १८ ॥

गोष्ठे भूतपूर्वं गोष्ठिनि दत्तः ॥

1819. The affix khañ comes after the word gosht̥ha in the sense of 'it formerly had been'

The word गोष्ठ is a compound of गो + स्थ i. e. a cow-pen, it means the place all around a cow-pen. The word भूतपूर्वं qualifies it. Thus गोष्ठे भूतपूर्वं = गोष्ठिनि दत्तः 'a place which was formerly a Goshthā'. Otherwise when not meaning formerly, we have गोष्ठे नत्तं ॥

१८२० । आश्वस्तेयताह्वयः । ५ । २ । १९ ॥

एवमित्येव आश्वस्तेयताह्वयः । आश्वस्तेयताह्वयः ॥

1820. The affix khañ comes after the word āśva, in the relative case in construction, the sense being 'what is travelled over or traversed in one day'

The word अश्वस्य being in the sixth case shows the construction it should have before the affix. The एकाहगमः means एकदिन गम्यते i. e. what is or can be gone over in one day. Thus अश्वस्यैकहागमौऽध्या = आश्वीनः, as आश्वीनानि कर्तं पतिष्या = यावन्ति योजनाभ्येकदिनाभ्येन गम्यते सायता कर्तं गत्वा ॥ सहसाश्वीने वा इतः स्वर्गो लोकः ॥

२८२१ । शालीनकौपीने श्रुष्टाकार्ययोः । ५ । २ । २० ॥

शालाप्रवेशमर्हति शालीनः अश्रुष्टः । कूपपतनमर्हति कौपीनं पापम् । तच्छापनःशातद्विष्यत्वाद्वा पुरुषलिङ्गमपि । तस्यैवन्मातृवाञ्छावन्मपि ॥

1821. The word śālīna and kaupīna are anomalous, when meaning 'modest' and 'a shameful action' respectively.

The word अश्रुष्ट means 'not proud', अकार्यम् means 'unfit to be done' i. e. an infamous act. The words come from शाश "a hall" and कूप 'a well'. It is not easy to trace any connection between 'modesty' and 'a hall', or between 'shameful' and 'a well'. However some say शालाप्रवेशमर्हति 'who deserves to enter a hall', = शालीनः, कूपपतनमर्हति 'who deserves to be thrown into a well' कौपीनः, hence a thing to be concealed as the male organ; and the dress that conceals it. As शालीनो अङ्गः, कौपीनं पापं ॥

१८२२ । व्रातेन जीवति । ५ । २ । २१ ॥

व्रातेन वरीयवासेन जीवति ननु बुद्धिवैभवेन स व्रातीयः ॥

1822. The affix khañ comes after the word vrāta in the third case in construction, the sense being "who leads this life; or who lives by this".

The word व्रात means a multitude or mass composed of various castes, who have no fixed employment, and live by violence, or by bodily labor. व्रातेन जीवति = व्रातीयः 'a person who lives by the labour of his body, and not by the power of his brain'.

१८२३ । साप्तपदीनं सख्यम् । ५ । २ । २२ ॥

सप्तभिः परैरवाप्यते साप्तपदीनम् ॥

1823. The word sāptapadīna is anomalous, when meaning 'friendship'.

The word साप्तपदीन comes from सप्तपद् but the connection of senses is not very clear. It is said सप्तभिः परैरवाप्यते = साप्तपदीनम् "formed by walking together seven steps or by talking together seven words".

Note:—The circumambulation of the Fire by the bride and bridegroom in seven steps makes the marriage irrevocable. साप्तपदीनं seems to have some connection

with that. The word सातृषधीनः or नः means 'a friend' also ; the abstract sense being made applicable by analogy to the person as well.

१८२४ । हैयङ्गवीनं संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । २३ ॥

ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकारो यश्च विनात्यते । हुयत इति दोहः क्षीरम् । ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकारो हैयङ्गवीनं नयनीत्यम् ॥

1824. The word "haiyaṅgavīna" is anomalous when it is a Name.

The word हैयङ्गवीनम् means 'fresh butter'. The word comes from ह्यो 'yesterday' and गोदोह 'cow's milk'. ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकारः 'prepared from yesterday's milk' i. e. "fresh butter". The affix does not come in the sense of any विकार in general. There is no affixing in ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार when it means दध्नि or 'whcy'.

१८२५ । तस्य पाकमूले पीत्वादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुणञ्जाह्वौ । ५ । २ । २४ ॥

पीत्वा पाकः पीतुकुणः । कर्णस्य मूलं कर्णजाह्वम् ॥

1825. The affixes kuṇāp (कुण) and jāhach (जाह्व) come after the words pilu &c and karna &c respectively, when the senses are respectively 'the fruiting-season of this' and 'the root of this'.

The word तस्य shows that the construction must be genitive. The affix कुणप् comes after पीत्वादि words, signifying 'ripening', and the affix जाह्वप् comes after कर्णादि words signifying the 'root'.

Thus पीत्वा पाकः = पीतुकुणः, कर्णस्य मूलं = कर्णजाह्वम् ॥

1 कर्णः, 2 जाह्वि, 3 मय, 4 हुय, 5 दोह, 6 पाय, 7 युक्त, 8 धू, 9 मूत्र (धूम्रः, भूम्रः), 10 दन्त, 11 भोज, 12 वृत्त, 13 मय, 14 अद्गुणः ॥

1 पीतु, 2 कर्णस्य ('न्यु), 3 कर्णी, 4 कर्णित, 5 कुणल, 6 कदर, 7 कथय, 8 खचित ॥

१८२६ । पक्षतिः । ५ । २ । २५ ॥

मूलमहणपाकमनुवर्तते । पक्षाय मूलं पक्षति ॥

1826. The affix ti (ति) comes after the word paksha in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'the root of it'.

Thus पक्षस्य मूलं = पक्षादिः i. e. पक्षिपत् 'the root or the first day of a Paksha or a fortnight'.

१८२७। तेन विसृञ्चुञ्चुपचणपौ । ५। २। २६ ॥

यकारः प्रत्ययेषोरासौ लुप्तनिर्दिष्टस्तेन यस्य नेष्वन्ता । विद्याया विनी विद्याचुञ्चुः । विद्याचणः ॥

1827. The affixes chuñchup (चुञ्चु) and chaṇap (चण) come after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'celebrated through this'.

The word विसृ means known, illustrious. Thus विद्याया विनी = विद्याचुञ्चुः, विद्याचणः, केचचणः ॥ The initial च् in these affixes is not इत् (I. 3. 7. S. 189) because the affixes really are च्चुञ्चुप् and च्चणप् ॥ Thus च् is elided after words. So च् is not the initial of an affix; and does not get इत् designation.

१८२८। विनञ्भ्यां नानाजी न सङ् । ५। २। २७ ॥

नसङ्गार्थे पृथग्भावे वर्तमानाभ्यां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययौ । विना । नाना ॥

1828. The affixes ना and नञ् come respectively after the words वि and नञ्, in the sense of 'not being together'.

Thus वि + ना = विना 'without'; नञ् + नञ् = नाना 'several'.

१८२९। वेः शालच्छकटचौ । ५। २। २८ ॥

क्रियाविशिष्टसाधनशब्दात्स्वार्थे । विस्तृतम् विशालम् । विशङ्कटम् ॥

1829. The affixes śālach (शालं) and śaṅkaṭach (शंकटं) come after the preposition वि, without changing the sense.

Thus विगतं शृङ्गम् = विशालम् विशंकटम् ॥ Thus these words may apply to a cow, as विशालः, विशंकटः ॥ According to some these words are adjectives meaning 'great, large' &c. There is no connection here of the sense of the base and the affix.

१८३०। संमोदश्च कटच् । ५। २। २९ ॥

सङ्कटम् । प्रकटम् । वक्कटम् । आह्विकटम् ॥ अलावृत्तिर्जनानामङ्गाभ्यां तजस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ अलावृत्ता राजः अलावृकटम् ॥ शोभकाश्चः स्थानाविष्य पशुनामभ्याः * ॥ गद्यां स्थानं गोयोग्यम् ॥ संघाते कटच् * ॥ अर्धानां सङ्घातोऽधिकटः ॥ विस्तारि कटच् * ॥ गविपदः ॥ द्विसे गोयुगच् * ॥ छात्रद्वौ चतुर्गोयुगम् ॥ पदस्ये पङ्कटच् * ॥ अश्वपदगवम् ॥ द्वेष्टे सैकटच् * ॥ तिर्यक्तम् । चर्चपतितम् ॥ भवने चने धाकटश्चाकिनी * ॥ इक्षुशकटम् । इक्षुशकितम् ॥

1830. The affix kaṭach (कट) comes after the words sam, pra, ud, (and vi).

The हि is read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus संकटम्, प्रकटम्, उक्कटम्, विकटम् ॥

Vart :—The affix कटच् comes after अलावु, तिल, वसा, and भज्ज in denoting dust thereof. As अलावूनां रजः = अलावूकटम्, तिलकटम्, वसाकटम्, भज्जकटम् ॥ &c.

Vart :—The affix गोष्ठच् comes after the names of animals, in denoting the places. As गवां स्थानं = गोमोष्ठं. &c.

Vart :—When a flock is denoted, the affix कटच् is added, as अविकटः ॥

Vart :—When spreading is denoted, the affix is पटच्, and अविपटः ॥

Vart :—When a couple is denoted, the affix is गोष्ठगृह्, as वृष्टगोष्ठगृहम् ॥

Vart :—When six is denoted, the affix is षड्वयच्, as अष्टषड्वयम् ॥

Vart :—The affix तैलच् comes when it means the oil of it. As तिलतैलम्; सर्वतैलम् ॥

Vart :—The affixes शाकट and शाकिन denote 'a field where it grows', after the words इक्षु &c. As इक्षुशाकटम्, इक्षुशाकिनम् ॥

१८३१ । अवात्कुटारश्च । ५ । २ । ३० ॥

आकटच् । अवाचीनोऽवकुटारः । अवकटः ॥

1831. The affix कुटारच् as well as कटच् comes after the word अव ॥

As अवकुटारः, अवकटः 'downwards,' 'very deep'.

१८३२ । नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां दीटघ्नाटज्झटचः । ५ । २ । ३१ ॥

अवादिह्येव । नतं नमनम् । नासिकाया नतं अवदीटम् । अवनाटम् । अवघटम् । तद्योगान्नासिका अवदीट । पुरुषोऽववदीटः ॥

1832. The affixes दीटच्, नाटच् and भूटच् come after the word अव, in the sense of a hooked nose, when the word so formed is a Name.

Thus नासिकाया नतम् = अवदीटम्, or अवनाटम्, अवघटम् ॥ The word signifies the nose, as well as the person also, as अवदीटा नासिका, अवदीटाः पुरुषः ॥

१८३३ । नेषिडज्जिरीसच्ची । ५ । २ । ३२ ॥

निषिडम् । निषिरीसम् ॥

1833. The affixes षिडच् and षिरीसच् come after the word नि, in the above sense of hooked nose, the whole word, being a Name.

Thus निषिडम् and निषिरीसम् ॥

Note :—How do you say निषिडाः केषां or निषिडं वक्ष्यते ? It is by analogy.

१८३४ । इनन् पिटपिक चि च । ५ । २ । ३३ ॥

नेतिहे । नासिकायां नतेऽभिनेने इत्युपदिष्टे नतये प्रत्ययेऽपि रूपं इत्यादयो अ । कवच-
विशेषेण नतये * । चिन्तिनम् । निषिडम् । पिटम् ॥ द्वितरेषु चिन् विन् सधारण्यधुपी * ।
इह नतुपी नतपिडः । (१८३०) ॥ नतुच * ॥ नतुः

1834. The affixes इन्च् and पिटच् come after the word नि in the above sense of a hooked nose; and चिक् and चि are the substitutes of नि before those affixes respectively.

Thus नि + इन्च् = चिक् + इन्च् = चिकिन्; नि + पिटच् = चि + पिटच् = चिपिटः ॥

Vart :—So also comes क्, and चिक् replacing नि, as नि + क् = चिक् + क् = चिकः ॥

Vart :—The affix ल comes after the word क्लिन् in the sense of 'its eyes'; and चिन् and चिन् are substitutes of क्लिन्: as क्लिन् अस्य चक्षुषी = चिन्; चिन्: 'bear-eyed'

Vart :—बुल is also the substitute. As बुलः ॥

Note :—These words apply to the 'eye' also, as चिक्ले, चिक्ले, दुष्टे "sore-eyes." They apply to 'person' also.

१८३५ । उपाधिभ्यां त्यकत्ताल्लङ्कारयोः । ५ । २ । ३४ ॥

संज्ञायामित्यनुपसर्गे । पर्वतस्यासन्नं स्थलमुपत्यका । आरुढं स्थलमधित्यका ॥

1835. The affix tyakan (त्यक्) comes after the words upa and adhi, in the sense of 'nearness' and 'elevation' respectively; the words so formed being Names

Thus उपत्यका = पर्वतस्यासन्नम् lowland, a land at the foot of the mountain, अधित्यका = पर्वतस्यारुढम् a table-land, high-land.

Note :—The rule VII. 3. 44 S. 463 does not apply here, so we do not get the forms उपत्यिका or अधित्यिका ॥

१८३६ । कर्मणि घटोठच् । ५ । २ । ३५ ॥

घटते इति घटः । पचाद्यच् । कर्मणि घटते कर्मठः पुरुषः ॥

1836. The affix aṭhach (अठ) comes after the word karma, in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'employing oneself zealously in it.'

The word घट means zealous work. It is formed from $\sqrt{\text{घट}}$ with the अच् of the Paṭhādi. Thus कर्मणि घटते = कर्मठ पुरुषः 'a clever, proficient person.'

१८३७ । तदस्य संज्ञानं तारकादिभ्य इतच् । ५ । २ । ३६ ॥

तारकाः संज्ञाता अस्य तारकितं नभः । साकृन्निगद्योऽयम् ॥

1837. The affix itach (इत्) comes after the words tārakā &c. in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'that whereof this is observed'.

Thus तारकाः संज्ञाता अस्य नभसः = तारकितं नभः 'a starry sky' i. e. a night in which stars are visible. पुदिपत्तं वृक्षः 'a tree in which flowers have grown'.

The तारकादि class is व्याकृतसिगण ॥

1 तारका, 2 पुष्प, 3 कर्णक, 4 मञ्जरी*, 5 मञ्जीव, 6 लज्ज*, 7 लज्ज (लज्जक), 8 मूष, 9 विष्णुमण, 10 पुरीष, 11 उषार, 12 प्रचार, 13 विचार, 14 कुङ्कुम, 15 कण्टक, 16 सुलस, 17 सुकुल, 18 कुसुम, 19 कुङ्कुल, 20 स्वशक, 21 किसलय, 22 पद्म, 23 खण्ड, 24 वेण, 25 निद्रा, 26 मुद्रा, 27 सुसुधा, 28 धेनुध्या, 29 विपासा, 30 मञ्जा, 31 अन्न, 32 पुलक, 33 अङ्गारक, 34 वर्णक, 35 ब्रौह, 36 रोह, 37 सुख, 38 दुःख, 39 वक्त्रक (वक्त्रक), 40 भर, 41 व्याधि, 42 वर्म*, 43 व्रण*, 44 गौरव*, 45 दाह, 46 तरंग, 47 सिक्क, 48 चन्द्रक (चन्द्र) 49 अन्धकार, 50 गर्व, 51 सुकुर, 52 हर्ष, 53 वक्त्रक, 54 रण*, 55 कुवलय, 56 गर्भ, 57 क्षुध (क्षुधा), 58 सीमन्त, 59 क्वर, 60 गर*, 61 रोग, 62 रोमाञ्च, 63 पण्डा, 64 कज्जल, 65 हृष*, 66 कोरक, 67 कक्षाल, 68 स्पृष्ट*, 69 फल, 70 कञ्चुक*, 71 मृद्गार*, 72 अङ्कुर, 73 शैवल*, 74 बहुल*, 75 श्वभ*, 76 आराल*, 77 कलङ्क, 78 कर्षण, 79 कन्वल, 80 मूर्छा*, 81 अङ्गार, 82 हस्तक (हस्त), 83 प्रतिविम्ब*, 84 विप्रसन्न (वितप्त, तन्न)*, 85 प्रत्यय*, 86 शिक्षा*, 87 गर्ज, 88 गर्भविमाणिनि (गर्भिताः शालयः इति गर्भिणी भौः), 89 सन्ना, 90 लवक, 91 कर, 92 आन्दोल, 93 मोर, 94 राग ॥

१८३८. प्रमाणे द्वयसज्द्वयमात्रचः । ५ । २ । ३७ ॥

सदृश्येत्युपवर्तते । ऊरु प्रमाणस्य ऊरुद्वयसम् । ऊरुद्वयम् । ऊरुमात्रम् ॥ प्रमाणे लः * ॥ समः । द्विष्टिः । वितस्तिः ॥ द्विगोनित्यम् * ॥ दो शब्दे प्रमाणस्य द्विसमम् ॥ प्रमाणपरिमाणभ्यां संख्यायाश्चापि संसृष्टे माप्यव्यक्त्यः * ॥ सममात्रम् । प्रत्यमात्रम् । पञ्चमात्रम् । परवन्तास्त्वाद्यै द्वयसमापचौ बहुलम् * ॥ सार्वद्वय सादृश्यसम् । सावन्मात्रम् ॥

1838. The affixes dvayasach (द्वयस) daghnach (दर्घ) and mâttrach (मात्रे), come in denoting "that whereof this is the lineal measure" after a word in first case in construction.

The word सदृश्य is understood here. Thus ऊरुः प्रमाणस्य=ऊरुद्वयसम्, उरुद्वयम्, ऊरुमात्रम् 'as high as the thigh'.

Note :—As ऊरुद्वयसद्वयकम् 'water reaching upto the thigh'. According to some the first and the second affixes (dvayasa and daghna) come in denoting the measure of altitudes and depths, and not horizontal measures. The affix मात्रच् comes in a general sense also. As प्रपञ्चमात्रम् 'a cubit long'.

Vdt :—The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure. Thus समः प्रमाणस्य =समः 'that which is sama (a hand) in length'. Similarly द्विष्टिः, वितस्तिः ॥

Note :—The affix मात्र only is elided, the other two affixes are never applicable to these words.

Vdt :—The elision is invariable after a Dvigu. As दो शब्दे प्रमाणस्य =द्विसमम् ॥

Note :—Why do we say "invariable"? The elision will take place even when there is doubt, द्वे द्विष्टि रसात् वा न वा =द्विष्टिः ॥

Vdt :—The affix मात्रच् comes after words denoting lineal measure, and mass measure, and after a numeral, even when there is doubt. As

प्रमाणवच् = शमः प्रमाणमस्य स्यान्न वा, प्रत्यमावच्, पंचमावच् ॥ An exception to this is contained in the 2nd Vārtika, where mātra is elided in Dvigu compounds, owing to the word निश्च being used there.

Vart:—The affixes द्रव्यच् and मावच् come without changing the sense, diversely after a word ending in वटु; as तावद्द्रव्यस्य, = तद् परिमाणस्य धान्याद्विस्तारवटु तावन्मावच् &c.

१८३६ । पुरुषद्विस्तिष्ठामास्य च । ५ । २ । ३८ ॥

पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य पौरुषम् । पुरुषद्वयस्य । द्विस्तिनम् । द्विस्तिद्वयस्य ॥

1839. The affix an also, as well dvayasach &c, comes after the words purusha and hasti, in the first case in construction in the sense of 'that whereof this is the lineal measure.'

The phrase तदस्य प्रमाणे is understood here. By च the affixes द्वयस्य &c are drawn in. Thus पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य = पौरुषम्, पुरुषद्वयस्य, प्ररुषद्वयस्य, पुरुषमावच्, द्विस्तिद्वयस्य, द्विस्तिद्वयस्य, द्विस्तिमावच्, द्विस्तिनम् ॥

Note:—The affix is always elided after a Dvigu. As द्विपुरुषद्वयस्य, द्विपुरुषम्, द्विद्विस्ति, त्रिद्विस्ति, त्रिपुरुषी, त्रिपुरुषी, त्रिद्विस्तिनी, त्रिद्विस्तिनी ॥

१८४० । यत्तदेतेष्वः परिमाणे यतुप् । ५ । २ । ३९ ॥

यत्परिमाणमस्य यावान् । तावान् । एतावान् ॥

1840. The affix vatup (वत्) comes after the words yad, tad, and etad, being in the first case in construction, in signifying "that whereof this is the measure of volume".

The phrase तदस्य is understood here. As यद् परिमाणमस्य = यावान् । This form is thus evolved; यद् + वतुप् = यावत् (the ti णच् being replaced by वा by VI. 3. 91) = यावन्त (the वृत् being added by VII. 1. 70) = यावान्त (the न् being lengthened by VI. 4. 41); the vibhakti being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 352. and न् being elided by VIII. 2. 23 we get finally यावान्, तावान्, एतावान् ॥

१८४१ । किमिदं यथा वो घः । ५ । २ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां वतुप्स्याद्वत्त्व च घः । कियान् । इयान् ॥

1841. After the words kim and idam, घ (इय्) is substituted for the व् of vatup.

Thus किम् + वतुप् = की + वतुप् (VI. 3. 90) = क् + वतुप् (VI. 4. 148) = कियन् nom. कियान्. Similarly इयम् nom. इयान् ॥

१८४२ । किनः संख्यापरिमाणे ङिति च । ५ । २ । ४१ ॥

यावत्तुप् । सत्य च सत्य घः स्यात् । का संख्या देवां ते ङिति । कियन्तः ॥

1842. The affix *ḍati* (अति with the elision of इत्) as well as the affix *vatap* comes after the word *किम्*, in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'numerical quantity'.

The अ introduces the affix *वतुप्* which is changed into *वत्* (इत्) ॥ The word *संख्यापरिमाणे* means *संख्यायाः परिमाणं* i. e. *संख्यापरिच्छेदः* making estimate by numbers. As *का संख्या परिमाणं तेषां ब्राह्मणानां* = *कति ब्राह्मणाः* or *कित्यन्तो ब्राह्मणाः* how many Brahmanas in number do you estimate these. This always comes in the plural.

१८४३ । संख्याया अवयवे तयप् । ५ । २ । ४२ ॥

उभयवचनं अत्यन्तस्यैव वा ॥

1843. The affix *tayap* (तय) comes after a numeral, in the sense of "that whereof the parts are so many".

The word *तद्वय* is understood here. Thus *पञ्च अवयवा अत्यन्तस्य* = *पञ्चतद्वयम्* having five parts. The part being connected with the whole, the force of the affix is to denote the whole.

१८४४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायज्वा । ५ । २ । ४३ ॥

द्वयम् । द्वितयम् । त्रयम् । त्रितयम् ॥

1844. The affix *ayach* (अयै) is optionally the substitute of *tayap*, after words *dvi* and *tri*.

As *द्वावयववचनम्* = *द्वयम्*, or *द्वितयम्*, *त्रयम्* or *त्रितयम्* 'a couple' 'a triad' (VI. 4. 148).

१८४५ । उभाद्दुदात्तो नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ४४ ॥

उभयवचनस्योऽयच् स्यात् स चायुदात्तः । उभयम् ॥

1845. After the word *udāha*, *ayach* is always the substitute for *tayap*, having the acute (*udātta*) accent on its first syllable.

Note :—The affix *अयैच्* having indicatory अ takes the acute accent on the final syllable (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710). i. e. on अ. the special mention of *udātta* in the sūtra shows that the accent should be on a syllable which would otherwise not have taken it i. e. the first syllable i. e. अ; for had this not been the meaning, there was no necessity of using the word *udātta* in the sūtra.

If *उभ* is a *Sankhyā* word (I. 1. 23 S. 258), in the classical sense, it would have taken *तयप्*, the present sūtra ordains *अयै* instead as a substitute always. If it is not a *Sankhyā*, then we should first ordain *तयप्* after it, by the process of splitting the sūtra V. 2. 42 into two, thus *संख्यायाः तयप्*, *तयययं तयप्* and then replace *तयप्* by *अयै* ॥

Thus *उभोऽयैः* *उभयोः* *अयै* = *उभयम्* ॥ *उभयोः* *द्वयम्* *अयै* ; *उभयोः* *त्रयम्* ॥

१८४६ । तदस्मिन् अधिकमिति दशान्ताङ्गः । ५ । २ । ४५ ॥

एकादश अधिका अस्मिन्नेकादशम् ॥ शतसहस्रयोरित्येवं ॥ नेह एकादश अधिका अस्यां विद्यते ॥ पकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः समानजातीयत्वं एवेत्येते * ॥ नेह । एकादश नायां अधिको, अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

1846. The affix *da*, अ with the elision of अन् of the base), comes after a Numeral ending in *daśan*, being in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is surplus in it".

Thus एकादश अधिका अस्मिन् शत = एकादश शत. "hundred + eleven". So, also, एकादशे सहस्रे ॥

Ishti :—This applies only after शत and सहस्र, therefore, it does not apply here :—एकादशाधिकाः सत्यां विद्यन्ते ॥

Ishti :—This rule applies when both words denote a thing of the same denomination. As एकादश कार्यापया अधिका अस्मिन् कार्यापय शते = एकादशे कार्यापयशते ॥ But not here :—एकादश नायां अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

Note :—The word इति in the sūtra is for clearness. The rule applies to शतसहस्रे also, as एकादशे शतसहस्रे which may mean either (1) एकादश शतान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् or (2) एकादश सहस्रान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् ॥

१८४७ । शदस्तविंशतेश्च । ५ । २ । ४६ ॥

उः स्यादुक्त्यर्थः । द्विसदधिका अस्मिन् विंशं शतम् । विंशम् ॥

1847. The affix *da* comes in the sense of "this is surplus in it", after a Numeral ending in शत and after विंशति; with the elision of अन् and अति ॥

The Indicator *ङ* causes elision of विं portion VE. 4. 142. S. 844: Thus विंशतधिका अस्मिन् शते = विंशं शतं

Note :—This rule applies to abstract Numerals. Hence not here, गोविंशतधिका अस्मिन् गोशते ॥

So also after विंशति; as विंश शतम् ॥

१८४८ । संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने मयट् । ५ । २ । ४७ ॥

भागस्य मुख्ये पदेमानाश्रयमानतात्वेन्यादायिनः पदार्थे मयट्स्यात् । यवानां हो माली निगानपत्नौ शशिकामस्य द्विगुणद्विगुणशतानाम् । तुल्यत्वेन किम् । हो त्रीदशयो निगानपत्न्योश्चितः । निमाने किम् । हो तुल्यौ क्षीरस्य एकतेजस्य द्विगुणे क्षीरं पश्यते तेनेन ॥

1848. The affix *mayat* (मय with feminine in डीप्) comes after a Numeral in denoting a thing given in exchange in the sense of "containing so many times more of something" or "the price of a portion of this is so many equal portions of the other".

The word त्वस्य from V. 2. 36 should be read in this. The sense of the aphorism is "after a Numeral in the first case in construction (त्व), with the force of a genitive (त्वस्य), comes the affix नयद्, when the word in the first case in construction denotes the value (निमान) of a portion (गुण)". The word गुण- means भाग or "portion", and निमान means 'price'. In comparing the quality of one thing with another, निमान is the value or price. Thus यवानां द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्योवाधिरभागस्य = द्विमयमुदाधिरयवानाम् "two parts of Yava is the price of one part of Udaśvit". Similarly द्विमयम्, चतुर्नयम्, lit. "Udaśvit is द्विमय or 'two-times' the value of yava".

Note:—The word गुणस्य is in the singular number. The comparison must therefore, be made with one portion of a thing, with the several portions of the other. The ratio must be $x : 1$, but never $x : 2$, or $x : 3$ &c. Therefore, the rule does not apply here, द्वौ भागौ यवानां भय उदधितः ॥ The x also must be more than one. The rule therefore does not apply here: एकौ भागो निमानमस्य ॥

The word गुण denotes an integral number, therefore the rule will not apply to fraction. As द्वौ भागौ यवानामभ्यर्द्धं उदधितः ॥

The affix also comes in the sense of purchasing or the comparative value of a thing, i. e. in denoting the thing received in exchange. (निधेय) As उदधितो द्वौ भागौ निधेयस्य यवभागस्य = द्विमयाः, as द्विमया यवा उदधितः = "उदधितो द्वौ गुणा निधेयो यवभागस्ययवानां यवानां" "the exchange value of Udaśvita is twice as much as that of a Yava". The word निमान means the thing given in exchange; and निधेय the thing received in exchange. Both words are reciprocal and are terms of barter or exchange, but they do not apply to sales or purchases for coins.

Why do we say गुणस्य 'of a portion'? Observe द्वौ द्वीद्विवी निमानमस्योदधितः ॥ Here being no comparison of ratios, there is no affixing.

Why do we say निमाने "in denoting the thing given in exchange"? Observe, द्वौ गुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्यैवस्य = द्विगुणं पच्यते सैले क्षीरेण "one part of oil cooks or absorbs as much as two parts of milk". Here the sense is that of 'cooking' and not of purchasing.

Note:—In short नयद् has the meaning of 'time or fold'. As द्विमय "two time", the word qualifying sometime the निमान, sometime the निधेय; e. g. द्विमयमुदाधित यवानां "Udaśvit is two-times or two-fold or Yava in value"; or द्विमया यवा उदधितः "two-times Yava are equal to one Udaśvit".

१८४६ । तस्य पुरजे छद् । ५ । २ । ४८ ॥

एतादृशानां पूरणं पूरणम् ॥

1849. The affix णत् (ञ, causing the elision of the last vowel with the consonant following it) comes after a Numeral in the sixth case in construction, when the sense is "making full this number".

That by which a thing is completed is called पूरण ॥ Thus एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः the "eleventh" (i. e. the one which, added to ten, completes the eleven).

Note :—By this affix, ordinals are formed. The rule therefore, does not apply to a case like this :—पञ्चानां पुष्टिकानां पूरणो घटः ॥

१८५० । नास्तादसंख्यादेर्मह । ५ । २ । ४२ ॥

उदो नद्वयमः स्याद् । पञ्चानां पूरणः पञ्चमः । नास्तादिकम् । विष्टः । असंख्योऽपि किम् । एकादशः ॥

1850. The augment mat (म) comes before डद्, in the above sense, after a Numeral which ends in न् when no other Numeral precedes it.

Thus पञ्चमः 'fifth' (the completer of the five). Why do we say 'ending in न्' Observe विंशते पूरणः = विंशः 'twentieth'. Why do we say 'not preceded by a Numeral'? Observe एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः ॥

१८५१ । पदकतिकतिपयचतुरां शुक् । ५ । २ । ५२ ॥

एषां शुभगमः स्याद्भुक्ति । पञ्चानां पूरणः षष्ठः । कतिपयः । कतिपयसदस्यासंख्यात्वेऽप्यत एव शेषकाद्भुक् । कतिपययः । चतुर्यः ॥ चतुरस्रसंख्यावाचकसंज्ञोपच ॥ तुरीयः । तुर्यः ॥

1851. When दाट् follows, शुक् is the augment of the words shaṭ, kati; katipaya and chatur.

The डद् is to be read into this sūtra, and it should be changed into locative, as उदि 'when दाट् follows'. The word कतिपय is not a Numeral, it takes डद् by force of this sūtra. Thus षण्णानां पूरणो = षष्ठः 'sixth'. कतिपयः 'the which in order'? कतिपययः 'the one in order after several', चतुर्यः 'the fourth'.

Part :—The affixes छ (ईय) and वल् come after चतुर, and there is elision of the first letter. As तुरीयः or तुर्यः ॥

Note :—In this and the two following sūtras, the action of the ड् of उद् वल् shows when an augment is added.

१८५२ । बहुपूगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५२ ॥

उदीक्षेव । पूगसङ्घचोसंख्यात्वेऽप्यत एव डद् । बहुविधः । द्वादि ॥

1852. When दाट् follows, तिथुक् is the augment of the words bahu, pūga, gaṇa, and saṅgha.

The word उदि is understood here also. The words पूग and संघ are not Numerals; they take the affix डद् by virtue of this sūtra. Thus बहूनां पूरणो = बहुविधः, पूगविधः, गणविधः, and संघविधः &c.

१८५३ । यत्तोरिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५३ ॥

उदीक्षेव । यापतिथः ॥

1853. When *ḍaṭ* follows, *द्वयुक्* is the augment of a stem ending in *vatu*.

The word *द्वि* is understood here also. The words ending in *वतु* are Numerals (I. 1. 23 S. 258) : and they will take *इद्* by V. 2. 48 ; the present sūtra declares the augment. Thus *वाचस्वः पूरणो = वाचस्वित्* ; ॥

१८५३ । द्वेस्तीयः । १ । २ । ५४ ॥

उद्योऽपवादः । द्वयोः पूरणो द्वितीयः ॥

1854. The affix *तीय* comes in the sense of 'completer thereof', after the word *dvi*.

This debars *इद्* ॥ Thus *द्वयोः पूरणो = द्वितीयः* 'the second'—that which completes the two.

१८५५ । त्रिः संप्रसारणं च । १ । २ । ५५ ॥

तृतीयः ॥

1855. The affix *तीया* comes in the sense of 'completer thereof,' after the word *tri*; and there is *samprasāraṇa* (vocalisation) of the stem.

The substitution of a vowel for a semi-vowel is *samprasāraṇa* (I. 1. 45). Thus *त्रि + तीया = तृ + इ + तीया = तृतीयः* (VI. 1. 108, the *इ* of *त्रि* assumes the form of the prior letter *तृ* which is substituted for *त्र*)

Note :—In *तृतीयः* the *तृ* is not lengthened by VI. 4. 2. because that rule applies to the lengthening of the *अण्* letters only, this word being read into VI. 4. 2. by *anusvitti* from VI. 3. 111 S. 174. The *pratyāhara* *अण्* is formed by the first *ण* and means the letters *अ, इ* and *ऊ* ॥

१८५६ । विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् ५ । २ । ५६ ॥

एकौ वदस्तमडाग्नौ वा स्यात् । विंशतिः । एकविंशतिः । एकविंशः ॥

1856. After the words *viṅśati* &c. *tamaṭ* (तम with fem. in *-ङीप्*) is optionally the augment of *ḍaṭ*.

This rule falling under the jurisdiction of *पूरण* we must read the word *इद्* into this sūtra, as the affix to which the augment *तमड्* is added. Thus *विंशतेः पूरणः = विंशतितमः* or *विंशः* 'twentieth' *एकविंशतितमः* or *एकविंशः*, *द्विविंशतितमः* or *द्विविंशः* *त्रिविंशतितमः* or *त्रिविंशः* *एकविंशतमः* or *एकविंशः* ॥

Note :—In the case of *तमड्* and *तम* there will be no difference whatever whether we take them as affixes or as augmenta. Thus *विंशत् + तमड् = तम + तम* (VI. 4. 141) = *तम* ॥

१८५७ । नित्यं शतादिमासार्धमासमयत्सरश्च । ५ । २ । ५७ ॥

चतस्रः पूरणः चतस्रः । एकशततमः । शतादिरित एव इद् । मासतमः ॥

1857. Always after the words śata &c. and after māsa, ardha-māsa and sam-vaṣar, tamaṭ is the augment of ḍaṭ.

The words षतादय are numerals. The words मास &c. are not numerals; they would not have taken ड् but by the implication of this sūtra. Thus मासस्य पूरयः सप्ततमः 'hundredth'; सहस्रतमः । Similarly मासस्य पूरणः = मासतमोदिवत्: the last day of the month; अर्द्धमासतमः । संवत्सरतमः ॥

Note:—By the next sūtra the words षत &c. would have taken तनद्; but the scope of that sūtra is confined to numerals not preceded by another numeral. There is no such restriction here. Hence we have एकदशतमः । द्विदशतमः ॥

१८५८ । षष्ठ्यादेश्चाऽसंख्यादेः । ५ । २ । ५८ ॥

पठितम्: संख्यादेश्च विख्यादिभ्य इति विकल्प एव । एकपठः । एकपठितम्: ॥

1158. After the words shashbhi &c. when no other Numeral precedes them; tamaṭ is always the augment of ḍaṭ.

By sūtra V. 2. 56, the augment was optional, this makes it compulsory. Thus पठितम्:

Why do we say "when not preceded by a Numeral"? Observe एकपठः एकपठितम्, एकसप्ततमः or एकसप्ततितमः ॥ Here V. 2. 56. S. 1856 applies also.

१८५९ । मत्तौ छःसूक्तसाम्नोः । ५ । २ । ५९ ॥

मत्तये छः स्यात् । अष्टावाक्यस्योऽस्मिन्नस्ति अष्टावाकीयं यत्तम् । वायन्तीवं साम ॥

1859. When a Sūkta or a Sāman is to be expressed, the affix Ohha (ईव) comes after a prātipadika (nominal-stem), in the sense of the affix matup (V. 2. 94).

The word मत्तौ means 'in the sense of मत्तु affix.' The sense of मत्तु is "whose is it or in whom it is". Thus अष्टावाक् शब्दोऽस्मिन् = अष्टावाकीयम् यत्तम् । निवावर्णीयम् साम, वायन्तीव साम ॥

Note:—The affix comes after a collocation of words, as अष्टवर्णीयं 'the Sūkta containing the words अष्टवर्ण' e. g. Rig Veda Māṇḍala I. sūkta 164. Here the words अष्टवर्णस्य are considered as a Nominal Stem. So also कदाचुर्णीयम् ॥

१८६० । अध्यायानुचाकयोर्लुक् । ५ । २ । ६० ॥

मत्तयेत्य ह्रस्व । अत एव क्षापकात्तप छः । विधानसामर्थ्यात् विकल्पेन तुम् । मर्दमाण्डः । मर्दमाण्डयः ॥

1860. When an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed, there is (optionally) luk-clision of the affix Ohha having the above sense of matup.

This sūtra indicates by implication (ज्ञापकः), that the affix छ comes after a nominal stem, to denote an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka. According to Pātañjali the elision is optional, by the very fact of the rule enunciating the elision of the affix. According to Kaiyyata, as this sūtra is not placed in the section of matup affixes, which was the proper place for it, from its enunciation here we can infer that the elision is optional. Thus गर्वमाण्डोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गर्वमाण्डोऽध्यायः, अनुवाकौ वा ॥ In the alternative, गर्वमाण्डोऽयः ॥

१८६१ । विमुक्तादिषोऽण् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽण् स्यादध्यायानुवाकयोः । विमुक्तः शब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति वैमुक्तः । देवासुरः ॥

1861. The affix an comes in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed after the words vimukta &c.

Thus विमुक्तशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = वैमुक्तोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ So also- देवासुरः &c.
1 विमुक्तः, 2 देवासुरः, 3 रत्नोद्भूतः, 4 उषसद्, 5 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण), 6 परितारक (परिपाशकः), 7 सवसन्, 8 वसु, 9 नक्त, नक्षत्रम्, 10 पद्मीवत्, 11 वभूवत्, 12 मदीयम्, (मदीयन्), 13 सत्यम्, 14 सद्भवत्, 15 द्युषाण, 16 वराह, 17 ययत्, (वराहपयस्), 18 हविर्धान, 19 पताभिन् (पताभि), 20 गतिन्नी, 21 अस्वहत, 22 सोमार्णवम्, 23 इडा, 24 अमाविष्णु, (विष्णु), 25 उर्वशी, 26 वृषहत (वृषहति), 27 गिन्नी, 28 सोम, 29 हेतु, ॥

१८६२ । गोपदादिभ्योऽनु । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽध्यायानुवाकयोः । गोपदकः । इवेत्यकः ॥

1862. After the nominal stems goṣhada &c, there is the affix vun (अक) in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed.

Thus गोपदशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गोपदकोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ इवेत्यकः, मातरिभ्यः &c
Another reading is गोपद् the final consonant being mute.

1 गोपद्, (गोपद), 2 इवेत्या (इवा), 3 मातरिभ्यम्, 4 देवस्यत्या, 5 देवीरापः, 6 कृष्णोऽध्यायः, 7 वर्षा (वर्षा) धिय धिया (धियम्), 8 रत्नोद्भूतः, 9 सुम्भजन, 10 जम्भजन, 11 मधुप, 12 मनुजं, 13 कृष्णाद्, (इषान्), 14 सप्तमर्षिर्वा, 15 पातस्य ते, 16 कृष्णम्, 17 स्वाशमाय, 18 मसतः, (ः), ॥

१८६३ । तत्र कुशलः पथः । ५ । २ । ६३ ॥

शुभं स्यात् । पथि कुशलः पथकः ॥

1863. The affix vun comes, after the word pathin, being in the seventh case in construction, when the sense is "versed therein or skilled therein".

Thus पथि कुशलः = पथकः (पथि + शुभ = पथ + शुभ VI. 4. 144. = पथ + अक VII. 1. 1.).

१८६४। आकर्षादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

आकर्षे कुशल आकर्षकः । आकर्षादिभ्य इति रेफरहितो सुचयः पाठः । आकर्षो निक्षेपोपलः ॥

1864. The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of 'versed therein, skilled therein', after the nominal stems ākarṣha &c, being in the seventh case in construction.

Thus आकर्षेकुशलः=आकर्षकः, स्तवकः । The best texts have आकषः (Bohtlingk)

1 आकर्ष (आकष), 2 स्तव, 3 विषाच (विषात्), 4 विचण्ड, 5 अशानि, 6 अयनम्, 7 निचय (विचय), 8 चय, 9 विज्ञय, 10 जय, 11 आचय, 12 नय 13 पाद (निपाद), 14 दीप, 15 हर, 16 हार, 17 ह्लाद, 18 वमय, 19 बलुनि, 20 लय, ॥

१८६५। धनहिरण्यात्कामे । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

काम इच्छा । धने कामो धनको देवदत्तस्य । हिरण्यकः ॥

1865. The affix kan comes, after the words dhana and hiraṇya, being in 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'a desire thereafter.'

The word काम means 'desire, wish'. Thus धने कामः=धनको देवदत्तस्य ॥ So also हिरण्यकोः ॥

१८६६। स्त्राङ्गेभ्यः प्रसिते । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

केचोऽपु प्रसितः कौसकः । तद्वचनायां तत्पर इत्यर्थः ॥

1866. The affix kan comes after a word denoting a part of one's body, in the sense of 'who takes care of it, who bestows care upon it.'

The words वच and वच् are understood in this sūtra. The word प्रसित means 'devoted to, intent upon, craving after'. Thus केचोऽपु प्रसितः=कौसकः i. e. केचादिवचनायां प्रसक्त एवमुच्यते ॥

Note;—The स्वाङ्गेभ्यः is in the plural number, indicating that the affix comes even after a collective compound of Svānga terms. Thus इन्तौष्ठकः, केयनखकः ॥ See. II. 3. 44.

१८६७। उदराद्युमाप्ते । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

अदिजिगीषो इक् एवाद् । कनोऽपनाहः । इत्युच्यतेऽन्तपीडित इत्ये प्रसित औदरियः । आप्ते किय । उदरकः । उदरपरिगर्जनासौ प्रसक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

1867. The affix than (इक) comes in the sense of 'voracious' after the word udara.

This debars the affix kan ॥

Adyūna=not desiring to conquer; उदरवेच्छादिदः see VIII. 2. 49. S.

3028 for the formation of this word from the root div.

Note :—The translation given above is according to Dr. Bohtlingk. According to the Kāśikā, the ānuprīti of प्रसित is also read into this śūtra. The meaning then would be 'thak comes after the word udara in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'who is devoted therein, when the word so formed means 'voracious'.

A person who is very much distressed by hunger is so called ; उदरेऽवि-
जिगीर्षुर्भक्ष्यत । Thus उदरे प्रसितः = औश्रिकः (i. e. आशूयः)

Why do we say when it means 'voracious,' Observe उदरकः
'abdominal'.

१८६८ । सस्येन परिजातः । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

कन स्वयंते नतु उक् । सस्यशब्दे शुभवाची नतु धान्यवाची । सस्येनेति पाठान्तरम् । सस्येन
शुभेन परिजातः संबद्धः सस्यकः साधुः ॥

1868. The affix kan (क) comes after the word sasya
being in the third case in construction, when the sense
is "to supply richly with it".

The ānuprīti of कन्, not of उक्, is 'to be read here. The word सस्य
means 'good quality' and not 'corn'. Another reading is सस्य. The word
परि means 'all, every where'. That which is full of (परिजात) good qualities
(सस्य) in which there is no defect, that is the signification here. Thus सस्येन
परिजातः = सस्यकः शक्तिः 'a rice, above all praise', सस्यकः साधुः 'a good man, not
equalled by any'.

१८६९ । अंशं हारी । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

-हारीत्यावदमके णिनिः । अत एव सयोगे पठितम् । अंशको वापादः ॥

1869. The affix kan comes after the word aṁśa 'a
share' in the second-case in construction, the sense being
'who must take that'.

The word अंश is used in the accusative in the aphorism, showing
that the construction must be accusative. The word हारिन्, nom. हारी is
formed by adding णिनि to the root ह, the force of the affix being that of
"must, or necessity". See III. 3. 170. S. 3311. The word हारिन् will govern
accusative and not genitive (II. 3. 70. S. 628.)

Thus अंशं हारी = अंशकः 'an heir', i. e. who is entitled to take a share
at partition i. e. अवापादः । अंशका पुत्रः ॥

१८७० । तन्त्रादधिरापहृते । ५ । २ । ७० ॥

तन्त्रकः पटः । पटस्य इत्यर्थः ॥

1870. The affix Kan comes after the word tantra
'a loom or a shuttle,' in the sense of "taken off therefrom
not long ago or shortly before".

The word **सन्न** must be in the fifth case in construction, by the very fact of its being so employed in the sūtra. The word **अधिर** means 'short time, not long' **अपहृतः** means "taken off". Thus **सन्नादधिरापहृतः** = **सन्नकः** 'a cloth just taken off the loom or from which the shuttle has just been taken off' i. e. an unbleached cloth. As **सन्नकः पटः**, **सन्नकः प्राकारः** 'a new mantle' = **प्रत्ययः** or **नयः** ॥

१८७१ । ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ७१ ॥

आशुश्रीविनो ब्राह्मणा यस्मिन्देशे स ब्राह्मणकः । अल्पवर्गं यस्यां सा उष्णिका यथागूः ।
भद्रशब्दस्य सङ्गोद्देशो निपात्यते ॥

1871. The words **Brāhmanaka** and **ushpika** are anomalous, when they are Names.

Thus **ब्राह्मणको** देशः, उष्णिका यथागूः ॥ The affix **क** is added to **ब्राह्मण**, with the force of 'a place where Brāhmanas who live by the profession of arms dwell'. Similarly **उष्णिक** means **अल्पवर्गः** ॥ The word **सन्न** is replaced by **सङ्ग** by virtue of this sūtra.

१८७२ । शीतोष्णाभ्यां कारिणि । ५ । २ । ७२ ॥

शीतं करोतीति शीतकौशलसः । उष्णं करोतीति उष्णकः शीमन्तरी ॥

1872. The affix **kan** comes after the words **śīta** and **uṣṇa**, in the sense of 'who goes to work thus'.

The words **शीतः** and **उष्णः** being used as adverbs will be in accusative construction. As **शीतं करोति** 'who goes to work coldly' i. e. a lazy man = **शीतकः** = **प्रलसः**, **जडः** ॥ Similarly **उष्णकः** = **शीमन्तरी**, **दृष्टः** 'who goes to work hotly'.

१८७३ । अधिकम् । ५ । २ । ७३ ॥

अध्याख्येयशब्दात्कम् वक्षरपदलोपस्य ॥

1873. The word **adhika** is anomalous.

The word **अधिकः** meaning 'more', is formed by adding **क** to the word **अध्याख्येयः**; there being elision of the second term before the affix. Thus **अधिको द्रोणः खार्दीम्** or **अधिको द्रोणः खार्दी** "a Droṇa is superior to Khārī". **अधिको खार्दी द्रोणेन** "a Khārī is inferior to Droṇa". The word **अध्याख्येयः** governs nominative or accusative indifferently.

Note:—Thus **अध्याख्येयी द्रोणः खार्दी** ॥ Similarly **अधिक** would have governed the accusative also. But Pāṇini uses the ablative and locative after **adhika**, as in II. 3. 9. S. 645 and V. 2. 45. S. 1846 and thus we learn that it governs the ablative and locative. This is the case when **adhyaṅkya** is an active participle. But when it is a passive participle, as it may also be by III. 4. 72. S. 3086, then as the participle denotes the object, it will take the first case in construction. In that case, there will not be the ablative or the locative.

१८७३। अनुकामिकामीकः कृमिता । ५ । २ । ७४ ॥

अनुकामिकां कृ । अनेः पालिको दीर्घश्च । अनुकामयते अनुकः । अभिकामयते अभिकः ।
अभीकः ॥

1874. The words *anuka*, *abhika* and *abhika* are anomalously formed by adding कृ to *anu* and *abhi*, the meaning 'being at liberty to do or being fond of'.

Thus अनुकामयते = अनुकः 'desirous, libidinous'. अभिकामयते = अभिकः or अभीकः 'a lover, voluptuous person'. These are formed by adding कृ to अनु and अभि ॥ In one case the short इ of *abhi* is lengthened.

१८७५। पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति । ५ । २ । ७५ ॥

अनुवृत्तपादः पार्श्वं तेनान्विच्छति पार्श्वकः ॥

1875. The affix *kan* comes after the word *pārśva*, in the third-case in construction, signifying "who strives to gain something by that".

The word पार्श्वक means 'a fraudulent or crooked expedient'. One who endeavours to obtain anything by fraud is called पार्श्वकः 'a cheat, a juggler, a partisan'. पार्श्व = a rib, a cooked thing; as पार्श्वकः = मायादिन्, कौमुदिकः, आलसिकः &c.

१८७६। अयः शूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां उक्ठौ । ५ । २ । ७६ ॥

शूलं वपायोऽयः शूलं तेनान्विच्छति आयः शूलिकः । शालसिकः । दण्डाजिनं दम्भः, तेनान्विच्छति शालाभिनिकः ॥

1876. The affixes *ṭhak* and *ṭhañ* come respectively after *ayaḥśūla* and *daṇḍājina*, in the same sense of "who strives to gain something by that".

The word *आन्विच्छति* is understood here also. The word अयः शूलम् means 'a violent proceeding'. Who seeks to obtain anything by violent means is called आयः शूलिकः = शालसिकः ॥ The word दण्डाजिन् means 'staff (daṇḍa) and hide (ajina)' i. e. outer badges of devotion or hypocrisy. Who seeks to gain something by hypocrisy and deceit is called शालाभिनिकः = शालिनिकः ॥

१८७७। तावत्तिष्ठं प्रदणमिति लुग्या । ५ । २ । ७७ ॥

कृ तयात्पुण्यवत्यस्य च लुग्या । द्विगुणिकं द्विकं वा पठ्यते वेदवत्यस्य । द्वितीयेन रूपेण बहुगुणित्वार्थः । तावत्तिष्ठं गृह्णातीति कर्तव्यत्वेऽनन्तरं च लुक् ॥ पठेन रूपेण गृह्णाति पठ्यते वेदवत्यः । पठ्यका ॥

1877. The affix *kun* is added to an ordinal number, in the sense of "acquiring a subject after so many attempts";

and there is optionally the elision of the affix denoting the ordinal number.

The word तत्पत्तिः (V. 2. 53 S. 1853) stands here as a type of all words ending in affixes denoting पूरण i. e. ordinals. The word पश्य means 'acquired or learned hereby'. This qualifies the base. Thus द्वितीयेन रूपेण पश्यं गृह्णाति = द्विकं महणम् or द्वितीयकं महणम् 'the acquisition of the knowledge or book by the second time' i. e. "successful mastery by the second time". So also त्रिकं or त्रितीयकम्, चतुष्कम् or चतुर्थकम् ॥

Part :—When the word, formed by the affix kan, means the person who acquires after so many times, then the elision of the पूरण affix is compulsory and not optional. Thus षष्ठेन रूपेण सन्यं गृह्णाति = षडको देवदत्तः 'Devadatta who learns the book for the sixth time' i. e. 'who succeeds in learning the book at the sixth attempt'. Similarly पंचकः, चतुष्कः ॥ The word महण here is confined to books only and to nothing else.

१८७८ । स एषां ब्राह्मणीः । ५ । २ । ७८ ॥

देवदत्तो मुखो देवां ते देवदत्तकाः । स्वकः । मकः ॥

1878. The affix kan comes after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive case, when the sense is "he is their leader".

The word मान्नी means 'head-man, leader, spokes-man'. Thus देवदत्तो मुखोऽस्य = देवदत्तकः ॥ So also स्वकः and मकः ॥

Note :—Why do we say 'when meaning a leader' ? Witness देवदत्तः घट्टोयाम् ॥ Here there is no affixing.

१८७९ । शृङ्खलमस्य बन्धनं करमे । ५ । २ । ७९ ॥

शृङ्खलाः करमः ॥

1879. The affix kan comes after the word śrīṅkhala a clog', in the sense of "clog is its fetter", when the whole word means a young camel.

Thus शृङ्खलं बन्धनमस्य करमस्य = शृङ्खलकः ॥

Note :—The young ones of a camel are called करम ॥ The wooden clogs put on their feet to prevent them from straying are called शृङ्खल ॥ Though the ropes &c are also used along with the clog, yet śrīṅkhala being the principal object that takes away the freedom is called बन्धन or bond or fetter.

१८८० । उत्क उन्मत्ताः । ५ । २ । ८० ॥

वत्तमनस्कवृत्तेरुत्क उन्मत्ताः । उत्क उत्कण्ठितः ॥

1880. The word *utka* is anomalous, meaning 'longing after, yearning'.

He whose mind anxiously desires or yearns after a thing is called *उत्कम्बनः* ॥ The word *उत्कः* is formed by adding *कृ* to the preposition *उद्* without changing the sense, in the sentence *उत्कम्बनस्कवृत्तिः* ॥ Thus *उत्को* *वेववृत्तः* *उत्कः* *प्रवासी* = *उत्कुकः* or *उत्कण्डितः* ॥

१८८१ । कालप्रयोजनाद्भोगे । ५ । २ । ८१ ॥

कालप्रयोजनाद्ययोजनवधमाद्य कल्स्याद्भोगे । द्वितीयेऽग्नि भयो द्वितीयको ज्वरः । प्रयोजनं कारणं रोगस्य फलं वा । विषपुष्पैर्जनितो विषपुष्पकः । उष्णं कार्यमस्य उष्णकः । रोमे किम् । द्वितीयो विषसौख्य ॥

1881. The affix *kan* comes after a word expressing a time, or a cause or effect (of the diseased), when an illness is denoted.

The word *काल* means 'days' &c, and *प्रयोजन* means 'the cause (of disease) or its effect'. Thus *द्वितीयेऽग्निभयः* = *द्वितीयको ज्वरः* 'the fever which comes on the second day'. Similarly after a word denoting *प्रयोजन*, as, *विषपुष्पैर्जनितः* = *विषपुष्पको ज्वरः* 'a fever caused by poisonous flowers'. So also *काशपुष्पकः* ॥ So also *उष्णं कार्यमस्य* = *उष्णकः* 'a fever producing heat'. Why do we say "when an illness is denoted"? When 'illness' is not meant, then there is no affixing, as, *द्वितीयो विषसौख्य* ॥

Note —The word *संज्ञा* is to be read in to this sūtra from the next sūtra. Therefore words *द्वितीयकः* &c are Names.

१८८२ । तदस्मिन्नन्त्रं प्राये संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ८२ ॥

पथमास्तास्तन्मन्त्रेण कल्स्यात् यत्रपथमास्तमन्त्रं चरमाद्यविषये तन् । गुडापूषाः प्रायेणास्तमन्त्रं गुडापूषिका चरमासी ॥ यदेकमत्र द्वाविशत्यः ० ॥ यद्विक्रिणी ॥

1882. The affix *kan* is added to a word denoting food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is the principal food on this particular occasion", when the whole word so formed is a Name.

Thus *गुडापूषा प्रायेणास्तमन्त्रं चरमासी* = *गुडापूषिका चरमासी* "The *Gūḍāpūṣika* — *Paṇṇamāsi*" i. e. that particular Full-Moon day in which cakes of sugar form the principal accompaniment of food.

Part:—The affix *णि* comes after *यत्क* in the same sense. As *यद्विक्रिणी चरमासी* ॥

१८८३ । कुत्सावापद्म् । ५ । २ । ८३ ॥

कुत्सापूषाः प्रायेणास्तमन्त्रं चरमासी ॥

The ञ of अञ्ज is for the sake of causing Vṛiddhi and accent. Thus

१८८४ । ओत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते । ५ । २ । ८४ ॥

1884. The word śrotriyan is irregularly formed meaning 'who has studied the Chhandas'.

१८८५ । आद्धमनेन भुक्कमिनिउनौ । ५ । २ । ८५ ॥

1885. The affixes *ini* (इन्) and *than* come after the word *śrāddha*, in the sense of "this is eaten by him".

Note :—This relates to a person who eats on the day the Śrāddha ceremony takes place; and not at any other time nor who eats stale food of śrāddha. वायुसुक्ते आहृतं यः श्राद्धिक इति गार्ग्यम् ॥ The word श्राद्ध originally means a certain ceremony, and is derived from the word श्रद्धा with the affix लृ V, 2, 19) In a figurative sense, it here means the food taken at that ceremony.

१८५६ । पूर्वादिनिः । ५ । २ । ८६ ॥

पूर्वे कृतमनेन पूर्वी ॥

The word जनेन of the last sūtra is understood here. But what is the verb of which जनेन is the agent. The कृत् of the last sūtra is not to be read

into this sūtra. Therefore we must supply some general verb such as 'doing' &c. to complete the sense. Thus पूर्व गतमेन = पूर्वी ॥ In fact पूर्व means "by whom some thing was done &c. formerly".

१८८७ । सपूर्वाच्च । ५ । २ । ८७ ॥

कृतपूर्वी ॥

1887. The affix ini comes after the word pūrva, also when another word precedes it, the sense being 'by whom something is done'.

Thus कृतपूर्वी कटप् = पूर्व कृतमेन 'who formerly made'. सुक्तपूर्वी ओदनम् ॥

Note:—In these words, first कृत and पूर्व are compounded by II. 1. 4; and then the affix is added. These two sūtras V. 2. 86, 87, give rise to these two maxims मदनवत्ता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika or Nominal-stem, does, (contrary to I. 1. 72 S. 26) not denote that which ends with it but it denotes only itself." व्यपदेशिवद्भाषाप्रतिपदिकेन—"The rule of vyapadesivad-bhāva does not apply to a prātipadika". That rule is embodied in the following paribhāṣā—व्यपदेशिवत्कस्मिन्—"an operation which affects some thing on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach".

१८८८ । इष्टादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ८८ ॥

इष्टमेन इष्टी । अधीती ॥

1888. The affix ini comes after iṣṭa &c. in the sense of 'by him'.

Thus इष्टमेन = इष्टी वत्ते; पूर्वाध्याजे &c. "who sacrificed", "who performed a charitable act". The words इष्टिच्, पूर्तिन् &c. formed by इप् will govern locative instead of accusative. See vārtika under II. 3. 36. So also अधीती ॥

1 इष्ट, 2 पूर्ति, 3 उपसाधित (उपसाधित), 4 निपादित, 5 परिपादित, 6 परिपादित, 7 निपादित, 8 निपादित, 9 निपादित, 10 संकलित, 11 परिवर्तित, 12 संवर्तित, 13 परिवर्तित, 14 परिवर्तित, 15 परिवर्तित, 16 अवधीर्ण, 17 वायुक्त, 18 वृक्षित, 19 व्याप्रात, 20 भुप (आप्रातभुत), 21 अधीत, 22 अवधीत (1), 23 अवधीत, 24 अवधीत, 25 अवधीत, 26 निपादित, 27 उपकृत, 28 उपकृत, 29 वायुक्त, 30 वायुक्त, 31 वायुक्त, 32 व्याप्रात, 33 परिवर्तित, 34 संकलित, 35 निपादित, 36 निपादित, 37 वदित, 38 वृक्षित, 39 परिवर्तित, 40 उपकृत, 41 वदित, (1), 42 अवधीत, 43 उपकृत, 44 निपादित, 45 अवधीत. ॥

१८८९ । अन्धसि परिपन्थिपरिपन्थौ पर्यवस्थातरि । ५ । २ । ८९ ॥

अन्धे तु परिपन्थिपरिपन्थौ न व्याप्यः ॥

1889. In the Chhandas, the words paripanthin and pariparin are anomalously formed by this affix, and have the sense of 'an antagonist'.

Note 1—The word **परिवर्त्याह** means 'an adversary, an antagonist' Thus **मा त्वा परिपन्थिनो विवन्** (Yaj. Ved. IV. 84.). These words are obsolete in the classical literature. See however Gita III. 84.

१८६० । अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा । ५ । २ । ६० ॥

अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा अनुपदी गवाम् ॥

1890. The word **anupadin**, formed anomalously by **ini**, denotes 'who goes after, who searches'.

Thus **अनुपदी गवाम्** 'going after or searching the cows'.

१८६१ । साक्षाद्द्रष्टारिसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

साक्षाद्द्रष्टा साक्षी ॥

1891. The affix **ini** comes after the word **sākṣhāt**, in the sense of 'a spectator, looker on,' when the word so formed is a Name.

The word **साक्षी** is an Indeclinable. The word **संज्ञा** is used in the aphorism to restrict the sense of the word. Thus **साक्षाद् द्रष्टा = साक्षी**, 'an eye witness'.

Note 1—In any transaction like loan, &c. three persons directly see the fact and may be called **द्रष्टा** viz. who gives, who takes, and another who merely looks on. By using the word **संज्ञा** the word **साक्षी** is restricted to the mere looker on, and not to the lender or borrower.

१८६२ । क्षेत्रियच परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः । क्षीरान्तरे चिकित्स्यः । अप्रतिकार्य इत्यर्थः ॥

1892. The word **kshettriyaśh** (क्षेत्रीय) is anomalous, meaning "curable in another body" i. e. "not curable in this life".

The whole word is enunciated here in the sense of **para-kshetre-chikitsya**; or the word **क्षेत्रीय**, with acute on the last syllable, is formed by adding the affix **च** to the word **परक्षेत्र**, the force of the affix being 'curable therein' and the word **पर** is elided before this affix. Thus **क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः** 'incurable disease', i. e.—organic disease. The word **परक्षेत्र** means body assumed in the next reincarnation. The word **क्षेत्रिय** applies to an irremediable disease.

Note 1—The word **क्षेत्रियं** means 'poison' also = **रक्ष** परक्षेत्रे परवर्तितव्यं चिकित्स्यम् ॥ That which is to be removed from another's body where it has entered. Or **क्षेत्रिय** means 'rank growth or grass', i. e. **यानि सम्यार्थे क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्सानि नाशयितव्यानि** "that like grass &c. which grows in a para-kshetra or another's field i. e. a field set apart for grain &c. and not for grass, and which therefore must be weeded

out (ohikitsya)" Or होविष्य is an 'adulterer', i. e. परशराः परस्त्रीं, तत्र चिकित्स्यः निगृहीत-
व्यः ॥ These are all secondary meanings.

१८९३। इन्द्रियमिन्द्रलिङ्गमिन्द्ररथमिन्द्रसूत्रमिन्द्रजुष्टमिन्द्रदत्तमिति वा । १।

। २। ६३ ॥

इन्द्र आत्मा तस्य लिङ्गं कारणेन कर्तुरनुमानात् । इति शब्दः प्रकाशार्थः । इन्द्रेण दुर्जयमिन्द्रियम् ॥

1893. The word Indriyam, (having udātta on the last), is anomalous, meaning an organ of sense; and so called, either because it is "the characteristic from which the existence of Indra is inferred", or 'it is seen by Indra', or 'it is created by Indra', or 'it is wished for by Indra', or 'it is given by Indra

The word इन्द्रिय is a primitive word, meaning organs of sense, such as eyes &c. Its derivation is obscure, if it is a derivative word at all. In the latter alternative, it may be said to be formed by the affix घच् added after इन्द्र, in the sense of either 'a mark thereof'. As इन्द्रस्य लिङ्गम् = इन्द्रियम् ॥ The senses (indriyas) are so called because, Indra is Atma or soul, and it is inferred by the existence of the senses, eyes, ears &c. So that these organs are the 'marks' or signs or linga of Indra; because they being an instrument presuppose an agent, there being no instrument without an agent.

Note :-Or the senses (indriyas) are so-called because they are 'seen or known by Indra or Ātmā' (इन्द्रेण दृष्ट = ज्ञाते). The affix is here added to a word in the third case in construction. The knowing or perceiving of the senses by the Self is an allusion to the following Śruti of the Aitareya Upanishad Chapter III verse, 12, where the Self having created the physical body took a survey of it. स एतमेव दुह्यं प्रष्टुं तत्तमपश्यद्विष्टमदृष्टमिति, He beheld this Brahma, who dwells in the body, who pervades every where, and exclaimed—'I have seen this'. Or they are so called because they are created by Indra or Ātmā (इन्द्रेण सृष्ट) i. e. the senses are formed, according to the good and bad deeds of the Self. Or they are so called because they are 'wished for' by Indra or Self (इन्द्रेण जुष्टं सेवितं) as they are the gate-ways of knowledge, Or they are so called because they are 'given by' Indra (इन्द्रेण दत्तं) i. e. they are allotted to their respective objects by Indra e. g. the eye is given to perceive forms, the ear to perceive sounds and so on. The word एव 'or' joins every one of the above.

The word इति shows, that there may be other appropriate significations also. As, इन्द्रेण दुर्जयम् = इन्द्रियम्, 'senses'—difficult to be subdued by the Soul.

१८९४। तदस्यास्त्वैस्मिन्निति मनुष्यः । ५। २। ६४ ॥

मादोऽस्यास्त्वित्वा सन्ति गोमान् ॥ भुवनिन्द्रायतंसाणु मित्यद्येतद्विद्यायने । संदग्धेऽस्तिविद्य-
यायाम् भवति मनुष्यायः ॥

1894. The affix matup (मत्तु मन्त्. ई) comes after a word in first case in construction in the sense of ' whose it is', or ' in whom it is '.

Thus गायोऽस्य सन्ति = गौमत्तु nom गौमात् ' having cows ', as गौमात् वैवसन्तः ॥ वृक्षोऽस्मिन् सन्ति = वृक्षमत्तु (व being substituted for न by VIII. 2. 9), as वृक्षमात् पर्वतः ॥ Similarly अवमान्, वृक्षवान् ॥ The word इति shows that the use of मत्तु and cognate affixes are restricted in their application. For example, a person who has three barley grains only will not be called अववान् ॥ This affix comes when the significations are (1) A large quantity or number, as गौमात् ' having many cows '. (2) When censure (निन्दा) is implied, as ककुषामर्षी, संखावकी, (3) when praise (प्रशंसा) is meant, as रूपवती कन्या, (4) when an inherent, or permanent quality of a thing is meant (निरवयव) as, क्षीरिणी वृक्षः ॥ 5 When excellence (अतिशय) is meant, as सदरिणी कन्या ॥ (6) When accompaniment (संसर्ग) is meant, as वण्डी, छत्री ॥ (7) When the sense of मत्ति. ' to be ' is denoted, as अस्मिन्मात् ॥

१८९५ । रसादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

मत्तु, रसवान् । रूपवान् । अन्यनस्वर्धनिनिवृत्त्यर्थं यथनम् । रसः रूप, वर्ण, गन्ध, स्पर्श, शब्द, बन्ध, माय, गुणान् । एकाग्रः ॥ स्ववान् । गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम् ॥

1895. The affix matup comes after the nominal stems rasa &c, in the sense of ' whose it is', or ' in whom it is'.

As रसवान्, रूपवान्, गन्धवान् ॥ (Why this special sūtra with regard to रसादि words, when they would have taken मत्तु by the last sūtra ?) This prevents the application to these words of other affixes having the sense of मत्तु ॥

Note :—How do you form then रूपिणी कन्या, रूपिकी दारकः ॥ These are rare forms. According to PĀṆJALI this sūtra is useless. Or the words रस &c. must denote qualities, perceivable by the organs of taste, touch &c, i. e. रस should mean taste, रूप form. Therefore the forms रूपिणी and रूपिकः are valid, meaning सौभाग्योन्मदा ॥ So also रसिको मत्तु = भावयोगः, here रूप and रस do not mean ' form ' and ' taste '. And all words of quality having one syllable are governed by this sūtra, and form their derivative in मत्तु ॥ See V. 2. 115.

१ रस, २ रूप, ३ वर्ण, ४ गन्ध, ५ स्पर्श, ६ शब्द, ७ बन्ध, ८ माय, ९ गुणान् (गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम्), १० एकाग्रः (स्ववान्) ॥

Gana Sūtra :—The affix मत्तु comes after रस &c, when they denote quality.

Gana Sūtra :—So also after words of one syllable. As रसवान् ॥

१८९६ । तसौ मत्वर्थे । १ । ४ । १९ ॥

तान्तान्तौ भसंज्ञौ स्तौ मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परे । यसोः संप्रसारणम् । विदुष्मान् ॥
 गुणवचनेभ्यो मनुष्यो लुपिटः * ॥ शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ती शुक्लः पदः । कृष्णः ॥

1896. The word-form ending in **व्** or in **स्** is called Bha, when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94.) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word विदुष्मान् (VI. 4. 131 S. 435). By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is barred.

Vṛtt:—The affix मनुप् is elided after words of quality (गुणवचन), as शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ति: = शुक्लः पदः ॥ कृष्णः, भेतः &c.

१८९७ । मातुपघायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्यः । ८ । २ । ६ ॥

मवर्णावर्णानामवर्णावर्णोपधायाश्च यवादिर्वर्जितात्परस्य मतोर्मस्य वः स्यात् । क्वाव् । क्वाव् ।
 ज्ञानवान् । विद्यावान् । लक्ष्मीवान् । यशस्वान् । भास्वान् । यवादिस्तु यवमान् । भूमिमान् ॥

1897. For the **म्** of the affix मन् is substituted **व्**, if the stem ends in **म्** or **ञ्** (and **ञा**) or if these are in the penultimate position; but not after यव and the rest.

After a stem ending in **म्** or having **म्** as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in **ञ** or **ञा**, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted **व्** for the **म्** of मनुप् ॥ First after stems ending in **म्**, as क्वाव् (क्वाव्). Secondly **म्** penultimate: as लक्ष्मीवान् । Thirdly a stem ending in **ञ** or **ञा**, as ज्ञानवान्, विद्यावान् ॥ Fourthly **ञ** or **ञा** in the penultimate as यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of यव &c"? Observe यवमान्, भूमिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words.

1. यव, 2. दल्लि, 3. ऊर्मि, 4. भूमि, 5. कृमि, 6. सुकृष्ण, 7. वशा, 8. ब्रह्मा, 9. भावा ॥

These words either end in **म्** and **व्** or have these as their penultimate. 10. ध्रुवि, 11. यवजि, 12. सज्जि. These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 15. S. 3600) 13. दल्लि, 14. ककुत्, 15. गरुत्. ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 10. 16. इह, 17. मधु 18. हुम्, 19. यज्, 20. भुम् ॥ These are exceptions to VIII. 2. 11.

This is an Akṛitigaṇa. Wherever in a word, the **म्** of मनुप् is not changed to **व्** though the rules require it, that word should be classified under यवादि class. In the secondary word चर्मन् (= चर्मन इदं), the **व्** change has not taken place, because the **च** is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being **अ** ॥

The word मात् in the sūtra is the Ablative of **म**, i. e. of **म्**, + **त्**, it is a Samāhāra Dīndra of these two letters,

अपदान्तत्वात्तद्वत्त्वं । विद्युत्त्वान् ॥

As विष्णुत्वात् ॥

मत्तोर्नस्य चः स्यात् । अहीवती । मुनीवती । शरदीनां चेति शीर्षः ॥

As अशीवती, हुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI. 3. 120. S. 1042.

१६०० । आसन्दीवदष्टीवक्षकीवत्कलीवधुम्पवसमन्दरत ।
एते षट् संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते । आसन्शब्दस्यासन्दीभावः । आसन्दीवान् श्यामः । अन्वयासन्-
यान् । अस्थिशब्दस्याष्टीभावः । अष्टीवान् नाम ऋषिः । अस्थिमानस्य च । अक्रशब्दस्य अक्षीभावः ।
अक्षीवक्षाम राजा । अक्रवानस्य च । कक्षशब्दस्य कक्षीभावः । कक्षीवान् नाम ऋषिः । कक्षयानस्य च ।
अवणशब्दस्य अण्वभावः । अण्वयात्राम पर्वतः । अवणवानस्य च । अर्णवशब्दस्य अर्णवभावः । अर्णव-
यान् नदी । अर्णवस्य च ।
The following six Names are irregularly form-

The change of **व** to **व्** in these was obtained from the last sūtra. The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems. **आसन्दीवान्**, is from the stem **आसन** which is here changed to **आसन्दी** ॥ As **आसन्दीवान्** मानः, **अद्विष्टवान्** ॥ When not a name we have **आसन-वान्** ॥ **आसन्दी** which is changed to **अदी** ॥ As **अदीवान्** the name

2. अष्टीवन् is from अस्थि which is changed to अष्टी ॥ As अस्थीवन् the name of a particular Rishi. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3. चक्रीवन् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री as चक्रीवन् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् । 4. कक्षीवन् is from कक्ष्या- there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by V1. 4. 2. S. 2559. कक्षीवन् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5. रुक्मवन् is the name of a mountain ; it is formed from रुक्म which is changed to रुक्मन् ॥ Otherwise we have रुक्मवान् 6. चर्मवती is from चर्मन्, there is non-elision of न् and its change to व् ॥ The Charmanvati is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

१६०१। उदन्वानुदधौ च। ८। २। १२॥
उदन्वस्य उदन्भावो मत्तो उदधौ संज्ञायाम्। उदन्वान् लघुः प्राथम्ये ॥
The word उदन्वान् is irregularly

१६०१। उदन्वानुदधी च । उदन्वान् लघुः कृषिश्च ॥
उदन्वान् उदन्वातो मत्तौ उदधी संज्ञायां च । उदन्वान् लघुः कृषिश्च ॥
1901. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed, in the
sense of " a sea " or a " name ".

It is derived from रुक् 'water' with the affix नृत् ॥ रुदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command. It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like, तटाक &c.

१६०२ । राजन्वान् सौराज्ये । ५ । २ । १४ ॥

राजन्वती भूः । राजवानन्वच ॥

1902. Also राजन्वान् when the sense is of a good government.

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देशः, राजन्वती भूः ॥ The affix नृत् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise. Otherwise राजवान् ॥

१६०३ । प्राणिस्थादातो लजन्वतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

चूडाक्षः । चूडावान् । प्राणिस्थात्किम् । शिखायान्दीपः । भातः किम् । इस्तवान् । प्राण्यङ्गादेव, मेह । मेपायान् । प्रत्ययस्वरणैव सिद्धिः अन्तोदात्तत्वे चूडातोऽधीत्याद्यैः स्वर्ति वातुसत्ते पञ्चाविति स्थितिः सवाधनार्थश्चात् ॥

1903. The affix लच् (लृ) comes optionally, in the sense of matup, after a stem ending in long आ, the word expressing something which is found only in a living being.

Thus from चूडा 'a crest' we have चूडाक्षः or चूडावान् ॥ Why do we say 'which is found in a living being'? Observe शिखावान् दीपः 'the crested flame of a lamp'. Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe इस्तवान्, पदवान्. ॥

It should be stated that the affix लच् comes only after what denotes member or limb of a living being, (and not anything like love, passion, intelligence &c. that are also found in a living being). Hence there is no affixing of लच् here in मेपावान् "possessed of intelligence".

Every affix is udātta (III. 1. 3), unless contrary is indicated by some anubandha. The लच् would have been udātta by III. 1. 3, even without the indicatory ष् (VI. 1. 163 S. 3710). The employment of this anubandha, however, indicates that this udātta will never be changed into svarita, as other udāttas are by rule VII. 2. 6. S. 3659). As चूडातोऽस्ति ॥

१६०४ । सिध्तादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

सिध्दा रवान् । सिध्ताक्षः । सिध्तावान् । अन्यत्रस्यांगुष्ठं नृत्प्राप्तुपर्यये नृत् प्रत्ययविकल्पार्थम् । तेषां ह्यङ्गादेव इति इती न ॥ सान्दन्तरजन्मदायामृत् ॥ ॥ वाहूः ॥

1904. The affix लच् comes in the sense of matup, after the words sidhma &c, and optionally matup also.

Thus सिध्ताक्षः or सिध्तावान् ॥ The word अन्यत्रस्यांगुष्ठं understood in this sūtra, causes the employment of the affix नृत् in the alternative. It does not mean

that the affix लच् is optional. For were लच् optional, then the affixes इनि and णच् would come by V. 2, 115. S. 1922. after those words of निष्ठादि class which end in अ. But that is not the case.

Note:—The words पारिणि and धननि lengthen the vowel before ण, as पारिणीतः धननीतः ॥

Vart:—The words वस, दन्त, बल, ललाट and नाल take the augment ऊच् before लच्, as वानूलः, दन्तूलः, बलूलः, ललाटूलः, नालूलः ॥

Note:—The words अटा, घटा, कटा, and कला take लच् when censure is meant, as अटालः, घटालः, कटालः and कटालः but जाटावास्तापसः when no censure is meant.

Note:—The affix लच् comes after words denoting lower organisms and words denoting disease: as वृक्षानः, नसिकालः, विश्वार्थिकालः, विपादिकालः, मूर्छालः ॥

1 सिध्मः, 2 गडः, 3 मधि, 4 नाभिः, 5 चीन (जीव), 6 बीजा*, 7 कृष्णः, 8 निष्पादः, 9 पांडुः, 10 पार्श्वः, 11 पर्य (परछ), 12 हृत्, 13 सक्तुः, 14 नांस, 15 पारिणिधमन्दीर्घः, 16 वातवृत्तबलललाटानामूलः, 17 अटाघटाकटाकला (कटा) सेपे, 18 पर्य, 19 उरकः, 20 प्रज्ञा, 21 लङ्कि, (लङ्कि) 22 कर्षः, 23 सेह, 24 पीतः, 25 श्याम, 26 पित्रः, 27 पिता, 28 पुष्क (पुष्क), 29 पृथुः, 30 घट्ट, 31 मज्ज, 32 मण्ड, 33 वच, 34 चट्ट, 35 कपि, 36 गण्ड (कण्ड), 37 मन्थि, 38 श्री*, 39 कुश, 40 धुरा, 41 वर्मन्*, 42 परमन्*, 43 म्लेच्छन्, 44 वेष्ट, 45 निष्पादः, 46 कुण्ड, 47 ध्रुवजन्तुपतापयोम 48 गण्ड, 49 संज्ञा, ॥

१६०५ । वत्सास्ताभ्यां कामवले । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

आभ्यां लब्धा स्थापयार्थस्य कामवति बलवति आये । वत्सलः । संसलः ॥

1905. The affix lach comes after the word vatsa and ansa, in the sense of "love" and "strength" respectively.

Thus वत्सलः 'loving the calf, loving, tender'. संसलः 'strong, lusty'.

Note:—The word वत्स means 'calf'. In वत्सलः there is no trace of its origin, for it is applied to father, master &c, as वत्सलः स्वामी, वत्सलः पिता &c. The word संस means 'shoulder' but संसल means 'strong'. The affix लच् in these cases is not optional but necessary and debars मनुच् ॥ In other senses, the matup only is added as संसदती गौः, संसवान् दुर्वलः ॥

१६०६ । फेनादिलच । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

आलच् । सन्वत्स्थाग्रहणं नतुस्तत्तुवार्थमनुवर्तते । फेनिलः । फेनलः । फेनवान् ॥

1906. The affix ilach (हल) as well as lach, comes after the word phena, in the sense of matup : and optionally the affix matup also.

The word च् draws in लच् ; and the word सन्तस्थाम् understood in the sūtra adds नतुच् in the alternative. As फेनिलः, फेनलः and फेनवान् ॥

१६०७ । लोमादिपामादिविच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः । ५ । २ । १०० ॥

लोमादिभ्यः चः । लोमशः । लोमवान् । रोमशः । रोमवान् । पानादिभ्यो नः । पाननः ॥ लङ्काक-
श्यानि * ॥ सङ्गना ॥ लक्ष्म्या लक्ष * ॥ लक्ष्मणः ॥ विष्वागुप्तपदलोपभाक्तुसन्धेः * ॥ विपुलः ।
विच्छादिभ्यः हलच् । विच्छिलः । विच्छिन्नः । उरलितः । उरस्थान् ॥

1907. The three affixes *sa* (स), *na* (न), and *इलच्* (इल) come in the sense of *matup*, respectively after the words of these three classes i. e. *lomādi*, *pāmādi*, and *picchhādi* : and the affix *matup* also comes in the alternative.

The affix *स* comes after *लोमादि* words as *लोमसः* or *लौमवान्* 'hairy'. So also *रोमसः* or *रोमवान्* ॥ The affix *न* comes after *पामादि* words, as *पामनः* or *पामवान्* 'scabby'.

Vārt :—The affix *न* comes after the word *अङ्ग* in the sense of beautiful, as *अङ्गना* 'the fair one' i. e. a woman.

Vārt :—The affix *न* comes after *लक्ष्मी* before which *ई* is changed to *अ*, as *लक्ष्मीरस्वास्ति* = *लक्ष्मणः* ॥

Note :—The words *शाकी*, *पलानी* and *वट्ट* shorten their final vowel before *न* as *शाकिनम्* a field, *पलानिनम्*, *वट्टणम्* ॥

Vārt :—The word *विष्वक्* (विपु + षञ्च्) loses its second member, before *न*, and the change caused by sandhi (उ into ण्) is undone. Otherwise the form would be *विष्वः* (ईक् being elided), as *विष्वञ्जितानि सन्ति अस्य* = *विपुणम्* 'moving variously'.

The affix *इलच्* comes after *पिच्छादि* words, as, *पिच्छलः* or *पिच्छवान्* 'broth'; *वरास्ति* or *वरस्यान्* ॥

1 लोमन्, 2 रोमन्, 3 वधु, 4 हृदि, 5 गिरि*, 6 कर्क*, 7 कपि, 8 मुनि, 9 तद ॥

1 पामन्, 2 पामन्, 3 वेमन्, 4 हेमन्, 5 श्लेष्मन्, कद्र (कद्रु), 7 बाल, 8 सामन्, 9 ऊष्मन्, 10 कुमि*, 11 अङ्गान् कल्याणे, 12 शाकीपलानीवट्टणां (शाकीपलानीवट्टणां), इत्यर्थे च, 13 विष्वक्विपुणम् अस्मिन्पदोपधाकृतसंज्ञेः (विपुण), 14 लक्ष्मणाद्या (लक्ष्मणः), 15 श्रेष्ठ, 16 पलल ॥

1 पिच्छ (पिच्छ), 2 वरस, 3 धुक् (धुक्), 4 धुक् (धुक्), 5 अदापदाकृतः (अदापदा कलात्), चिन्ते, 6 वयं, 7 उक्, 8 वट्ट, 9 वरा ॥

Note :—The affix *iloch* comes after *jaṭā*, *ghaṭā*, and *kaṭā*, when censure is meant, as *जटिलः*, *पटिलः*, *कटिलः* but *अदावाच्*, when no censure is meant.

१९०८ प्रजापराधार्थः । ५ । २ । १०२ ॥

मातो व्याकरणे । प्रजा । आदः । धार्थः । धार्थः ० ॥ धार्थः ॥

1908. The affix *na* (अ) comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *prajñā*, *śraddhā*, and *archā* : as well as the affix *matup*.

As *प्राज्ञः* or *प्राज्ञाच्*, *श्रद्धः* or *श्रद्धाच्*, *धार्थः* or *धार्थाच्* ॥

Vārt :—So also after *प्राज्ञ*, as *धार्थः* or *धार्थाच्* ॥

१९०९ । तपःसहस्राभ्यां विनीतो । ५ । २ । १०२ ॥

विनीतोऽर्थात् तपःसहस्राभ्यां विनीतो । तपः । सहस्रा । तपःसहस्राभ्यां विनीतो धर्मवर्चः ॥ तपः । धर्मवर्चः । तपःसहस्राभ्यां विनीतो धर्मवर्चः ॥

1909. The affixes *vinī* (विन्) and *ini* (इन्) come, with the force of *matup*, after the words *tapas* and *sahasra* respectively.

The final *इ* in *विनि* and *इनि* is for the sake of saving the *व* from becoming *इव्* and thus get elided.

The word *तपस्* ends in *अस्*, and therefore by V. 2. 121. S. 1928 it would have taken *विनि*; similarly *सहस्र* ends in *अ*, and by V. 2. 115. S. 1922 it would have taken *इनि*; it may, therefore, be said, where is the necessity for the present *sūtra*? To this it is replied, that by the next *sūtra*, these words take the affix *अण्* also; so that, had there not been this present *sūtra*, the *अण्* would have debarred the application of *इनि* and *विनि* of V. 2. 115. S. 1922, and V. 2. 121. S. 1928. The affix *इन्* (V. 1. 115) is also debarred after the word *सहस्र* though it ends in *अ* ॥

Thus तपोऽस्त्वस्मिन् वा विद्यते = तपस्विन्, नमः तपस्वी ॥ Similarly सहस्रिन् नमः सहस्री ॥

१६१० । अण् च । ५ । २ । १०३ ॥

योगविभाग उक्तार्थः । तापसः । साहस्रः ॥

उद्योत्स्नादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ उद्योत्स्नः । तामिस्रः ॥

1910. And also *an* (अ) comes after *tapas* and *sahasra*.

Thus तापसः, सहस्रः ॥ The separation of this *sūtra* from the last is for two purposes; 1st, the *anuvṛtti* of *अण्* runs in the subsequent *sūtras*, which could not have been done had it been included in the last *sūtra*, 2ndly, the rule of *yathasankhya* (I. 3. 10 S. 62) would not have applied to the last *sūtra*, had *अण्* been read along with *विनि* and *इनि* ॥

Vart:—The word *उद्योत्स्ना* &c. are governed by this rule and take *अण्* ॥ As उद्योत्स्ना विद्यतेऽस्मिन् पक्षे = उद्योत्स्नः पक्षः ॥ Similarly तामिस्रः (a kind of hell).

१६११ । सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च । ५ । २ । १०४ ॥

सैकतो पदः । शर्कराः ॥

1911. The affix *an* comes in the sense of *matup*, after *sikatā* and *śarkarā*.

Thus सैकतो पदः, शर्करा मधु ॥

Note:—These are the examples, when they do not denote a place. In denoting a place they will take *इन्* and *लुप्* of the next *sūtra*.

१६१२ । देशे लुपिलचौ च । ५ । १०५ ॥

आद्यन् मल्लुप् च । सिकताः सन्तस्मिन्देशे सिकताः । सिकतिलः । सैकतः । सिकतायाम् । एवं शर्करा इत्यादि ॥

1912. When the sense is that of 'a locality', there may take place the *lup*-elision of the affixes denoting *matup*

(with the preservation of the gender and number of the word), or there may be the affix *ilach* (इलच्), as well as *an* and *matup*, after the word *sikatâ* and *śarkarâ*.

By च in the *sūtra*, अण् and मत्तुप् are introduced. The लुप् refers to मत्तुप् and every affix in general. Thus सिकता नस्मिन् विद्यन्ते = सिकता देशः or सिकतिलः, सैकतः or सिकतवान् 'a sandy country'. So also शर्करा देशः or शर्करिलः or शर्करः or शर्करवान् 'a stony locality'.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning a 'locality'? Observe सैकतः 'a vessel of sand', शर्कर 'honey or sugar'. In the case of the elision of the affix, the gender and number are preserved by I. 2. 51. S. 1294).

१६१३। दन्त उन्नत उरच् । ५ । २ । १०६ ॥

उन्नता दन्ताः सन्त्यस्य दन्तुरः ॥

1913. The affix *urach* (उरच्) comes after *danta*, denoting 'having projecting teeth'.

Thus दन्ता उन्नता अस्य सन्ति = दन्तुरः ॥

Note —The words in the *sūtra* are either in the nominative or the locative case, but have the force of ablative.

Why do we say when the meaning is that of 'projecting'? Observe दन्तवान् 'having teeth'.

१६१४। ऊपसुषिमुष्कमधोरः । ५ । २ । १०७ ॥

ऊपरः। सुषिः। मुष्कोऽण्डः, मुष्करः। मधु माधुर्यम्, मधुरः ॥ रमकारणे सुसुखकुञ्जभ्यः उपसंख्यानम् ॥ सरः। सुखः। कुञ्जो हरिहस्तः, कुञ्जरः। नगपांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्च ॥ मधुरम्। पांसुरः। पाण्डुरस्यस्तु अन्युत्पन्न एव ॥ कच्छा ह्रस्वस्य च ॥ कच्छुः ॥

1914. The affix *र* comes, after the word *ūsha*, *sushi*, *mushka* and *madhu*, with the force of *matup*.

Thus ऊपरं चेत्यम् 'a barren soil, impregnated with *ūsha* or salt' सुषिं काष्ठं 'a perforated wood i. e. containing *सुषि* or hole' मुष्करः मधुः 'a beast having testicles, or *mushka*' मधुरो गुढ 'sweet sugar'.

Note :—The word इति shows that the words formed with *र* are names of certain things. Therefore it will not apply here ऊपोऽस्मिन् पटे विद्यते 'there is salt in this pot' we cannot say ऊपरो पटः, nor मधुरो पटः for मध्वस्मिन् पटे विद्यते ॥

Vārt :—The affix *र* comes after स्य, सुख and कुञ्ज, as खगस्थस्ति कगटाविवरं मद्गन् = सरः 'an ass, lit. having a wide throat'. सुखनस्थस्ति इति सर्गस्मिन् यक्तव्ये = सुखरः 'talkative', कुञ्जस्य सः = कुञ्जरः 'an elephant having tusks'. The word कुञ्ज means the tusk of an elephant or the lower jaw of an elephant. The word कुञ्जरः is a common name for all elephants.

Vart :—The affix र comes after नग, पांडु and पाण्डु as नगर 'a city' lit. having trees (naga = tree), पांडुरं पाण्डुरं ॥ The word पाण्डरः has no derivative.

Vart :—So also after कष्टु the vowel being shortened: as कष्टुरं ॥

१९१५ । द्युद्रुभ्यामः । ५ । २ । १०८ ॥

द्युमः । द्रुमः ॥

1915. The affix न comes after dyu and dru, in the sense of matup.

Thus द्युमः । द्रुमः ॥ These are primitive words, and therefore do not take नत् in the alternative.

१९१६ । केसाहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १०९ ॥

महोत्तमान्यतरस्यामद्वयौ न नत्पि सिद्धे पुनर्वहणमिति नोः समावेशार्थम् । केशवः । केशी । केशिकः । केशवात् ॥ अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ० मणियोः नामविशेषः । हिरण्यो विधिविशेषः ॥ अर्णवो लोमश्च ० ॥ अर्णवः ॥

1916. The affix च comes optionally, with the force of matup, after keśa.

Though the word अन्यतरस्याम् was understood here from V. 2. 96. S. 1903 (see V. 2: 97); its repetition shows that in the alternative we have not only नत् but the affixes हुनि and दृन् (V. 2. 115. S. 1922) also. Thus we have four forms केशवः, केशी, केशिकः and केशवात् ॥

Vart :—The affix व is seen after other words also. As मणिवः 'a kind of serpent. हिरण्यवः 'a kind of gem', कस्यवः.

Vart :—The final of अर्णव is elided before व, as अर्णवः.

१९१७ । गाण्डवजनात्सेषायाम् । ५ । २ । ११० ॥

इत्यदीर्घयोर्वणा वन्नेन निर्वचः । गाण्डिवम् । गाण्डीवम् । अर्जुनस्य धनुः । अजगवः दिनाकः ॥

1917. The affix व comes after gāṇḍī and ajaga, in the sense of matup; when the word is a Name:

As गाण्डीवः 'the bow Gāṇḍīva of Arjuna'; अजगवः 'the bow Ajagava of Siva'. There is shortening also, as गाण्डिवं ॥ The sūtra is so framed, that the word गाण्डी and गाण्डि are both included,

१९१८ । काण्डाण्डादिरित्रीर्यौ । ५ । २ । १११ ॥

काण्डीरः । अण्डीरः ॥

1918. The affixes ण् and ण्च come in the sense of matup, after the words kāṇḍī and aṇḍa respectively.

Thus काण्डीरः and अण्डीरः ॥ Another reading has काण्ड and गाण्डीरः ॥

१९१९ । रजःकृपास्रुतिपरिषयो बलच् । ५ । २ । ११२ ॥

रजस्वला स्त्री । कृषीचलः । वलङ्गिणी दीर्घः । आसुतीचलः शौण्डिकः । परिपङ्क्तः । पर्यङ्कितः । पर्यान्तरम् । पर्यङ्कितम् ॥ अन्यभोजपि दृश्यते * ॥ भानुचलः । पुनचलः । रात्रुचलः । वल वलञ्च संज्ञायामि-
त्यनुवृत्तेर्नह दीर्घः ॥

1919. The affix valach (वल्ले) comes, in the sense of matup, after rajas, krishi, āsuti, and parishad.

As रजस्वला स्त्री, कृषीचलः कुटुम्बी, आसुतीचलः शौण्डिकः, परिपङ्क्तो राजा ॥ The lengthening of vowel in कृषि and आसुति takes place by VI 3. 118. S. 1040.

Note:—The affix वलच् comes only under certain senses and conditions, as shown in the above examples. Thus in रजोऽस्मिन् ग्रामे विद्यते, there is no affixing.

Vart:—The affix valach is seen after other words also. As भानुचलः, पुनचलः रात्रुचलः, ॥ The sūtra VI. 3. 118 S. 1040 does not apply here, and so there is no lengthening, as the words “when it is a name” is understood there. The examples here are not names.

१९२० । दन्तशिखात्संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११३ ॥

दन्तावलो हस्ती । शिखाचलः कैकी ॥

1920. The affix valach comes in the sense of matup after danta and śikhā when a Name is formed.

Thus दन्तावलो हस्तीः, शिखाचलः कैकी ॥ The final vowel of दन्त is lengthened before चल by VI. 3. 118 S. 1040.

१९२१ । ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसाः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

मत्स्ये निपात्यन्ते । ज्योतिष् उपधातोपो नञ् प्रत्ययः । ज्योत्स्ना । तमस उपधाया इन् रश्मिः । तमिस्रा । स्त्रीत्यनन्तम् । तमिस्रम् । शृङ्गादिनच् । शृङ्गिणः । ऊर्जस्ती वलच् । तेन वाधा ना भृदिति विनिष्पि, ऊर्जस्वी । ऊर्जस्वलः । ऊर्जोऽसुगम इति वृत्तिस्तु भिन्ना । ऊर्जस्वतीति वस्तुनानवोधपत्तेः । गोमिश्रदम्भिनिः । गोमी । मलशब्दादिनच् । मलिनः । ईपसश्च । मलीमसः ॥

1921. The words jyotsnā, tamisrā, śringīṇa, ūrjasvin, ūrjasvala, gomin, malina, and malīmasa are irregularly formed, in the sense of matup and are Names.

They are thus formed. ज्योतिष् + न = ज्योत्स्ना ‘moon-light, (the इ being elided). तमस + र = तमिस्र ‘night’. (इ being added): it has other genders than feminine as तामस नभः ‘dark sky’, शृङ्ग + इनच् शृङ्गिणः ॥ To ऊर्जस् are added the affixes विधि and यनच्; as ऊर्जस् + विन = ऊर्जस्विन्; ऊर्जस्वलः ॥ The Kāśikā derives this by adding the augment असुक् to ऊर्ज and then affixing यन and इन् ॥ This is a rather doubtful derivative: for there is a form like ऊर्जस् ending in असुन् from which is derived the word ऊर्जस्वती ॥ It is easy therefore to derive ūrjasvin and ūrjasval, from this ūrjas. गो + मिनि = गोमिन् N. S. गोमी; मल + इनच् = मलीनः; मल + इनसच् = मलीमसः ॥

१६२२ । अत इतिठनौ । ५ । २ । ११५ ॥

इण्डी । इण्डिकः ॥

1922. The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after nominal stems ending in short अ; and in the alternative matup also comes.

Thus इण्डिन् N. S. इण्डी or इण्डिकः ॥

Note :—The word अन्यतरस्यम् (V. 2. 96 S. 1903) is understood here also, so we have मनुष्य, as इण्डवान्, छन्दवान् ॥ Why do say 'short अ'? Observe खट्वावान् ॥ Here there is neither इन् nor उन् ॥

These two affixes इनि and उन् do not come after words of one syllable, after words ending in kṛit-affixes, after words denoting genus (jāti), and when the construction is that of locative. As स्व and ख form only स्वावान्, खवान् ॥ Kṛit: as, कारकवान् ॥ Genus, as, व्याघ्रवान्, सिंहवान् ॥ Locative; as इण्डा अस्यां सन्ति = इण्डवती शाला ॥ There are, however, some exceptions to this, as kṛit:—कार्यिन्, कार्यिकः कार्यिन्, कार्यिकः ॥ Genus (jāti):—तण्डुलिन्, तण्डुलिकः ॥

१६२३ । व्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ११६ ॥

व्रीही । व्रीहिकः । न च सर्वेभ्यो व्रीह्यादिभ्य इतिठनाविधेते । किं तर्हि व्रीह्यामालासंज्ञादिभ्य इनिः * । यवखसदिभ्य इकः * । अन्योभ्य उभयम् * ॥

1923. The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after the words vṛīhi &c; as well as the affix matup.

Thus व्रीहिन् (nom. व्रीही), व्रीहिकः, व्रीहिवान्, मायी, मायिकः, मायावान् ॥

These two affixes, however, do not come after all व्रीह्यादि words.

Vārtika:—The affix इनि comes after व्रीह्यादि sub-division.

Vārtika:—The affix इकन् after यवखसदि sub-division.

Vāst:—After the remaining words, both इनि and उन् (=इकन्) come.

Note:—The व्रीह्यादि after which इनि only comes are:—1 व्रीह्या, 2 मेखला, 3 संज्ञा, 4 वलाका, 5 माला, 6 क्षीरा, 7 बद्धा, 8 अष्टका, 9 पताका, 10 कर्मेन्, 11 चर्मन्, 12 हस्ता ॥ The यवखस &c. are the following 1 यवखस, 2 कुमारी, 3 नी; they take इकन् only. The rest take both. The word व्रीहि will get these affixes by the next sūtra also, why is it then read in this class? The word व्रीहि in the Taudādi class V. 2. 117, S. 1924 does not mean the word-form व्रीहि, but words synonym with it. Thus चानयोऽस्य सन्ति = शालिनः, शाली, शालिकः, शालिमान् ॥ The word दीर्घ preceded by the negative particle, takes these affixes, as अशीर्षा and अशीर्षिकः ॥ The remaining words are व्रीहि, माया, शाला, क्षीरा, चर्मन्, दंष्ट्रा, संज्ञा ॥

१६२४ । तुन्दादिभ्य इल्लव । ५ । २ । ११७ ॥

अदिनिठनौ मनुष्य च । तुन्डिन् । तुन्डिकः । तुन्डवान् । वद, विषण्ड, यव, जीटि । स्वाहादिद्वौ ॥ “विद्वद्गुणभिरात्वाङ्गवाचिन इज्जदयः स्तु.” । विद्वदौ कर्षी यव स कर्षिन् । कर्षी । कर्षिकः । कर्षवान् ॥

1924. The affix *ilach* (इल) also comes in the sense of *matup*, after the nominal-stems *tunda* &c.

The force of च is that इनि, उन् and मनुप् also come. As तुन्धिकः, तुन्दी तुन्धिकः, तुन्दवान् ॥ Similarly उदरिन्, उदरी, उदरिकः, उदरवान् ॥

The following is the list of तुन्धादि words : तुन्द, 2 उदर, 4 पिण्ड, 4 पद, 5 यव, 6 व्रीहि, 7 स्वाङ्गादिवृद्धौ च ॥

Gaṇa sūtra :—The affix इलच comes after words denoting parts of one's body, when the largeness (विवृद्धि) of those organs is implied : as विवृद्धौ कर्णौ यस्य स = कर्णिलः, कर्णी, कर्णिकः, कर्णवान् ॥

१६२५ । एकगोपूर्वादृश् नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ११८ ॥

एकशतमस्यास्तीति ऐकशक्तिकः । ऐकसहस्रिकः । गौशक्तिकः । गौसहस्रिकः ॥

1925. The affix *than* comes always in the sense of *matup*, after a stem, which in composition is preceded by एक or गो ॥

Thus एकशतमस्यास्ति = ऐकशक्तिकः, गौशक्तिकः, गौसहस्रिकः ॥

Note :—The word नित्यम् 'always', is used in the sūtra to indicate that मनुप् does not come in the alternative. In all the previous sūtras मनुप् came in the alternative.

१६२६ । शतसहस्रान्ताच्च निष्कात् । ५ । २ । ११९ ॥

निष्कास्य यो शतसहस्रशब्दौ तदन्ताव्यतिपरिकादृश् स्यान्मन्थर्ये । नैकशक्तिकः । नैकसहस्रिकः ॥

1926. The affix *than* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *śata* and *sahasra*, when they follow after *nishka*.

Thus निष्कशतमस्यास्ति = नैकशक्तिकः, नैकसहस्रिकः ॥

Note :—But not so after शुद्धर्णनिष्कपतं, it being never so found in usage.

१६२७ । रूपादादतमशंसयोर्यप् । ५ । २ । १२० ॥

भाहर्तं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यः कार्पापणः । मणस्तं रूपमस्यास्तीति रूप्यो गौः । साहस्येति-किम् । रूपवान् ॥ चान्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ द्विगः पर्यन्तः । रुपका भाग्यना ॥

1927. The affix *yap* (य) comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *rūpa*, when stamping (coining) or praise is denoted.

Thus भाहर्तं रूपमस्य = रूप्यः कार्पापणः "a coin having stamped on it the form of some king &c". Similarly मणस्तं रूपमस्यास्ति = रूप्यो गौः "a handsome bull." The form impressed on a coin &c by hammering &c, is called भाहर्त or stamping.

Why do we say 'when stamping or praise is denoted? Observe रूपवान् 'having form'.

Vart:—The affix वप् is seen after other words also, as हिम्या पर्वताः, युष्वा ब्राह्मणाः ॥

१९२८. अस्मायामेधाञ्जो विनिः । ३ । २ । १२१ ॥

यशस्वी । यशस्वाङ् । मायावी । मायावान् । त्रीणादिपञ्चाविनिञ्चौ । मायी । मायिकः । क्लिप्तन्तवाक्यः । सन्धी ॥ आनयस्वोपसंख्यानं दीर्घश्च ॥ मानयावी ॥ मृज्जन्तभ्यामारकम् ॥ मृज्जारकः । वृन्तारकः ॥ फलवर्हभ्यामिन् वप् ॥ फलिनः । वरिणः ॥ हृदयाचालुरभ्यतरस्याम् ॥ इत्थेना मनुष्यं च । हृदयालुः । हृदवी । हृदयिकः । हृदयवान् ॥ शीतोष्णान्मेष्यस्तत्सहने ॥ शीते न सहते शीतालुः । उष्णालुः । स्फायितञ्जीति रक् । वृषः पुरोडाशः तं न सहते वृषालुः । त्वं दुःखमिति माधवः ॥ शिवाचलुः ॥ शिर्षं न सहते शिरेलुः ॥ वल्लुः ॥ दलं न सहते दललुः ॥ दातास्वमूत्रं च ॥ वातं न सहते वातस्य समूहो वा वातलुः ॥ तप् पर्वतहृदभ्याम् ॥ पर्वतः । महत्तः ॥

1928. After a stem ending in अस्, and after māyā, medhā and sraj, comes the affix vini (विन्) in the sense of matup.

Thus यशस् पशस्विन्, यशस्—यशस्विन् N. S. यशस्वी or यशस्वान् ; मायावी, मायावान् मेधाविन्, शस्विन् ॥ The word माया being included in त्रीणादि class, will take इनि, and इन् also V. 2. 116. As मायी मायिकः ॥ The word सन् is क्तिन् formed and so क् is changed to ग् (VIII. 2. 62. S. 377) and we get सङ्गिन्, N. S. सङ्गी ॥

Vart:—The word आनय also should be enumerated; and there is lengthening of the final, both in the sacred and classical literature. As आनायावी ॥

Vart:—The affix आरकम् comes after वृज् and वृन् as मृज्जारकः, वृन्तारकः ॥

Vart:—The affix इन्च् comes after फल and वर्ह; as फलिनः and वरिणः ॥

Vart:—So also after हृदयः the affix चालु comes optionally; along with इन्, वन् and मनुष्य as, हृदयालु, हृदवी, हृदयिकः हृदयवान् ॥ The च् is इत् by I. 3. 7.

Vart:—The affix चालु of the last vārtika comes after शीत, उष्ण and हृष in the sense of 'not being able to bear that.' As शीते न सहते = शीतालुः 'shivering from cold' उष्णालुः वृषालुः ॥ the word वृष is formed from √ वृष् with the affix रक् (unādi II. 13). It is the name of Puroḍāśa rice cake. According to Mādhava it means 'pain'.

Vart:—So also after हिम comes the affix एलु in the above sense: as शिर्षं न सहते = शिरेलुः ॥ The affix begins with ए and not ई as the construction of the vārtika may lead one to think (Mādhava).

Vart:—The affix कलुप् in the same sense after मतः; as दलं न सहते = दललुः (See Sidhmādi Gaṇa).

Vart:—So also after वातः in the sense of 'collection thereof' and 'not being able to bear that' as वातानां समूहः or वातं न सहते = वातलुः ॥ (See sidhmādi gaṇa also).

Vart:—the affix तम् comes after पर्व and महत् As पर्वतः and महत्तः ॥

Note:—The affix इनि comes after अर्थ in the sense of 'not having that' as अर्थी

'a beggar who has not artha or wealth.' Otherwise अर्थवान् 'rich'. All these are obtained by बहुलः

१९२९ । ऊर्णाया युस् । ५ । २ । १२३ ॥

सिखास्वद्वयम् । ऊर्णायाः । अत्र छन्दसीति केचित्सुवर्तयन्ति । युक्तं चैतत् । अन्यथा हि सहंशुभमोरित्यत्रैवोर्णाग्रहणं कुर्यात् ॥

1929. The affix युस् is added to ऊर्णा in the sense of matup, (in the Chhandaś).

The स् of युस् makes the word ऊर्णा पठ (I. 4. 16 S. 1252); the result of which is that rules applicable to म Bha do not apply; e. g. VI. 1. 148, S. 1063 by which the final ह् or ईश् or वा is elided. Thus ऊर्णायाः ॥ According to some, छन्दसि is to be read in this sūtra. This is reasonable, for if yus is added to ऊर्णा in the classical literature also, then there was no necessity of this sūtra. The word ऊर्णा could have been read along with aham and śubham in V. 2. 140. S. 1946,

१९३० । वाचो ग्मिनिः । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

वाग्मी ॥

1930. The affix gmini (ग्मिन्) comes after the word vāch, in the sense of matup.

Thus वाग्मी

Note:—The affix is not ग्मिन् for had it been so, the form would have been वाटग्मिन् by VIII. 4. 45. S. 116 Vārt.

१९३१ । आलजाटचौ बहुभाषिणि । ५ । २ । १२५ ॥

क्रुशित इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ क्रुशितं बहु भाषते वापाजः । वापाटः । वस्तु सम्यग्बहु भाषते । स वाग्मीत्येव ॥

1931. The affixes ālach (आलँ) and ātach (आटँ) come, in the sense of matup, after vāch, the word denoting 'a talkative',

This debars ग्मिन् ॥ Thus वापाजः 'garrulous', वापाटः ॥

Vārt:—These affixes come when contempt is expressed. An orator (वाग्मी) also talks much, but to the purpose. He will not be called वापाजः or वापाटः ॥

१९३२ । स्वामिर्निश्चयै । ५ । २ । १२६ ॥

देश्यदेशान्तरादप्यप्यर्थे नामिनश्च । स्वामी ॥

1932. The irregularly formed word svāmin denotes 'Sir or Lord'.

The affix **आमिन्** comes in the sense of lordship after the word **स्व** meaning 'lord'. Thus **स्वमम्यामिन्** = **ऐश्वर्यमरकसिन्** = **स्वामिन्** ॥

Note:—Why do we say when meaning 'Sir'. Observe, **स्वपाद्** ॥

१६३३ अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् । ५ । २ । २३ ॥

अर्शोत्वस्य विसन्ते अर्शसः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1933. The affix **ach** (अच्) comes in the sense of **matup**, after the word **arśa** &c.

Thus **अर्शसि** अस्य विसन्ते = **अर्शसः** ॥ The **Arsādi** is an **Ākṛitigaṇa**.

Note:—After a word denoting a member of the body comes the affix **एच** when defect is meant. As **खञ्जः** पादोऽस्यासि = **खञ्जः** । **काणः** ॥ So also after words denoting color, as **शुक्लोऽस्यासि** = **शुक्लः** पदः ॥

1 अर्शस्, 2 अरस्, 3 अर्शः । 4 चतुर, 5 पलित, 6 अर्श, 7 अर्श, 8 अर्श, 9 अर्श (अर्श), 10 कर्दम, 11 अमल, (आम) 12 लवण, 13 स्वाप्ताद्धीनात्, 14 पर्णात् । आकृतिगणः ॥

१६३४ हन्धोपतापमर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनिः । ५ । २ । १२८ ॥

हन्धः । कटक्वलयिनी । सहनूपुरिणी । उपतापो रोगः । कुष्ठी । कित्तासी । मर्ह्यं निन्द्यम् । ककुदावर्ती । काकतालुकी । प्राणिस्थाधिकम् । पुष्पफलधान्यदः । माण्डलान् ॥ प्राणेशवर्ती । अत इत्येव । विश्वकल्लादिकावती । सिद्धे पक्ष्ये पुनर्वचने उपादितावधार्यम् ॥

1934. The affix **ini** (हन्) comes, in the sense of **matup**, after a **dvandva** compound, after the name of a disease, and after anything denoting fault, when the thing is found in a living being.

Thus **Dvandva**:—**कटक्वलयिनी**, 'a woman having a bracelet and a zone', **मण्डलनूपुरिणी** 'a woman having *sankha* and *nūpura* ornaments'. So after diseases, :—**कुष्ठी** 'a leper', **कित्तासी** 'a white leper'. So after names of faults:—**ककुदावर्ती**, **काकतालुकी** ॥

Why do we say 'when found in 'a living being'? Observe **पुष्पफलधान्यदः** ॥

Vārtika:—The affix does not come after words denoting members of a living body : as, **पाणिपादवर्ती** ॥ The words **अतः** V. 2 115, S. 1922 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the affix does not come after words not ending in **अ**; as **विश्वकल्लादिकावती** ॥ Though the **Dvandva** compound &c. ending in **अ**, would have taken **इनि** by V. 2 115, the repetition of this affix in the present sūtra shows that the **Dvandva** compounds &c, take only **इनि**, and not **अच्** &c.

१९३५ । वातानीस्ताराभ्यां कुक् च । ५ । २ । १२९ ॥

वादिनिः । वातकी । अनीमालकी ॥ तमे वादाविच्छेदे * । वेष्ट । वातवर्ती इति ॥ विद्यायात् * ॥ विद्यायात् ॥

1935. The augment *kuk* (क्) comes before इनि, after the words *vāta* and *atisāra*.

The words वात and अतिसार being names of diseases, will take इनि by the fore-going sūtra; the present aphorism only teaches the affixing of the augment. Thus वातकी, अतिसारकी ॥ Another reading is अतीसारकी ॥ *Ishii*. This is when the words वात and अतिसार denote diseases. Otherwise, वातवती इहा ॥

Vdt :—So also after विशाखा, as विशाखकी वैश्रवणः 'the Kubera'.

१९३६ । वयसि पूरणात् । ५ । २ । १३० ॥

पूरणमयान्तान्मत्वर्थे इनिः स्याद्वयति शोभे । मासः संवत्सरो वा पञ्चमोऽस्वास्तीति पञ्चमी वट्टः । ङन्वाधकार्यमिदम् । वयसि किव । पञ्चमवान् मासः ॥

1936. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after an ordinal numeral, when age is denoted.

Thus पञ्चमोऽस्वास्ति मासः संवत्सरो वा = पंचमिन् 'five months or years old', as 'पंचमी वट्टः' ॥ By V. 2. 115 S. 1922 the affix इनि would have come after these words; the present sūtra is a restrictive rule teaching that ङच् does not come in this sense.

Why do we say वयसि 'when age is denoted'? Observe, पंचमवान् वयसराजः ॥

१९३७ । सुखादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । १३१ ॥

इनिर्मत्वर्थे । सुखी । दुःखी । माताक्षेपे ॥ माली ॥

1937. The affix *ini* comes (to the exclusion of other affixes) in the sense of *matup*, after the words *sukha* &c.

Thus सुखिन् nom सुखी; दुःखी &c. When censure is implied, then माली comes after माला, to the exclusion of मत्तुप्, as माली ।

The following is the list of सुखानि words :—

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 क्लृप्त, 4 क्लृष्ट, 5 क्षात्र (क्षाय), 6 क्षत्र*, 7 मालीक, 8 कदल (कदला) 9 शीत, 10 मतीर्व (मतीव), 11 चील, 12 हन, 13 माता क्षेपे, 14 कदल, 15 मलय (मयाय), 16 वट*, 17 वट* ॥ *Ganarātra*. After माला the affix is added in the sense of 'censure';

Thus मालिन्, N S. माली ॥

१९३८ । धर्मशीलवर्णान्ताश्च । ५ । २ । १३२ ॥

धर्मधर्मः इनिर्मत्वर्थे । ब्राह्मणधर्मः । ब्राह्मणशीली । ब्राह्मणधर्मः ।

1938. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, (to the exclusion of others), after nominal steps ending in *dharma*, *śīla*, and *varṇa*.

Thus ब्राह्मणधर्मः धर्मः = ब्राह्मणधर्मः, योऽप्यधर्मः = ब्राह्मणधर्मः ॥ ब्राह्मणधर्मिन्, ब्राह्मण धर्मिन् ॥

१६३६ । हस्ताजातो । ५ । २ । १३३ ॥

हस्ती । जातो किम् । हस्तवान्पुरुषः ॥

1939. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *hasta*, when a genus is denoted by the word so formed.

Thus हस्तोऽस्त्वस्ति = हस्तिन् N. S. हस्ती 'an elephant'. Why do we say when meaning a जाति. 'a genus'? Observe हस्तवान् पुरुषः ॥

१६४० । वर्णाब्रह्मचारिणि । ५ । २ । १३४ ॥

वर्णी ॥

1940. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *varṇa*, when the word so formed means a *Brahmachârin*.

Thus वेदिनि 'a Brahmachârî'. Nom. Sing वर्णी ॥

Note :—The first three वर्ण or castes, who are entitled to the investiture with the sacred thread, and lead the life of a Brahma student, are so called. When the meaning is not of Brahmachârî we have वर्णवान् ॥

१९४१ । पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे । ५ । २ । १३५ ॥

पुष्करिणी । पथिनी । देशे किम् । पुष्करवान्करी ॥ बाहुरुपूर्ववाहलात् * ॥ बाहुवन्ती । ऊरुपत्ता ॥ सर्वदेश * ॥ सर्वपथिनी । सर्वपथिनी ॥ अर्थाच्चातन्निहिते * ॥ अर्थी । संनिहिते तु अर्थवान् ॥ सङ्गताथ * ॥ धान्यार्थी । हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1941. The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *puṣhka* &c. when the word so formed denotes a locality.

Thus पुष्करिणी 'a tank', पथिनि &c. Why do we say when 'locality' is expressed? Observe पुष्करवान् करी ॥

Vart :—The affix इन् comes after बहु preceded by बाहु or ऊरु, as बाहुवान् ऊरुवन्ति ॥

Vart :—So also after words preceded by सर्व; as, सर्वपथिन्. सर्वपथिजिन्. सर्वपथिनी गतः ॥

Vart :—So also after अर्थ when meaning 'not near'; as अर्थिन् meaning अर्थोऽसंनिहितोऽयम् 'wanting wealth'. Otherwise अर्थवान् 'having wealth'.

Vart :—So also after a compound ending in अर्थ, as धान्यार्थी, हिरण्यार्थी ॥
1 पुष्कर. 2 पथ. 3 ऊरुपत्ता. 4 तणाज. 5 कुण्ड. 6 नद. 7 कविस्थ. 8 विल. 9 भृगुज. 10 ऊरुज.
11 बाहुज. 12 विपद्. 13 करिष. 14 चिरीष. 15 वयास. 16 वयास (प्रवास). 17 हिरण्य. 18 कैरव.
19 कथोज. 20 नद. 21 तण. 22 वज्रज. 23 सरोज. 24 राजीव. 25 गालीक. 26 सरोज.
27 पुष्कर. 28 अर्थिन्. 29 अर्थिज. 30 अर्थज. 31 कपल. 32 वयस. 33 वयस. ॥

1945. The affix *bha* (भ) comes in the sense of 'pride' matup, after *tundi*, *vali* and *vaṭi*.

Thus *तुन्दिभः* 'having a protuberent belly'. *वलिभः* and *वटिभः* ॥ Another form is *वलिभः*, because *वलि* is included in the *Pāmādi* class V. 2. 100 S. 1907. The forms *तुन्दिभः* &c. are valid by V. 2. 117 S. 1924.

१९४६ । अहंशुभमोयुस् । ५ । २ । १४० ॥

अहंभिति मान्तामव्ययनहङ्कारे । *शुभभिति* शुभे । *अहंशुः* अहङ्कारवान् ॥ *शुभंशुः* शुभान्वितः ॥

1946. The affix *yus* (यु) comes in the sense of matup, after the words *aham* 'pride', and the indeclinable *ubham* 'good'.

Thus *अहंशुः* = *अहंकारवान्*, 'selfish, haughty', *शुभंशुः* = *कल्याणवान्* ॥ 'auspicious'. The *स्* of *शुस्* makes the words *अहम्* and *शुभम्*, *Padas*; and *म्* is changed into *Anusvāra* (I. 4. 16; VIII. 3. 23). See V. 2. 123.

Here ends the chapter on Matup-affixes.

अथ तद्धित प्राग्विशीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE VIBHAKTI AFFIXES.

१६४७ । प्राग्विशीयो विभक्तिः । ५ । ३ । १ ॥

विश्वशब्देभ्य इत्यतः प्राग्वक्ष्यमाणाः प्रत्यया विभक्तिसंज्ञाः स्युः ॥ अयं स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्ययाः ॥
समर्थानामिति प्रयमादिति च निवृत्तम् । चेति त्वनुवर्तत एव ॥

1947. The affixes taught from this aphorism forward as far as V. 3. 27. S. 1974. (exclusive) are called Vibhakti.

The affixes herein taught do not change the sense of the word, i. e. they are स्वार्थ affixes which leave to the word their own denotation. The rule IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 extends no further than this, hence the words formed by these affixes do not produce epithets connoting the sense of the primitive and denoting something else.

The affixes now to be taught being स्वार्थिकाः, the anuvṛtti of समर्थानाम् and प्रयमाद् of IV. 1. 82, S. 1072 does not apply to them. The word वा of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072 however applies here, so that these affixes are optional, thus we may have कृतः or कस्मात्, कृष or कस्मिन् ॥

Note :—Thus V. 3. 7. S. 1953 declares, that after the words क्तिप् in the ablative there is the affix ससिन्, as कृतः सतः सतः ॥

Note :—The purpose served by designating these affixes as Vibhakti is (a) to debar the elision of finalत् and ऋ of the affixes as इत् (1. 3. 4. S. 190). Thus in the affix वसिन् V. 3. 18, S. 1967 ण् is not इत्, had it been so, rule 1. 1. 47 would have applied : (b) to regulate the accent of इत्, thus इत्+ससिन्=इत्तः here by VI. 1. 171. S. 3717 the affix ससिन् becomes udatta by virtue of its being Vibhakti, otherwise, the accent would have been regulated by the indicatory ल (VI. 1. 193. S. 3676) (c) to make applicable to these words the rules of लडादि, that is, the rules given in the Sūtras VII. 2. 102. S. 265 and those that follow. Thus लद्+ससिन्=लत्तः, the द् being replaced by त् by VII. 2. 102. S. 265.

१६४८ । कित्तर्यनामप्रदुभ्योऽद्वय्यादिभ्यः । ५ । ३ । २ ॥

विभः सर्वनामो बहुवचसापेति प्राग्विशीयविभक्तिविभे ॥

1948. These Prāgviśīya affixes come after the word kim, and after a stem called sarvanāma, and after bahuv; but not after dvi &c

The words हि &c. though सर्वनाम are exempted. Thus कुप, कुतः, यतः, वयम्, वदतः, वदतः ॥

Note :—Why do we say अद्वयवि 'not divi &c. Observe ह्याभ्याम्, द्वयोः ॥ Why do we say किम् &c.? Observe एतात्, वृत्ते &c. The word किम् is a सर्वनाम, but it being included in the dryādi class, would have been exempted from the operation of this rule had it not been separately mentioned.

Note :—The word वद here is 'a Sankhyā.' Therefore, the affix does not apply here, वदोः स्यात्, बहो रये ॥

१६४९ । इदम् इत् ॥ ५ । ३ । ३ ।

माग्दिशीये परे ॥

1949. For idam, there is the substitute इत् (इ), when a Prāgdisīya affix follows.

The word माग्दिशः is understood here also. The इ of इत् is indicatory of the substitution of the whole (I. 1. 55). Thus इत् + वृ V. 3. 11, = इव ॥

१६५० । एतेतौ रथोः ॥ ५ । ३ । ४ ॥

इदम् चादस्य एत इत् इत्येतेतौ स्तो रथादी यकासदीन् माग्दिशीये परे : इतोऽपवादः ॥

1950. The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of idam, when 'a Prāgdisīya affix beginning with र and थ respectively follows.

This debars इत् ॥ The थ in र is for the sake of euphony. Thus इत् + हिन् = एतर्हि (V. 3. 16). इत् + यम् = एतयम् (V. 3. 24).

१६५१ । एतदोऽन् ॥ ५ । ३ । ५ ॥

योगविभागः कर्तव्यः ॥ एतत् ॥ एतेतौ स्तो रथोः ॥ अन् ॥ एतद् इत्येव । अनेकाब्स्थास्तर्वदिकः । नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तरस्य ॥

1951. The substitute अन् comes in the place एतद् when a Prāgdisīya affix follows.

Note :—According to Kāśika the substitute is अन् । The थ of अन् causes the replacement of the whole (I. 1. 55. S. 45). According to Patanjali the substitute is अन् and not अन्त् ॥ Thus एतद् + नसिन् = अन्त् V. 3. 7. S. 1358; अथ V. 3. 10.

This sūtra must be divided into two, (1) एतत्, and (2) अन्, the meaning being. (1) The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of एतद् when affixes beginning with र and थ respectively follow, as एतद् + हिन् = एतर्हि (V. 3. 21. S. 1969) एतद् + यद् = इत्ययम् ॥ The थ must be the थ of यद् which comes after idam (V. 3. 24. S. 1972) for the application of this rule (1), and not the थ of थान् (V. 3. 23. S. 1971) before which the substitute will be अन् ॥ The word एतद् will take यद् by the implication of this rule. The substitute अन् replaces एतद् before other Prāgdisīya affixes. As the substitute consists of more than

one letter, it replaces the whole of etad. Thus एतद्+तसिद् = अन्+तस् = अतः (the न is elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236).

१९५२. सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि । ५ । ३ । ६ ॥

माग्विधीयो वकाराद्यौ प्रत्यये परे सर्वस्य सो वा स्यात् ॥

1952. The स is substituted optionally for सर्व before a *prāgdisīya* vibhakti beginning with द् ॥

Thus सर्वस्य or सदा ॥ When the affix is not *Prāgdisīya*, there is no substitution: as; सर्वे वेदन्ति = सवदा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇa who gives all'.

१९५३. पञ्चम्यास्तसिल् । ५ । ३ । ७ ॥

पञ्चम्यन्तेभ्यः किमादिभ्यस्तसिल् स्याद् ॥

1953. The affix *tasil* (तस्) comes after the word, *kim* a *sarvaṇāma*, and *bahu*, when ending in the ablative case: but not after *dvi* &c.

As *kim* + तसिल् = कु + तस् ॥ The following sūtra changes *kim* into कुम्

१९५४. कु तिहोः । ७ । २ । १०४ ॥

kim कुः स्यात्तावौ ह्रदौ च विभक्तौ परतः । कुतः । कस्तात् । यतः । ततः । अतः । इतः । अततः । अदुतः । अविस्तु । आभ्याम् ॥

1954. कु is substituted for *kim* before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः = कस्तात् ॥ कुतः, कुष (V. 3. 13, 7. S. 196: and 1953). The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥ So also यतः, ततः, अतः, इतः, अततः, अदुतः ॥ But not after दि &c. As आभ्याम् ॥

१९५५. तसेश्च । ५ । ३ । ८ ॥

किमुपसर्गमदभ्याम् परस्य तसेस्ताडितोदेवः स्याद् । एतार्थे विभक्त्यर्थे च यपनम् ॥

1955. The affix *tasil* (तस्) is substituted for तस् (V. 4. 44, 45 S. 2111 and 1221) when *kim*, a *sarvaṇāma*, and *bahu* follow.

This substitution is for the sake of accent; and for giving it the designation of vibhakti. Otherwise तम् (V. 4. 44) being taught subsequently and it not being a *Prāgdisīya* affix, it does not get the name of vibhakti, and so तन् &c cannot be changed to य when तसि will be added (VII. 2. 102 S. 265). So we can never get the form यत् as in the sentence यतोऽन्यतरस्यां ॥

१९५६. पर्यभिभ्यां च । ५ । ३ । ९ ॥

आभ्यां तविज एताद् ॥ तयोपसर्गाभ्यामेव ॥ तसि । तसित इत्यर्थः । धिगित । उभयत इत्यर्थः ॥

1956. The affix *tasil* comes after *pari* and *abhi* also.

Vart 1—This affix comes when परि means 'all'; and अभि means 'both'. Thus परिः = सर्वतः; 'all round'; अभितः, उभयतः 'on both sides'.

१६५७। सप्तम्याल्ल्। ५। ३। १०॥

कुञ्। यञ्। तञ्। बहुञ्॥

1957. The affix त्रि (त्र) comes after kim, a sar-vanāma, and bahu, when ending in a locative.

Thus कुञ् (VII. 2. 104 S, 1954) 'where', तञ् (VII. 2. 102. S. 265) 'there', बहुञ् 'in many places'.

१९५८। इदमो ह्। ५। ३। ११॥

बलोऽपवादः। इहादेशः। इह॥

1958. The affix ह् comes after इदम् ending in the locative.

This debars वञ्॥ Thus इह (V. 3. 3. S. 1949) 'here'.

१६५९। किमो ऽत्। ५। ३। १२॥

वापदहनपठन्यते। सप्तम्यन्तात्किमोऽत्र स्थान्यते वञ्॥

1959. The affix अत् (अ) comes optionally after kim ending in the locative, as also the affix त्रि.

We must draw forward the word वा 'optionally' from the sūtra after the next. So that this sūtra is an optional one. Thus किम् + अत्॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which किम् is replaced by क्॥ In the other alternative वञ् also comes, as कुञ्॥

१६६०। काति। ७। २। १०५॥

किनः कदेशः स्यादति। क। कुञ्॥

1960. क is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V. 3. 13).

As क्। So also कुञ्॥

Note :—The substitute ह् of VII. 2. 104. S. 1954, before the affix अ would have become क्, but it would have caused guṇa, hence this separate substitute. Had the sūtra been किमोऽत् it would not have included the वञ्च् augmented किम्॥

१६६१। वा ह् च छन्दसि। ५। ३। १३॥

कुह स्थः। कुह जग्मथुः॥

1961. Optionally the affix ह् also comes in the Chhandas, after the word kim in the locative: as well as the other affixes.

As in the Rīg Veda VIII. 62. 4 : कुहंस्थ कुहजग्मथुः कुहं स्थनेवं देवथुः॥ 'Where are ye two? Where are you going? Where do you fall like eagles?'

१९६२ । एतद्व्यतसोऽखतसौ चानुदात्तो । २ । ४ । ३३ ॥

अन्वादेशविषये एतदोऽण् स्थासत्प्रातुसत्तज्जतसोः परतः सौ चानुदात्तो स्तः । एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः । अथोऽधाधीनहे । अतो न गन्तारः स्म ॥

1962. In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अण् when the affixes अ (V. 3. 10. S. 1957) and तस् (V. 3. 7. S. 1953) follow, and the affixes अ and तस् are anudatta also (gravely accented).

Thus अह 'here', and अतस् 'hence', in the following :—एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसामः ; अथो अण् अधीनहे । ' We live in this (etasmin) village happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra).' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । ' Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar'. By rule V. 3. 5. S. 1951 अण् is declared to be the substitute of एतद् ; its repetition here is to indicate that the अण् of anvādeśa is anudatta.

१९६३ । इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते । ५ । ३ । १४ ॥

पञ्चमीसप्तमीतृतीयमत्तयन्ताणाम् तस्मिन्नादेशो दृश्यन्ते । इतिमहत्याद्यवदादिषोण एव । स भवान् । ततो भवान् । तथ भवान् । स भवन्तम् । ततो भवन्तम् । तथ भवन्तम् । एवं दीर्घादुः । देवानामियः । आधुप्यान् ॥

1963. The above affixes are seen coming after kim, a sarvanama and bahu, ending with other case-affixes also, besides the locative and ablative.

That is to say, the affixes तस्मिन्, अत्, इ &c come after kim &c which are not in the ablative or the locative case. By the employment of the expression 'are seen', it is hinted that this may take place not on every occasion, but only when in juxtaposition with such words as भवान् 'Your Honor', दीर्घादुः 'long-lived', आधुप्यान् 'having long life', and देवानामियः 'the below of the Gods'. Thus :

Nom. तसो भवान् or तथ भवान् = त भवान् ॥

Acc. तथ भवन्तम् or तसो भवन्तम् = त भवन्तम् ॥

Ins. तथ भवता or तसो भवता = ते भवता ॥

Dat. तसो भवते or तथ भवते = तस्य भवते ॥

Abl. तत्रा भवता or तथ भवता = तस्माद् भवताः ॥

Gen. तसो भवतः or तथ भवतः = तस्य भवतः ॥

Loc. तसो भवति or तथ भवति = तस्मिन् भवति ॥

Similarly with the words दीर्घादुः, आधुप्यान् and देवानामियः ॥

१९६४ । अर्थवत्तन्वद्विषयस्यः काठे वा । ५ । ३ । १५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तेः कालार्थेऽयः स्वार्थे वा स्यात् । सर्वस्मिन्काले सदा । सर्वदा । एका । अन्यदा । कदा ।
 यदा । तदा । काले किम् । सर्वत्र वेदे ॥

1964. After sarva 'all', eka 'one', anya 'other',
 kim 'what', yad 'which', and tad 'that', when time is
 denoted, comes the affix दा, the words being in the locative
 case.

The word सप्तम्याः V. 2. 10 S. 1957 is understood here and not the word
 इतः (यां) of the last. This debars जल् ॥ Thus सदा or सदा (V. 3. 6 S. 1952)
 'at every time' or 'always', एका 'once', अन्यदा 'at another time', कदा (VII.
 2. 103 S. 342) 'when', यदा 'when', तदा 'then'.

Why do we say काले 'when time is denoted'? Observe सर्वत्रवेदे
 where although the case is the 7th, the affix is not दा, because the sense is
 'in every place' or 'every where'.

१९६५ । इदमोर्हिन् । ५ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तात्काले इत्येव । इत्यापवादः । अस्मिन्काले एतर्हि । काले किम् । इह वेदे ॥

1965. After idam 'this', ending in the locative
 case, comes the affix र्हिन् when time is denoted.

The words सप्तम्याः and काले are understood. This rhi debars हा.
 The ल् of र्हिन् is for accent. Thus अस्मिन् काले - एतर्हि (V. 3. 4 S. 1950) 'at this
 time'. Why 'when time is denoted'? Observe, इह 'in this place', as इह
 वेदे ॥ See V. 3. 4 S. 1950

१९६६ । अधुना । ५ । ३ । १७ ॥

इदमः सप्तम्यन्तात्कालवाचिनः स्वार्थेऽधुनाप्रत्ययः स्यात् । इह । यत्वेति लोपः । अधुना ॥

1966. After idam ending in the locative case, comes
 the affix अधुना, when time is denoted.

Thus इदम् + अधुना = इ + अधुना (V. 3. 3. S. 1949) = ओ + अधुना (S. 311) =
 अधुना ॥ According to Kāśikā अस्मिन् काले - अधुना 'at this time' अध् is substi-
 tuted for इदम् and, धुन affix is added.

१९६७ । दानीम् । ५ । ३ । १८ ॥

इदानीम् ॥

1967. The affix dānim also comes after idam, end-
 ing in the locative, and denoting time.

Thus अस्मिन् काले - इदानीम् (V. 3. 3 S. 1949) 'at this time'.

१९६८ । तदो वा । ५ । ३ । १९ ॥

तदा । तदानीम् । तदोदात्तचमनयकं विहितत्वात् ॥

1968. After tad, ending in the seventh case, when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, and also dānīm.

The दानीम् is read into the sūtra by 'force of the word च 'also'. Thus चास्मिन् काले = तदा or तदानीम् 'at that time'. *Vart*:—This sūtra, so far as it ordains दा after तद् is useless, because the word तद् already takes दा by V. 3. 15.

१६६६ । अनद्यत्नेर्द्वित्यन्तरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । २१ ॥

कहिं । कदा । दहिं । यदा । वैहिं । तदा । एतस्मिन्काले एतर्हि ॥

1969. The affix rhil comes optionally, in denoting time not of the current day, after the words 'kim' the sarvanāma, and bahu &c.' in the 7th case.

The anuvṛtti of कृन्ति is not read into this sūtra. This is a general rule. Thus कहिं or कदा, (VII. 2. 103 S. 342), दहिं or यदा, वैहिं or तदा, एतर्हि ॥

१६७० । सद्यःपरुत्तरायैषमः परेद्यव्यद्य पूर्वेषुरन्येषुरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युक्रमयेद्युत्तरेद्युः । ५ । ३ । २२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । समानस्य समायो यम् भाहनि* । समानेऽहनि सद्यः । पूर्वपूर्वतरेद्योः परः उदात्तप्रत्ययैः परतरे* । पूर्वस्मिन्पक्षे परतु । पूर्वतरे परतरे परदि ॥ इवम् इत्थं समसश्च प्रत्ययश्च संवत्सरे* । अस्मिन्संवत्सरे ऐषमः । परस्मादेवम्व्यदनि* । परस्मिन्नहनि परेद्यवि । इवमोऽहं यम्* । अस्मिन्नहनि यद्य । पूर्वदिद्योऽहोऽहोऽहोऽहोऽहो* । पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि पूर्वेषुः । अन्यस्मिन्नहनि अन्येषुः । समयोरहोऽक्रमयेद्युः ॥ सुभोभयाद्वृत्तस्यः ० ॥ उभयद्युः ॥

1970. The following words are anomalous; sadyah, parut, parāri, aishamas, paredyavi, adya, pūrvedyus, anyedyus, anyataredyus, itaredyus, aparedyus, adharedyus, ubhayedyus, and nītaredyus.

The words सद्यः and यत्न are understood here. The base, the substitute, the affix, the particular time &c, must all be deduced from these forms. *Vart*:—उद्यः is formed from समान् by substituting द for समान्, and adding यत्न; in the sense of 'a day'. समानेऽहनि = सद्य 'the same day'. *Vart*:—The पूर्व and पूर्वतरे are replaced by पर, and then इत्थं and भाहि are added, in the sense of 'a year'. Thus पूर्वस्मिन् संवत्सरे = परतु 'last year'. पूर्वतरे संवत्सरे = परदि 'the year before last'. *Vart*:—The इत्थं replaces इवम्, and समसश्च is added, in the sense of 'year'. अस्मिन् संवत्सरे = ऐषमः 'during this year'. *Vart*:—To पर is added एतदि in the sense of 'a day': अ, अस्मिन्नहनि = एतदि 'the other day'. *Vart*:—The यद्य replaces इवम् and यम् is added in the sense of 'a day'. Thus अस्मिन्नहनि = यद्य 'to day'. *Vart*:—To पूर्व, अन्य, अन्यतरे, इतर, अपर, अपर,

उभय and उत्तर is added the affix एद्युस्, in the sense of 'a day': as पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि = पूर्वेषु 'on the day before', अन्यस्मिन्नहनि = अन्येषु 'on the following day'. अन्य-नरास्मिन्नहनि = अन्यनरेषु: 'on either of two days'. इतरस्मिन्नहनि = इतरेषु 'on another day', अपरस्मिन्नहनि = अपरेषु: on the following day' अधरस्मिन्नहनि = अधरेषु 'on a previous day' उभयोरह्ना = उभयेषु: 'on both days'. *Vart*:—So also उभयद्वय is formed by dyus added to ubhaya.

१६७१। प्रकारवचने थाल्। ५। ३। २३ ॥

प्रकारवृत्तिभ्यः किमादिभ्यस्त्यात्स्वार्थे। तेन प्रकारेण तथा। यथा ॥

1971. The affix thāl (था) comes, after the words kim &c V. 3. 2, when we speak of a kind or manner of being.

The sūtra V. 3. 2, S. 1948 is to be read into this. The anuvṛtti of सप्तम्याः and कलि ceases. The word प्रकार means the differentiating quality distinguishing a species among the genus; it means 'sort', 'kind', 'mode', 'manner,' &c. Thus तेन प्रकारेण = तथा 'so, in that manner'. Similarly यथा ॥

Note:—The affix जातीयद् taught in V. 3. 69 S. 2024 has also the same force, with this difference that jātiyār applies to words which denote things possessing such a quality (प्रकारवाच्) while thāl denotes mode itself. Therefore, one does not debar the other, so that we have forms like तथाजातीयः, and यथाजातीयः ॥

१६७२। इदमस्थमुः। ५। ३। २४ ॥

यान्ताऽवधादः ॥ एतदेति वाच्यः ॥ अनेन एतेन वा प्रकारेण इत्यम् ॥

1972. After idam comes the affix thamu (यम्) in the same sense i. e. in denoting manner.

Vart:—It comes after etad also. This debars याल्; thus:—अनेन or एतेन प्रकारेण = इत्थम् V. 3. 4, S. 1950 'in this manner.' The उ in यम् protects the म from becoming इत् (See I. 3. 4 S. 190).

१६७३। किमध्व। ५। ३। २५ ॥

केन प्रकारेण कथम् ॥

1973. Also after kim, comes the affix thamu in the sense of manner.

Thus केन प्रकारेण = कथम् 'how?'

Here ends the chapter on Prāgdiśīya affixes.

अथ तद्धितप्राग्विीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE SVĀRTHIKA AFFIXES.

१६७४ । दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेभ्यस्तातिः । ५ ।

३ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्याद्यनेभ्यो दिगिहोत्रेभ्यो दिग्देशकालवृत्तिभ्यः स्वार्थेऽस्तावमत्ययः स्यात् ॥

1974. After words which primarily denote 'direction' ending in the locative, ablative and nominative, and referring to 'direction', 'locality' or 'time', comes the affix *astāti* (अस्तात्) without change of sense.

Note :—The word दिक् शब्दाः means 'words denoting directions'. Thus पुरस्तात्, has all these three significations in the following sentences, पुरस्ताद्यसति 'he lives eastward', पुरस्तादगतः 'he came from east' पुरस्ताद् रमणीयम् 'It was delightful previously'. Similarly with अधस्तात् ॥ For further explanation see S. 1977 below.

१९७५ । पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरयवश्चैषाम् । ५ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एभ्योऽस्तावत्येतिप्रत्ययः स्वासयोगे येषां कर्मापुर, यध, अध, इत्यनेषाः स्युः ॥

1975. After *pūrva*, *adhara* and *avara* comes the affix *asi* (अस्) in the sense of *astāti*; and *pura*, *adh*, and *av* are their respective substitutes before this affix.

Note :—The word अवग्रहस्याः does not govern this sūtra. Thus पुरो यसति, पुर जायतः, पुरो रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधत् and अवत् with यसति, जायत and रमणीयम् ॥ As चाधोयसति, अध-जायत, अधोरमणीय, अधोयसति, यदजायत, and यदोरमणीयम् ॥ See S. 1984.

१६७६ । अस्तासि च । ५ । ३ । ४० ॥

जायतामो वो पूर्वानिवां पुरातनः एतः । पूर्व्यां पूर्व्याः पूर्वा वा दिक् । पुरः पुरस्तात् । यधः अधस्तात् । अधः । अधस्तात् ॥

1976. The same substitution takes place when the affix *astāti* (अस्तात्) follows.

That is *pur* for *pūrva*, *yad* for *adhara* and *av* for *avara* ॥ Thus पुरस्तात् or अधस्तात् or अवस्तात् यसति or जायतः or रमणीयम् ॥

१९७७ । निभाषापरस्य । ५ । ३ । ४१ ॥

अवस्थास्ततोऽप्येव स्वाह्वा । अवस्तात् । अवस्तात् । एवं देवे काले च । शिशि सहेभ्यः किम् । ऐन्द्र्यां वसति । सप्तम्यावन्तेभ्यः किम् । पूर्व्यं मानं गतः । दिगादिवृत्तिभ्यः किम् । पूर्वस्मिन् द्युरो वसति । अस्ताति चेति ज्ञापकादविरस्ताति न प्रापते ॥

1977 The substitution of अव् for अवर् is optional when astāti follows.

This declares an option when by the last it was compulsory. As अवस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति, आगतः, or एषणीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'after words which primarily denote direction'? Observe ऐन्द्र्यां शिशि वसति, 'He lives in the Aindra direction'. Here ऐन्द्री is a secondary word denoting eastern direction. Why do we say 'ending in the locative, ablative and nominative'? Observe पूर्व्यं मानं गतः ॥ Why do we say when the sense is 'a direction', 'a locality' or a 'time'? Observe पूर्वस्मिन् द्युरो वसति 'he lives in the presence of the Guru'.

Note :—This affix is a स्वार्थिक affix, like the affixes taught previously. The words denoting direction must be primitive words of direction; and not derivative words like ऐन्द्री &c. which also denote direction.

The sūtra 1976 indicates by implication that the affix अस्ताति V. 3. 27 S. 1974 is not debarred by अव् after these words.

१९७८ । दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतस्तुच् । ५ । ३ । २८ ॥

अस्तातेरपवादः । दक्षिणतः । उत्तरतः ॥

1978. After dakṣiṇā and uttara (referring to a direction or a locality or a time, and ending with the locative, ablative or nominative), comes the affix atasuch. (अतस्तुच्) ॥

This debarbs अस्ताति ॥ Thus दक्षिणतः, उत्तरतः ॥

Note :—The word दक्षिणा can never refer to time, so with regard to it direction and locality are only taken. The अ of अतस्तुच् is for the sake of differentiating this affix from तस् in sūtras like II. 3. 39.

१९७९ । विभाषापरावराभ्याम् । ५ । ३ । २९ ॥

परतः । अवर्ततः । परस्तात् । अवस्तात् ॥

1979. Optionally after para and avara, comes the affix atasuch, in the sense of astāti.

Thus परतः or परस्तात् ॥ So also अवस्तात् or अवर्ततः ॥

१९८० । अञ्चल्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ३० ॥

अञ्चल्यन्तादिक्शब्दादस्तातेर्लुक् स्यात् । लुक् सञ्ज्ञितलुकि ॥ प्राक् प्राग्वाः प्राची वा दिक् प्राक् । उदक् । एवं देवे काले च ॥

1980. After words of direction ending in अश्च्, there is luk-elision of the affix astâti.

Thus प्राक् or प्रत्यक्: as प्राच्यां दिशि वसति = प्राग् वसति, प्रागागतः, प्रागगमयिष्य ॥ The feminine affix of प्राची is also elided, when the taddhita affix is elided by लुक् ॥ See I. 2. 49. S. 1408. So also उदक् 'in the north'. Similarly when locality or time is denoted.

१६८१ । उपर्युपरिष्ठात् । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अस्तितेर्विषये ऊर्ध्वशब्दस्यापदेशः स्वाद्विष्टातिर्लुक् अ प्रत्ययौ । उपरि उपरिष्ठाद् वसति । प्रागतो रमणीयं वा ॥

1981. The words upari and uparishṭât are anomalous in the sense of astâti.

These words are derived irregularly from the word ऊर्ध्व, by changing it into उप, and adding the affixes स्ति and ष्ठातिन् ॥ Thus ऊर्ध्वायां दिशि वसति = उपरि वसति । So also उपर्यागतः उपरि रमणीयम् ॥ उपरिष्ठाद् वसति, उपरिष्ठाद्वागतः, उपरिष्ठाद्गमयिष्यम् ॥

१६८२ । पश्चात् । ५ । ३ । ३२ ॥

अपरस्य पश्चमाव आतिष्ठ प्रत्ययोऽस्तितेर्विषये ॥

1982. The word paśchât is anomalous, in the sense of astâti.

The word is formed by changing अपर into पश्च and adding the affix षाति ॥ As अपरस्यां दिशि वसति = पश्चाद् वसति, प्रागतः रमणीयम् &c.

Note:—So also when अपर is preceded by another word denoting direction, it is changed into paścha and âti is added. As दक्षिणपश्चात्, उत्तरपश्चात् ॥

Note:—So also when अर्ध follows such a compound, apara is changed into paścha; as, दक्षिणार्धार्धः, उत्तरपश्चार्धः ॥

Note:—Apara is changed into paścha, when followed by ardha, and not preceded by any other word. As, पश्चार्धः ॥

१९८३ । उत्तराधरदक्षिणादातिः । ५ । ३ । ३४ ॥

उत्तरात् । अधरात् । दक्षिणात् ॥

1983. To the words utara, adhara and dakshipa is added the affix âti, in the sense of astâti.

Thus उत्तरस्यां दिशि वसति = उत्तराद् वसति ॥ Similarly अधरात् and दक्षिणात् ॥

१९८४ । एतदन्यतरस्यामद्वरेऽपञ्चम्याः । ५ । ३ । ३५ ॥

उत्तरादिभ्य एतस्या स्वाद्वपञ्चमिणोः सावीत्ये पञ्चम्यन्तं विना । उत्तरेण । अधरेण । दक्षिणेन । एते यथासं मन्वयाः । इह केचिदुत्तरादीन्मनुष्यांश्च दिक्पश्चादपदेशेनपमाह । पूर्वैर्ण मामम् ॥ अधरेण मामम् ॥

1984. The affix enap (एन) comes optionally, (after the words *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakshina* in the sense of *astāti*), when the limit indicated is not remote, and when it is not a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

Note :—The affix अस्ताति and the other affixes taught above come with the force of locative, ablative and nominative. The एनप् comes with the force of locative and nominative and not that of ablative. The adverbs so formed refer to objects not at a distance.

Thus उत्तरेण or उत्तरात् or उत्तरो वसति or रमणीयम् &c. Similarly दक्षरेण, दक्षरात्, दक्षरो वसति &c, so also दक्षिणेन, दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणतो, वसति &c. 'He lives near by in the north-ward or southward'. Why do we say when not denoting distance? दक्षरात्, उत्तरात्. In the other alternative the ordinary affixes will come as दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः. दक्षरात्, उत्तरात्. Observe उत्तरादस्ताति 'he lives far away in the north'. Why do we say 'when not having the force of ablative'? Observe उत्तरादगतः 'come from the north'.

Note :—The word अपञ्चम्याः governs all the succeeding sūtras upto V. 3. 39, exclusive.

Some do not read उत्तर &c. into this sūtra : according to them this is a general rule applicable to all words denoting direction. As पूर्वेषु पादेषु, अपरेषु पादेषु (II. 3. 31) The ए in enap is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4 S. 3709).

१९८५ । दक्षिणादात् । ५ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अस्तातिविषये । दक्षिणा वसति । अपञ्चम्या इत्येव । दक्षिणापागतः ॥

1985. The affix ach (अ) comes after the word *dakshina*, in the sense of *astāti*, but not as a substitute of the ablative case-affix.

The word अद्वे of the last sūtra is not read into this: though the word अपञ्चम्याः governs it. Thus दक्षिणा वसति or रमणीयम्, but दक्षिणत आगतः in the ablative.

Note :—The ए in एनप् is not for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 163. S. 3710) for the simple affix आ would be added by the general rule III. 1. 3. S. 3708. The ए serves the purpose of differentiating this आ from other affixes in Sūtra II. 3. 29 S. 595.

१९८६ । आहि च दूरे । ५ । ३ । ३७ ॥

दक्षिणाद दूरे आहि स्वार्थे पादेषु । दक्षिणाहि । दक्षिणा ॥

1986. The affix āhi (आहि) comes after the word *dakshina*, in the sense of *astāti*, as well as *ach*. when the reference is to a distant limit.

We draw in the affix आच् by force of the wordै च 'and'.

Thus दक्षिणादि वसति or दक्षिणा वसति 'he lives far away in the south',

Note :—Why do we say दूरे 'when the adverb denotes a distant limit' ?
Observe दक्षिणतो वसति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्या governs this also : as, दक्षिणत आगतः ॥

१९८७ । उत्तराच्च । ५ । ३ । ३८ ॥

उत्तरादि । उत्तरा ॥

1987. The affixes आच् and आदि come after uttara in the sense of astāti; when the reference is to a distant limit.

Thus उत्तरा or उत्तरादि वसति or दक्षिणम् ॥ "He lives far away in the north: or the northward far away is pleasant".

Note :—But when 'distance' is not meant we have उत्तरेण प्रयाति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्या governs this also : as उत्तरागतः ॥

१९८८ । संख्याया विधायै धा । ५ । ३ । ४२ ॥

क्रियाप्रकारार्थे सर्वानास्तंख्यासंख्यासंख्यायै धा स्यात् । चतुर्धा । पञ्चधा ॥

1988. The affix dhâ (धा) comes after a nominal-stem denoting a Numeral, when it means the mode or manner of an action.

Note :—The word विधा and प्रकार have the same meaning. Thus adverbs so formed apply to every kind of action.

Thus एकदा भुङ्क्ते 'he eats once'. द्विधा गच्छति 'he goes twice'. Similarly विधा. चतुर्धा. पञ्चधा ॥

१९८९ । अधिकरणविशाले च । ५ । ३ । ४३ ॥

द्रव्यस्य संख्यानंतरापादने संख्याया धा स्यात् । एकं सार्धं पञ्चधा कुरु ॥

1989. The affix dhâ comes after a numeral, when the sense is a change in the apportionment or distribution of substances.

Note :—The word संख्यायाः is understood here. The word अधिकरणम् means 'matter, stuff, substance'. विचालः 'change in numbers'. Thus to make one into many, or to make many into one.

Thus एकं सार्धं पञ्चधा कुरु 'divide one heap into five'. Similarly अनेकम् एकधा कुरु "make these many heaps into one".

१९९० । एकास्त्रोऽप्यमुन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रेक्ष्यम् । एकधा ॥

1990. After the word *eka*, the substitute *dhyamuñ* (ध्यम्) comes optionally instead of *dha*.

Thus एकधा शार्दि कुर or ऐक्यं कुर; एकधा धुक्ते or ऐक्यं धुक्ते ॥

Note:—The repetition of धा in the sūtra shows that the substitution takes place when the sense is that of विधा, as well as when it is that of अधिकरण विधा ॥ Had धा not been repeated, the substitution would have come in the sense of अधिकरण विधा only, as immediately preceding this sūtra.

१९९१ । द्विप्रयोश्च धमुञ् । ५ । ३ । ४५ ॥

भाभ्यां धा इत्यस्य धमुञ् स्यात् । द्वेधम् । द्विधा । द्वेधम् । त्रिधा । धमुञ्न्तस्त्वार्ये ऽवसंनम ० ॥
पवि द्वेधाणि

1991. The substitute *dhamuñ* धम् comes optionally, in the place of धा after the words *dvi* and *tri*.

Note:—Here also it comes in both the विधायं and अधिकरण विधा senses. By च, the word 'optionally' is drawn into the sūtra.

Thus द्विधा or द्वेधम्, त्रिधा, or त्रिधम् ॥

Vari:—The affix ड (ḍa, with the elision of the final vowel) comes without changing the sense, after words ending in *dhamuñ*. As पवि, द्वेधाणि संश्रयन्ते ॥

१९९२ । एधाश्च । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

द्वेधा । वेधा ॥

1992. The substitute *edbāch* (एधौ) comes optionally in the place of *dha*, after *dvi* and *tri*.

Thus द्वेधा (VI. 4. 148 S. 311) or द्वेधम् or द्विधा, वेधा वेधम् or विधा ॥

१९९३ । याव्ये पाशप् । ५ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कुत्सितो निपक् निपक्पाशः ॥

1993. The affix *pāsap* (पाश) denotes something as insignificant.

The word याव्य means 'contempt, trifling' &c. Thus कुत्सितः याव्यो निपक् निपक् पाशः 'a very bad physician.' So also यत्किपपाशः ॥

Note:—Of course this will not come in denoting a person who is a good physician, but bears a bad character, or who is a good performer of sacrifices but immoral.

१९९४ । पुराणान्तर्गते तीयादन् । ५ । ३ । ४८ ॥

द्वितीयो नामो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः । स्वरविशेषः ॥ तीयादीकस्त्वार्ये ऽश्रवः ० ॥ द्वितीयो द्वितीयः । तृतीयो द्वितीयः ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥ द्वितीया । तृतीया । विद्येत्येव ॥

1994. After (a nominal stem being) an ordinal number ending in *tiya*, comes the affix **अन् (अ)** (the word retaining its denotation), when a 'part' is meant.

This sūtra is made only to teach accent, for the word to which **अन्** is added undergoes no other change of form except in accent. Thus द्वितीयः (V. 2. 54. S. 1854) has udātta on *सी* (III. 1. 3. S. 3708) but when **अन्** is added, the accent falls on द्वि (VI. 1. 197. S. 3686). Thus द्वितीयो भागः = द्वितीयः 'the moiety'. Similarly तृतीयः 'the one-third'.

Note:—Why do we say when 'part' is meant? Otherwise, there is no change in accent. The affix *तीय* always comes in forming ordinal numbers and for no other purpose, for the *तीय* in words like *द्व्यतीय* is not significant as it is not an affix. The employment of the word *पूरण* in the aphorism is useless for the purposes of this sūtra. Its *anuvṛitti*, however, runs in the other sūtras, and that is the only purpose that it serves here.

Vart:—The affix **ईक** is added to words ending in *तीय*, without changing the sense. As द्वितीयिकः, तृतीयिकः, in the same sense as द्वितीयः and तृतीयः ॥

Vart:—But not so, when the word ending in *तीय* refers to *विद्या* ॥ As द्वितीया विद्या, तृतीया विद्या ॥

१९६५ । प्रागेकादशभ्योऽञ्चन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूरणप्रत्ययान्तशब्देभ्यः । चतुर्थः । पञ्चमः ॥

1995. After an ordinal numeral upto eleven exclusive, comes the affix **अन्**, the word retaining its denotation, when a 'part' is meant: but not so in the Ohhandas.

This is for accent also. Thus चतुर्थः, पञ्चमः, षष्ठः, सप्तमः, अष्टमः ॥

Note:—Why do we say प्रागेकादशः 'before eleven'? Observe एकादशः, द्वादशः no change of accent (VI. 1. 223. S. 3734). Why do we say 'not in the Ohhandas'? Observe, पञ्चमविभक्तिर्यस्याप्राकान्त (पञ्चम has acent on the final being formed by बहु preceded by बहु V. 2. 48, 49 S. 1849, 1850).

२६६६ । षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां अ च । ५ । ३ । ५० ॥

षादन् । षष्ठी भागः, षष्ठः । षष्ठः । अष्टमः । अष्टमः ॥

1996. The affix **ना (अ)** also comes as well as **अन्** after *shastha* and *ashtama*, when a 'part' is meant, but not in the Ohhandas.

The words *भाग* and *अष्टमसि* are understood here. By **च**, the affix **अ** is included. Thus षष्ठः or षष्ठः अष्टमः or अष्टमः ॥

१९६७। मानपञ्चङ्गयोः कन्तुको च । ५। ३। ५१ ॥

महाहमराष्ट्राभ्यां क्रमेण कन्तुको स्तो माने पञ्चङ्गे च वाच्ये । पञ्चको भागः मानं चेद् । अष्टमो भागः पञ्चङ्गं चेद् । मत्स्ये बानो वा लुक् । अकाराद्यपामात्रम् । पङ्गः । पाङ्गः । अष्टमः । द्वादशमः । महावि-
नायका सिद्धे ह्रस्वचनं पूर्वम् मानो नित्याविति ज्ञापयति ॥

1997. After the words *śhaṣṭha* and *aṣṭama* there may come respectively कन् (क) and लुक् elision of the affix, when the meaning is a division of a measure called māna or grain, or the part of the body of a beast respectively.

The word मान means a grain weight (श्रीहि वारमिन् ह्रस्वर्णे) ॥ That is to say, कन् comes after पङ्गः when a division of मान 'measure' is expressed; and लुक् comes after अष्ट when a part of पञ्चङ्ग is denoted. Thus पङ्चको भागः 'a sixth of a grain measure'. अष्टमो भागः 'an-eighth part of the body of a beast'. The लुक् here takes the place of the affix अ as well as कन् ॥ By च, the affixes above mentioned are also employed: as पाङ्गः or पङ्गः, द्वादशमः or अष्टमः ॥ When a measure or the body of an animal is not denoted, this rule (though optional) will not apply.

Though under the Great Option (IV. 1. 82. S. 1092) all these affixes may be elided, yet the separate luk-elision herein-taught indicates by implication, that the अ and कन् of the preceding aphorism are compulsory and cannot be elided by the Great Option. See also V. 3. 1. S. 1947.

१९६८। एकादकिनिष्ठासहाये । ५। ३। ५२ ॥

आकन्तुको । एकः । एकाकी । एककः ॥

1998. After the word *eka*, comes also the affix *ākin-* ich (आकिन्), (the word retaining its denotation), when the sense is 'without a companion'.

By the word च, the affix कन् and the elision लुक् also take effect: the elision being of कन् or आकिनिष् ॥ Thus एकाकिन् (nom एकाकी), एककः or एकः ॥

Note:—By using असहाय, it is indicated that the word एक here is not a numeral meaning 'one', but a noun meaning 'alone'. एकोऽप्याद्ये प्रधाने च, प्रधाने, केवले, तथा ॥ साधारणे, समाने ऽहोरे, संख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥ So that this word will have dual एकाकिनी, and the plural एकाकिनः ॥

१९६९। भूतपूर्वे चरत् । ५। ३। ५३ ॥

भाष्ये भूतपूर्वः भाष्यचरः ॥

1999. The affix चर (with the feminine in कीप्) comes after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation, when the meaning is 'this had been before'.

The word **भूतपूर्व** is a compound of **पूर्व** and **भूत**; the compounding being by **सुप्रसुप्त**, and denotes something done in a past time. Thus **आज्यो भूतपूर्वः** = आज्यपर 'once opulent'.

Note :—The **इ** indicates that the feminine will be in **स्त्रीषु**, as, **आज्यचरी** ॥ The **इ** is not **इत्** in **चरद्** though required by I. 3. 7. S. 189. This proves that **सुप्र** rule is anitya. The sūtra V. 2. 18. S. 1819 might have been read after this, with the saving of the word **भूतपूर्वः**, but then **खञ्** would have debarred **चरद्** which is, however, not intended.

२००० । पष्ठया रूप्य च । ५ । ३ । ५४ ॥

पष्ठयन्ताङ्गनपूर्वैर्द्वये रूप्यः स्याच्चरद् च । कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गोः कृष्णरूप्यः । कृष्णः १८ । तसिन्नाविधु रूप्यस्यापरिगणितत्वात् पुंषु । शुभाया भूतपूर्वः शुभारूप्यः ॥

2000. After a nominal-stem ending in the sixth-case, comes the affix **रूप्य**, and also **चरद्**, in the sense of 'having belonged formerly to somebody'.

The word **भूतपूर्व** here qualifies the sense of the affix, and not the sense of the base, as it was in the last sūtra. Thus **कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गोः** = **कृष्णरूप्यः** 'the cow that formerly belonged to Kṛishṇa'. Similarly **शेवदत्तचरः** ॥ The affix **रूप्य** not being included in **tasilādi** class of sūtra VI. 3. 35. S. 836 does not cause the masculinisation. Thus **शुभाया भूतपूर्वः** = **शुभारूप्यः** and not **शुभरूप्यः** ॥

२००१ । अतिशायने तमविष्टनी । ५ । ३ । ५५ ॥

अतिशयविधियर्थवृत्तेः स्वार्थे एतौ स्तः । अयमेवामतिशयेनाज्यः आज्यतमः । लघुतमो लघिष्ठः ॥

2001. When the sense is that of surpassing, there come the affixes **तमप्** (**तम्**) and **रष्टन्** (**रष्ट**), after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation.

Note :—These affixes form the superlative degree. The word **अतिशायन** is an irregular form of **अतिशयने**, and it qualifies the sense of the primitive. The **स्वार्थिक** affixes sometimes qualify the sense of the primitive.

Thus **आज्यतमः** = **सर्वे इमे आज्याः, अयमेवामतिशयेनाज्यः** 'the richest' i. e. 'these are all rich, but he surpasses them all in riches'. Similarly **पटु**—**पटिष्ठः**, **सुहः**—**सुहिष्ठः**, **लघु**—**लघिष्ठः** (VI. 4. 155. S. 1786).

Note :—When among superlatives, further excellence is indicated, then these words may take additional affixes also : as **श्रेष्ठ**, though a superlative, forms **श्रेष्ठतमः** ॥ As **श्रेष्ठे सः सविता प्रापयतु श्रेष्ठतया कर्मणे** । **पुथिष्ठः** श्रेष्ठतमः कुक्ष्यामितिः ॥

२००२ । तिष्ठन् । ५ । ३ । ५६ ॥

तिष्ठन्तादतिशये चोत्थे तमप् स्यात् ॥

2002. So also after a finite verb, comes the affix **tamap**, when 'surpassing' is meant.

By the next sūtra, the affix तम् gets the designation *gha* प ॥

Note :—By उवाचप्रमातिपरिकान् IV. 1. 1. S. 182 whose force runs throughout, the taddhita affixes are ordained only after nominal stem; they would not have come after verbs; hence this sūtra. Thus पचतितामम् (the ताम् is added by V. 4. 11; S. 2004) = सर्व इमे पचन्तीति, अयमेवामतिशयेन पचति, 'he cooks surprisingly'. चक्षतितामम् &c. The affix इत्तम् never comes after a verb, as by V. 3. 58. S. 2006 it is restricted to adjectives.

२००३ । तरत्तमपो घः । १ । १ । २२ ॥

एतो पतेशो स्तः ॥

2003. The affixes tarap and tamap are called घ ॥

As this affix is *gha*, the next sūtra applies.

२००४ । किमेत्तिङ्गव्ययघादाम्बद्रव्यप्रकर्षे । ५ । ४ । ११ ॥

किम् एतन्ताडिङ्गव्ययघा यो घस्तन्ताडाम्बुः स्यात्तु द्वव्यप्रकर्षे । कित्तामम् । प्राहेतमाम् । पचतितामम् । उचैस्तामम् । द्वव्यप्रकर्षे तु उचैस्तामस्तः ॥

2004. To the affix तर and तम (घ I. 1. 22. S. 2003) ordained to come after the word किम् (V. 3. 55. S. 2001) or after a word ending in ए (VI. 3. 17. S. 975) or after a finite verb (V. 3. 56. 57. S. 2002) or after an indeclinable, is added the affix *ām* (आम्), but not if the excess belongs to a substance (and not to an action or quality).

Note :—The घ or तरम् and तमम् affixes are employed for comparison (प्रकर्षे 'excess') of adjectives and adverbs. This rule applies to adverbs and not to adjectives: i. e. when an adverb qualifies a verb or another adjective, but not when an adjective qualifies a noun. The द्वव्य denoting word by itself has no 'excess' &c. it is the adjective which qualifies such substance that is capable of the quality of a substance; i. e. to adjectives. द्वव्यस्याव्ययपदेशस्य न विना भेद हेतुना । प्रकर्षोविद्यते नापि चक्षदस्थोपेति वाच्यताम् ॥

Thus कित्तराम् or कित्तमाम् "how excessively", प्राहेतराम् or प्राहेतमाम्, पच-
तितराम् or पचतितामम् "he cooks surprisingly", उचैस्तामम्, उचैस्तामम् "more or
most loftily or loudly".

But when the excess belongs not to an action or attribute, but to a substance, the *ām* ताम् is not added. As उचैस्तम् स्तः "a most lofty tree".

२००५ । द्विवचनविभक्त्योपपदे तद्वीयसुनौ । ५ । ३ । ५७ ॥

द्विवचनविभक्त्योपपदे विभक्त्ये चोपपदे द्विवचनादौ स्तः । पूर्वद्वोरपवादः । अयमनयोपपदविभक्त्येन तद्वीयसुनौ तद्वीयसु । तद्वीयसुः प्राच्यः पदतयः । तद्वीयसुः ॥

2005. The affixes tarap (तर) and iyasun (इयस्) come in the sense of 'surpassing', after a nominal stem or a finite-verb, when it expresses (comparison between) two things, or when that which is added to it (upapada); is to be distinguished from another.

Note:—The word द्विवचन does not mean 'dual', but means an expression for two. विभक्त्य is irregularly formed by यद्, and means 'that which is to be distinguished or differentiated'.

This debars सम् and इदम् ॥

The rule of वयांसंय (I. 3. 10. S. 128) does not apply here. First to take an example of द्विवचन or when comparison is between two things: thus: इविमवाक्योऽयमनयोऽतिशयेन = आरुह्यतरः 'both are rich, but he is richer amongst the two'. So also लघुतरः and लघीवान् ॥

Similarly मुकुमारतरः, पयतितरा जल्पतितराम् (V. 4. 11. S. 2004) or with इयमुस् as इविमौ पट्ट अयमनयोऽतिशयेन पट्टः = पटीयान् 'more skilful of the two', लघीवान् ॥ Secondly to take an example of विभक्त्ये योपपदे i. e. when a word in construction is to be differentiated: thus माधुरः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आरुह्यतरा 'The men of Mathura are richer than those of Pataliputra.' Here there are more than two things but as the words are expressed in the sentence, the comparative degree in plural number is used.

Similarly so also इरीष्याः प्राप्येभ्यः पट्टतरा: "The northerns are more skilful than the easterns" पटीयांसः लघीयांसः ॥ Of course all these words must be plural, as they refer to more than two persons.

२००६ । अजादी गुणवचनादेव । ५ । ३ । ५८ ॥

इदमीदृशानो गुणवचनादेव स्तः । प्रथिष्ठः । प्रथीयान् । नेष्ट । पाचकतरः । पाचकतमः ॥

2006. The two affixes beginning with a vowel (i. e. ईयस् and इष्ट) are added only after words denoting attributes.

Thus प्रथिष्ठः प्रथीयान् ; but not after words like पाचक &c. there we have पाचकतरः, पाचकतमः ॥

Note:—The word एव 'only' restricts the scope of the affixes, and not of the primitives. Thus पट्टतरः, पट्टतमः are also valid forms,

२००७ । तुष्टछन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ५९ ॥

तुष्टछन्दसिद्वितीयवचनो स्तः ।

2007. These affixes ishthan and iyasun come in the Ohhandas after a nominal stem ending in तु ॥

The तुः is ablative of त् which includes both तुन् and हृत् ॥ This extends the application of these affixes to words other than attributes.

२००८ । तुरिष्ठेमेयः सु । ६ । ४ । १५४ ॥

इष्टव्यस्य लेपः स्याद्विष्ठेमेयस्य परस्य । अतिशयेन कर्ता करिष्ठः । दोहीयसी धेनुः ॥

2008. The affix *त* is elided before the affixes इष्टन् इमनिच् and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिष्ठः, विजयिष्ठः, पतिष्ठः, दोहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix *त* is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (दि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules.

Thus अतिशयेन कर्ता = करिष्ठः (कर्त् + इष्टन् = कर्-इष्ट by VI. 4. 154, S. 2008 *t* is elided). As आमुत्ति करिष्ठः दोहीयसी धेनुः ॥ By the Vārtika under VI. 3. 35 S. 836 शास्त्रा is changed into masculine शक्ति and then ईयस् is added by VI. 4. 145, S. 2008).

२००९ । प्रशस्यस्य अः । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

अस्य आदेशः स्यात्प्रज्ञायोः ॥

2009. For प्रशस्य is substituted अ, when these affixes *ishthan* and *iyasun* follow.

Then applies the following.

२०१० । प्रकृत्यैकाच् । ६ । ४ । १६३ ॥

इष्टादिदेकाच् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । श्रेष्ठः । श्रेयान् ॥

2010. A monosyllabic *bha* stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् ॥

Thus श्रेष्ठः and श्रेयान् ॥

२०११ । ज्यच् । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

प्रशस्यस्य अर्थादेशः स्याद्विष्ठेयतोः । ज्येष्ठः ॥

2011. For *prāśasya*, ज्य is also substituted before these two affixes.

As ज्येष्ठः ॥

२०१२ । ज्यादादीयसः । ४ । ६ । १६० ॥

आदिः परस्य । ज्यादान् ॥

2012. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस् after ज्य ॥

As ज्यादान् ॥

Note 1—ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 3. 61, S. 2011.

२०१३ । वृद्धस्य च । ५ । ३ । ६२ ॥

अव्ययः स्यादजायोः । अयः । अयायान् ॥

2013. *ज्य* is also substituted for *वृद्ध*, when *ishthan* and *iyas* follow.

Thus *ज्य*: 'the oldest', *ज्यायान्* 'the older'.

Note:—By VI. 4. 157, S 2016 *वर्द्ध* is also substituted for *वृद्ध* and we have *वर्द्धिष्ठः* and *वर्द्धियान्* also. The word *वृद्ध* though not a *gunavachana*, takes these affixes by the implication of this sūtra.

२०१४ । अन्तिकवाढ्येनेदसाधौ । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

अजायोः । नेदिष्ठः । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठः । साधीयान् ॥

2014. For *अन्तिकः* is substituted *नेद*, and for *वाढ* is *साध*, when these affixes follow.

Thus *नेदिष्ठः* । *नेदीयान्* । *साधिष्ठः* and *साधीयान्* ॥

२०१५ । स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रध्रुवाणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः । ६ । ४ । १५६ ॥

एषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते पूर्वस्य च गुण इडादिषु । स्थविष्ठः । दधिष्ठः । कविष्ठः । ह्रस्विष्ठः । रोचिष्ठः । क्षोदिष्ठः । एषीयान् । ह्रस्वक्षिप्रध्रुवाणां पूर्यादित्वात् ह्रस्विमा । क्षेपिमा । क्षीपिमा ॥

2015. Before the affixes *इष्ठ*, *इमन्* and *ईयस्*, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a *Guna* is substituted, in *स्थूल*, *दूर*, *युवन्*, *ह्रस्व*, *क्षिप्र* and *ध्रुव* ॥

That is *लृ*, *र*, *यन्* and *व* and *र* are elided. Thus *स्थविष्ठः*, *स्थवीयान्*; *दधिष्ठः* *दधीयान्*; *कविष्ठः*, *कवीयान्*; *ह्रस्विष्ठः*, *ह्रस्वीयान्*, *ह्रस्विमा*; *क्षोदिष्ठः*, *क्षोदीयान्*, *क्षोदिमा* ॥ The words *ह्रस्व*, *क्षिप्र*, and *ध्रुव* are read in *Prithvādi* class and take 'iman' affix (V. 1. 122 S. 1784). *क्षोदिष्ठः*, *क्षोदीयान्*, *क्षोदिमा* ॥ Why do we say *परं* in यणादिपरं 'the last semivowel'? The *first* semivowel of *युवन्* and *ह्रस्व* i. e. *य* of *यु* and *र* of *ह्र* should not be elided. The word *पूर्व* is employed for the sake of distinctness.

२०१६ । प्रियस्थिरास्फिरोरुणेहुलगुरुह्रस्वक्षिप्रदीर्घचन्द्रारकाणां प्रत्यस्कचर्द्धि-
गर्द्धिप्रभ्राधिचन्द्राः । ६ । ४ । १५७ ॥

प्रियादीनां कमाधारमः स्फुरिडादिषु । प्रेष्ठः । स्थेष्ठः । वरिष्ठः । दधिष्ठः । गरिष्ठः । चर्द्धिष्ठः । नपिष्ठः । द्रपिष्ठः । नृपिष्ठः । एषीयान् । प्रेयान् । प्रियेक्ष्वक्ष्वक्ष्वक्ष्वीर्षाणां पूर्यादित्वात्प्रेत्यादि ॥

2016. Before the affixes *इष्ठ*, *इमन्* and *ईयस्* the following substitutions take place :—*प्र* for *प्रिय*; *स्थ* for *स्थिर*, *स्फ* for *स्फिर*, *वर* for *उरु*, *भृ* for *गुल*, *गृ* for *गुरु*, *वर्द्ध* for *ह्रस्व*, *क्ष* for *क्षिप्र*, *चर्द्ध* for *दीर्घ*, and *चन्द्र* for *चन्द्रारक* ॥

Thus प्रेष्ठः, प्रेमा, प्रेष्ठान् ; स्थिरः, स्वेष्टः, स्वेष्ठान्, स्वेष्टा ; स्फिरः, स्फेष्टः, स्फेष्ठान् ; उरः, वरिष्ठः, वरिष्ठा वरीष्ठान् ; बहलः, बहिष्ठः, बहीष्ठान् बहिष्ठा ; गुरुः, गरिष्ठः, गरीष्ठान् गरिष्ठा ; वृद्धः, वर्धिष्ठः, वर्धीष्ठान् ; वृषः, वरिष्ठः, वरीष्ठान् ; वीर्यः, द्राधिष्ठः, द्राधीष्ठान्, द्राधिष्ठा ; वृन्तारकः, वृन्दिष्ठः, वृन्दीष्ठान् ; ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in the Prithvādi class and take इमन् (V. 1. 122. S. 1784.) while others do not.

२०१७। यदोल्लोपो भू च यदोः । ६। ४। १५८ ॥

यदोः परयोऽरिभ्यसोल्लोपः स्योऽल्लोपः मुरादिभ्यः । भूमा । भूयान् ॥

2017. The इ and ए of these affixes (इमन् and ईयन्) are elided after बहु ; and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा

Note :—In the case of इष्ठ, the following sūtra 2018 will apply. Under L. 1. 54. and 67. यदोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई ; in this case बहु belongs to the Prithvādi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. 1. 122. S. 1784. The repetition of यदो is for the sake of pointing out the āthāni for which the word भू is to be substituted : otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

२०१८। इष्ठस्य यिद् च । ६। ४। १५९ ॥

यदोः परस्य इष्ठस्य लोपः स्यात् विडागनम् । भूयिष्ठः ॥

2018. After बहु the augment यिद् is added to इष्ठ, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥

Note :—This augment यिद् debars the lopa substitution of the last sūtra in the case of इष्ठ ॥ The इ in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment being इ ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इ the augment यि may be added.

२०१९। युवाल्पयोः कनन्यतरस्याम् । ५। ३। ६४ ॥

यदयोः कनविशो वा स्याद्विशेषोः । कनिष्ठः । कनीयान् । पक्षे यविष्ठः । अल्पिष्ठ इत्यादि ॥

2019. Before these affixes, कन् is optionally substituted or युवन् and अल्प ॥

Thus कनिष्ठः, कनीयान् or यविष्ठः, यवीयान् ; similarly अल्पिष्ठः, अल्पीयान् or कनिष्ठः, कनीयान् ॥ सर्वद्वन्द्वे युवान् ; अयमिवावतिष्ठति कनिष्ठः । इतिनी युवान् अयमनयोऽवतिष्ठति कनीयान् । यविष्ठः । यवीयान् । सर्वद्वन्द्वेऽल्पाः । अयमिवावतिष्ठति कनिष्ठः । उभयविनावरूपावयमनयोऽवतिष्ठति कनीयान् । अयमनयकनीयान् । अल्पिष्ठः अल्पीयानीति वा ॥

२०२०। विन्मतेर्लुक् । ५। ३। ६५ ॥

विनो मनुष्यश्च लुक् स्याद्विशेषोः । अतिशयेन सन्धी । सजिष्ठः । सजीयान् । अतिशयेन स्वम्बन्धः । स्वपीयान् ॥

2020. The affixes विन् and मन् are luk-elided, when ishthan and iyasun follow.

Thus सखिन्—सखिष्ठः, सजीयान्—स्वस्वन्—स्वखिष्ठः, स्वर्चीयान् ॥ सर्वदमे सखिजः, शय-
मेयामतिशयेन, सखिष्ठः । उभावितौ सखिणी, अयमनयोःसखिष्ठेन, सजीयान् । अयमस्मान् सजीयान् । सर्वदमे
स्वस्वन्तः शयमेयामतिशयेन, स्वखिष्ठः । उभावितौ स्वस्वन्तौ, अयमनयोःसखिष्ठेन, स्वर्चीयान् । अयमस्मान्-
स्वीयान् ॥

Note:—This sūtra is a jūāpaka or indicator that words ending in विन् and मन् or यन् form their comparative and superlative degrees by adding ईयस् and इष्ठन् ॥

२०२१ । प्रशंसायां रूपम् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुवन्तादिङन्ताश्च । प्रशस्तः पटुः पटुरूपः । प्रशस्तं पचति पचतिरूपम् ॥

2021. The affix रूपम् (रू) comes, without change of connotation, after a stem (nominal or verbal) denoting praise.

Note:—The word प्रशंसा means 'praise', and it qualifies the sense of the primitive; i. e. when the sense of the primitive is that of 'raise', then रूपम् is added. As a general rule the स्वार्थिक affixes, which do not change the denotation of the word, serve the purpose of prominently bringing forward one particular meaning out of the several meanings possessed by a primitive.

Thus प्रशस्तः पटुः=पटुरूपः 'a celebrated artist'. So also घातकिरूपः ॥

The affix comes after a verbal word ending in विष्, for the word निष्ठश्च V. 3. 56. S. 2002 is understood here also. Thus पचतिरूपम्, पचत्तारूपम् or पचन्ति-
रूपम्, 'who is celebrated, who two are celebrated or who all are celebrated in cooking'. These words पचतिरूपम् &c cannot take dual or plural; because the action denoted by the verb is only one, not many. These words are always in the neuter gender, by the general usage of the people.

२०२२ । ईषदसमाप्तौ कल्पदेश्यदेशीयरः । ५ । ३ । ६७ ॥

ईषदो विद्वान् विद्वत्कल्पः । यक्षस्कल्पम् । यज्ञः-कल्पम् । विद्वदेश्यः । विद्वदेशीयः । पचतिरूपम् ॥

2022. The affixes कल्पम् (कल्), देश्य, and देशीयम् (देशीय) come after a nominal or a verbal stem which connotes a slight incompleteness.

The word समाप्ति means 'fulness of objects'. A little non-fulness is called ईषदसमाप्ति ॥ Thus विद्वत्कल्पः, यक्षस्कल्पम्, यज्ञः-कल्पम्, विद्वदेश्यः or विद्वदेशीय 'a clever but slightly incomplete' i. e. 'tolerably clever'. So also after verbs as पचतिरूपम्, &c.

२०२३ । विभाषा सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात् । ५ । ३ । ६८ ॥

ईषदसमाप्तिविशिष्टेऽर्थे सुबन्ताद्बहुधा स्वात्मन्यपि भागेन ननु परतः । ईषदो, यद्वद्बहुवचः । पटुः-कल्पः ।
गुण-कल्पः । यक्षकल्पम् ।

2023. Optionally to a declined noun may be added the affix बहुच् (बहु), but it stands before : when the sense is slight incompleteness.

This is the only exception to the general rule that an affix is added after a word. The affix बहुच् however is added before the word. The च् of बहुच् indicates that the udātta will fall on the final vowel of the word. See VI. 1. 163, S. 3710. Thus बहुवर्द्धः 'a tolerably skilful person'. By the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the affixes क्तच् &c also come as बहुक्तच् ॥ Why do we say घृच् 'to a noun ending in a case-affix i.e. a declined noun'. For it indicates that the affix is not added to finite verbs (विहन्त) ॥ As वज्रक्तित्वम् ॥

२०२४ । प्रकारवचने जातीयर् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

प्रकारवचि चाद्यच् । याद् तु प्रकारनात् । बहुप्रकारः बहुजातीयः ॥

2024. The affix जातीयर् comes after a case-inflected word which expresses 'a speciality'.

That which distinguishes one thing from another is called प्रकार or 'speciality'. When a word expresses speciality, it is called प्रकारवचनः ॥ This word qualifies the sense of the primitive. The affix जातीयर् and the affix याद् V. 3. 23, S. 1971 both denote प्रकार, but while जातीयर् denotes प्रकारवचन, the other denotes प्रकारमात्र i.e. merely प्रकार ॥

Thus बहुजातीयः 'he may be reckoned among the clever persons'.

Notes:—The above Sūtra may, therefore be translated in these words also, "the affix जातीयर् has the sense of "belonging to the class of" "being of the nature of".

२०२५ । प्रातिवाक्कः । ५ । ३ । ७० ॥

इवे प्रतिकृतवित्तः प्राक् कधिकारः ॥

2025. The affix ka (क) governs all the sūtras, as far as "ive pratikritau" (V. 3. 96. S. 2051).

Notes:—Properly speaking क extends only upto V. 3. 86. S. 2041. Thus in the sūtra सप्तमे V. 3. 73. S. 2028 the word क must be supplied to complete the sense. As अथक्कः, सर्वमकः ॥ This affix क does not come after finite verbs (विहन्त), but the affix अकच् V. 3. 71 S. 2026 comes after such verbs. In other words, the phrase विहन्त V. 3. 56, S. 2022 should be connected, by way of sūtrānti, with the next sūtra, and not with this

२०२६ । अव्ययसर्वनामकम् प्राक् कः । ५ । ३ । ७१ ॥

विहन्तेष्वनुपपत्तेः ॥

2025. The affix *akach* (अक्) is added to an Indeclinable and to a Pronominal, before the last vowel of those words; in the sense of *Prāgiviya* affixes.

Note.—The *च्* shows that the acute accent falls on the final (VI. 1. 168. S. 8710), though the affix is inserted in the middle of the word. The phrase *विह्वय* V. 3. 56. S. 2042 is understood here also. This *अकच्* debars क् ॥ Thus *उच्चैः* + अक् = उच्चच् + अक् + ऐः = उच्चचैः ॥ Similarly *नीचकैः*, *सर्वकैः* from *नीचैः* and *शनेः* ॥ So also after Pronominals, as *सर्वकैः*, *विश्वकैः*, and *उभयकैः* from *सर्वैः*, *विश्वैः* and *उभयैः* ॥

२०२७ । कस्य च दः । ५ । ३ । ७२ ॥

कान्ताव्ययस्य षकरोऽन्तादेशः स्वादकच ॥

2027. The letter *द* is the substitute of the final *क्* of an Indeclinable, when the affix *akach* is added.

Note.—The word *अव्यय* is to be read into this sūtra and not *सर्वनाम*, because no Pronominal ends in *क्* ॥ Thus *धक्ति*, *हिरकुन्* and *पृथक्* from *धिक्*, *हिरक्* and *पृथक्* ॥ Thus *हिरक्* + अक् = *हिर्* + अक् + उक् = *हिरकुक्*, now comes the present rule and the final *क्* is changed into *द*, as *हिरकुद्* or *तू* ॥

२०२८ । अज्ञाते । ५ । ३ । ७३ ॥

कस्यायमन्धोऽन्धकः । उच्यते । नीचकैः । सर्वकैः । विश्वकैः ॥ ओकारसकारमकारादौ सुवि सर्वनामष्टेः प्रागक्च * ॥ अव्यय तु सुबन्तस्य षः प्रागक्च * ॥ पुत्रकयोः । आश्रकयोः । पुष्पकासु । अस्मकासु । पुष्पकानि । ओकारित्यादिकम् । स्वयका । मयका ॥ अकचमकारस्य तूष्णीगः काश्चनक्तव्यः * ॥ विश्वावन्त्यावचः परः । तूष्णीकामास्ते ॥ शीले कोमलोपच * ॥ तूष्णीशीलतूष्णीकः । पचसकि । अल्पसकि । धक्ति । हिरकुन् ॥

2028. The affix *क* (V. 3. 70. S. 2025) and *अक्* (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) come after a word, noun or verb, when something or somebody not known, is spoken of.

This *ज्ञात* or want of knowledge refers not to the object itself, but to its relation with some other object. As *अश्वकः* 'whose horse?' Similarly in *उच्यते* 'high' (is it so?) *नीचकैः* 'is it low?' *सर्वकैः* 'was this agreed to by all?' So also *विश्वकैः* ॥ Similarly *पचसकि* "He cooks, is it?" *अल्पसकि*, 'He speaks, does he?'

The affix is added to *सुबन्त* words i. e. to declined nouns, and not to *प्रतिपदिक* or crude-nouns: as was required by IV. 1. 1. S. 182. Sometimes, however, the affix is added after a *Prātipadika* also. The usage will determine when the affix should be added to a Nominal stem (*Prātipadika*) and when to a Subanta word. Thus in *पुष्पकानि*, *अस्मकासु*, *पुष्पकासु*, *अस्मकासु*, *पुत्रकयोः*, *आश्रकयोः*, the affix is added to the *Prātipadika* viz. to *पुष्पद्*, *अस्मद्*, giving *पुष्पकद्*.

अस्मकद् which are then declined as Pronominals. But in the examples स्वका, मयका, स्वयकि, नयकि, the affix अक् is added to स्वका, मया (the Instrumental case of शुभम् and अस्मद्), and स्वयि and मयि the Locative singular of the same.

Vart:—The affix अक् is added before the final syllable (ti) of a Sarvanama or a Pronominal a Prātipadika when a case-affix beginning with जो, स or म follow.

Vart:—The affix is added to the *declined* pronoun, in the remaining cases.

Vart:—The affix काम् is added to the Indeclinable वृष्णीम् ॥ The व is indicatory, therefore, का comes before the final vowel (i, 1. 47 S. 37). As वृष्णीम् + का = वृष्णीकाम्, as वृष्णीकामास्ते, वृष्णीकां विदति 'he remained silent'.

Vart:—When, however, the meaning is 'that-whose habit is so', then the affix क is added, and the म् of वृष्णीम् is elided. As वृष्णीकः 'a taciturn'.

The phrase विदति (V. 3. 56. S. 2002) being understood here, the affix अक् comes after finite verbs also. As पचति—पचयति । जल्पति—जल्पयति ॥

२०२६ । कुत्सिते । २ । ३ । ७४ ॥

कुत्सितोऽश्वोऽश्वकः ॥

2029. The above affixes come when the thing is spoken of as contemptible.

Thus अश्वकैः 'a sorry horse'.

२०३० । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ७५ ॥

कुत्सिते कन् त्वान्तेन वेत्संज्ञा गम्यते । शूद्रकः । रक्षकः । स्वस्यै वपनम् ॥

2030. The affix kan (क) comes in the above sense of contemptible, when the whole word is a Name.

The word कुत्सिते of the last sūtra is understood here also. This कन् debars क् ॥ शूद्रकः । रक्षकः ॥ The difference between कन् and क् is in the accent. (VI. 1. 197 S. 3686).

२०३१ । अनुकम्पायाम् । ५ । ३ । ७६ ॥

पुत्रकः । अनुकम्पितः पुत्र इत्यर्थः ॥

2031. The above affixes come when compassion is denoted.

The word अनुकम्पा means 'compassion, pity, endearment'. Thus पुत्रकः 'the little child', 'poor child'.

२०३२ । नीलो च तदुक्तात् । ५ । ३ । ७७ ॥

सागशानादिह्माद्यो नीतिस्तस्यां गम्यमानायागनुकम्पायुक्तानकपल्लवः स्यात् । हन्त ते धानकाः ।
 छन्दकाः । एहकि । अन्नकि । पूर्वपात्रुकम्पमानात्पल्लवः । अनेन तु परम्परासंबन्धोऽपीति विवेकः ॥

2032. Also as an expression of courteousness, the above mentioned affix is added to that by which compassion is shown.

The word नीति means 'policy' or 'expedient', such as 'conciliation', 'dissension' and 'punishment'. तद्युक्तान् means 'joined with that', i. e. with gift compassion &c. In other words, the things signified by the bases, are connected as means of relief with the persons or things that have been objects of compassion. Thus, हन्त ते धानकाः 'alas! here are barley for you'. एहकि, अन्नकि 'O-dear! come and eat'. (These words are supposed to be addressed to a person who is starving, by one who wants to relieve him. Being moved with compassion, he entreats courteously the object of sympathy, with gifts to relieve his want). In the last Sūtra, the affix was added, in the sense of compassion, to the name of the person or action that evoked pity. In the present sūtra, the affix is added to the object or action by which pity is shown. The word एहकि is from एहि the Imperative second person singular of ई 'to go' with the upasarga आ ॥

२०३३ । बहुचो मनुष्यनामग्रज्या । ५ । ३ । ७८ ॥

पूर्वसुबद्धविषये ॥

2033. The affix thach (इक) is optionally added to a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, as an expression of compassion or of courtesy joined with compassion.

In the alternative we have कच् also. As अनुकम्पितो देवदत्तः = देविकः (देवदत्त + इक = देव + इक V. 3. 83. S. 2035). When कच् is added there is no shortening of the base, as देवदत्तकः ॥ Similarly याज्ञिकः or यज्ञकच् ॥

Why do we say बहुच्यः 'after a polysyllable?'. Observe दत्तकः । सुप्तकः ॥ Why do we say 'being a Man-name? Observe मद्रबाहुकः मद्रबाहुकः, which are epithets and not Proper Nouns (मद्री बाहु चत्त्व); or these are names of quadrupeds.

२०३४ । घनिलचो च । ५ । ३ । ७९ ॥

तमेव ॥

2034. Also the affixes ghan (इय) and ilach (इल) come after a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, when compassion or courtesy joined with compassion is expressed.

Note :—The force of च्च is that the other affix कन् also comes, as well as उच्च् ॥ Thus from देवन्त we have: देवियः, देवित्, देविकः, देवन्तकः (V. 3. 83. S. 2035).

२०३५ । ठाजादावूर्ध्वहितीयादचः । ५ । ३ । ८३ ॥

अस्मिन्मकरणे यष्टोऽजादिप्रत्ययश्च तस्मिन्प्रत्ययेपरे प्रकृतोर्हितीयादच ऊर्ध्वं सर्वं लुप्यते । अतुकांप्ति-
सो देवन्तो देविकः । देवियः । देवित्, देवन्तकः । अतुकांप्तिना वायुरन्तो वायुदन्तकः । उपहृद्यमुक्तो
द्वितीयस्य कविधानार्थम् । वायुकः । पितृकः ॥

चतुर्थादच ऊर्ध्वस्य लोपो वाच्यः * ॥ अतुकांप्तिस्तौ बृहस्पति दन्तो, बृहस्पतिकः ॥

अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ देवन्तकः । देवकः ॥

जापः पूर्वपदस्य च * ॥ कृत्तिकः । कृत्तियः । दन्तिकः । दन्तकः ॥

विनापि प्रत्ययं पूर्वोत्तरपादयोर्या लोपो वाच्यः * ॥ देवन्तः । दन्तः । देवः ॥ तत्प्रभाना । भाना ।

सत्य ॥

उवर्णाह इत्यस्य च * ॥ भातुदन्तः भातुकः ॥

भृवर्णादिपि * ॥ सविचियः । सवितृत्तः ॥ छ इति लोप सज्ञा प्राचापम् ।

चतुर्थादनजादौ च लोपः पूर्वपदस्य च ॥

अप्रत्यये तर्धवेष्ट उवर्णाह इत्यस्य च ॥ १ ॥

2035. When *tha* (V. 3. 78 S. 2033) or one of the affixes beginning with a vowel (V. 3. 79, 80 S. 2034, 2036) taught above, follows, there is elision of all that portion which comes after the second vowel of the name of a human being.

The word *लोप* is understood here from V. 3. 82. S. 2039. The word ऊर्ध्वस्य indicates that the *whole* of that portion of the term which follows the second vowel should be elided, otherwise, only the first letter of the third syllable would have been elided (by I. 1. 54. S. 44). The illustrations have been given above. Thus देवन्त + इक; here all the letters after the *व* of देव should be elided : as देविकः, so also देवियः, देवित् ॥

The affix क् is replaced by इक् or क् (VII. 3. 50 ; 51). hence its special mention in this sūtra. For had it not been used, the sūtra would have run thus. 'When an affix beginning with a vowel follows &c' This rule would have applied to इक substitute of क्, but not to क् substitute of क् which comes after words ending in उ, ऋ, ए, इक् and एक् ॥ But it is intended that क् (and not इक) substitute of क् should be added to words whose second syllables end in इक् (उ or ऋ) vowels. If it be said that इक substitute of क् would be sufficient for words like वायुदन्तः &c. also as it will cause the elision of the third and subsequent syllables; and when such syllables are elided, क् would be the proper substitute to add to वायु and not इक, which we can do by the rule of *sthānavat*; we say, it is not so. For if it were the case, we should add the क substitute and not इक in the following, मयित् + इक् (VI. 4. 51 S. 2313) = मयित् + इक् (VI. 4. 143. S. 311), because, after elision, मयित् ends with

But we know that क is not added but हक, and we have मथितिक ॥ Hence the employment of ण in the sūtra is proper as बायुवन्तः—बायुकः, पित्रवन्तः—पित्रुकः ॥

Vart:—It should be stated that the portion after the fourth vowel is elided in certain cases. As अशुकम्पितौ वृहस्पतिवन्तः—वृहस्पतिकः, वृहस्पतियः, वृहस्पतिलः ॥

Vart:—When an affix not beginning with a vowel follows, the elision is optional. Thus देववन्तः + कन् = देववन्तकः or देवकः; यज्ञवन्तकः or यज्ञकः ॥

Vart:—There is elision of the first term, when these affixes वच् &c. denoting compassion, whether beginning with vowel or not, follow. Thus वनिकः, वसिकः, वसिष्ठः, वसकः from देववन्त or यज्ञवन्त or बायुवन्त &c.

Vart:—The diminutive of compassion or endearment may be formed without adding any affix, by simply dropping either the first or the second term of the name. Thus वच् or देवः from देववन्तः, सख्यभान्तः—भान्त or सखा ॥

Vart:—The affix ह्रस्व is replaced by ल after a word ending in व as, बायुकः from बायुवन्तः, वसुकः—वसुवन्तः ॥ The ल is a designation for lopa in the terminology of the ancients.

Vartika:—So also after a word ending in ऋ as सवितृलः or सवित्रिलः ॥

२०३६ । प्राचामुपादेरडञ्जुचौ च । ५ । ३ । ८० ॥

उपशब्दपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकात्पूर्वविषये अडञ् जुञ् एतौ स्तः । प्राचामुपादन्तम् । प्राचां महर्षे पूजार्थम् । अशुकम्पित उपेन्द्रवन्तः उपडः । उपकः । उपिकः । उपियः । उपिलः । उपेन्द्रवन्तकः । अह रूपानि ॥

2036. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, the affixes aḍach (अड) and vuch (अक) also come after a human-name beginning with the word उप ॥

The च shows that the former affixes also come. The sense of the affixes are the same as above viz. compassion or courtesy. Thus from the word उपेन्द्रवन्त, we have, 1. उपेन्द्रवन्तकः (kan), 2. उपिकः (thach), 3. उपिलः (ilach), 4. उपियः (ghan), 5. उपकः (vuch), 6. उपडः (aḍach). The shortened forms are by V. 3. 83 S. 2035. In diminutives, the forms are generally shortened. The word प्राचां is used as a sign of respect (puṣārtha), for the word प्रा was understood in the aphorism by anuvṛitti from V. 3. 78.

२०३७ । जातिनाम्नः कन् । ५ । ३ । ८१ ॥

मनुष्यनाम्न इत्येव । जातिशब्दो यो मनुष्यनामधेयवत्स्वात्कन्यादनुकम्पायां नीतो च । सिद्धकः । शक्यकः । शक्यक ॥ द्वितीये संभ्रज्जे चैतद्विनिर्जितं शक्यः ॥ अनुकम्पितः कहीडः कदिकः ॥ एकाधः पूर्ववशात्प्राचामुपादन्तः प्रत्ययः ॥ प्राचामीहितः प्राचिकः । कथं पदद्वयवन्तः पदिक इति ॥ पदशब्दादिप्रत्ययान्तिरूपम् ॥

2037. The affix *man* क is added to the Name of a human being, which expresses a special idea: when compassion, or courtesy is meant.

The word *manushya nāmanah* of S. 2033 is understood here.

The *आतिनामन्* are words like *व्याच्* &c. which are well-known names of particular species of animals &c, but which come to be applied to men by way of metaphor. The *anuvṛitti* of *बहुवचः* does not extend to it. This is a general rule. Thus *सिंहकः*, *शरभकः*, *एतभकः* ॥ The word *वा* being understood in this *sūtra*, the previous affixes also come, as *सिंहिनः* ॥ The word *नामन्* is used along with *आति*, to prevent the affix being added to the word-form *आति*: (I. I. 68).

Vart:—When the second vowel is *ओ*, *औ*, *ए*, or *ऐ*, then this is also elided. As *लहिकः* from *लहोदः*, *कहिकः* from *कहोदः* ॥

Vart:—When the first member consists of a single syllable, there is elision of the second member: as *वाचिकः* from *वागाशीदसः* (the *ग्* changed back to *च्* because the stem is now *म* and not *पद* and rule VIII. 2. 39 S. 84 does not apply). So also *शुभिकः* *स्वचिकः* ॥ The form *बदिकः* (and not *बचिकः* from *बद्*) is an exception. It is diminutive of *बदङ्गुलिकः* ॥

२०३८ । शेवलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्थमादीनां तृतीयात् । ५ । ३ । ८४ ॥

एषां ननुष्यवान्तां हाजादी परे तृतीयादच् ऊर्ध्वं लोपः स्वात् । पूर्वस्यापवादः । अनुकम्पितः शेवलवचः शेवलिकः । शेवलियः । शेवलिकः । सुपरिकः । विशालिकः । वरुणिकः । अर्थमिकः ॥

2038. There is elision of that portion of the word, which follows the third vowel, in the case of a man-name beginning with *Śeṣala*, *Supari*, *Viśāla*, *Varuṇa*, and *Aryaman*, when the above affixes *tha* or those having an initial vowel follow.

This debars the previous *sūtra*. Thus *अनुकम्पितः* *शेवलवचः* = *शेवलिकः*, *शेवलियः*, *शेवलिनः*, *सुपरिकः*, *सुपरियः*, *सुपरिनः* from *सुपरिवचः*, so also *विशालिकः*, *विशालियः*, *विशालिनः*, *वरुणिकः*, *वरुणियः*, *वरुणिनः*, *अर्थमिकः*, *अर्थमियः* and *अर्थमिनः* ॥

२०३९ । अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च । ५ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अजिनान्तान्तनुष्यवान्तोऽनुकम्पार्या कश्च हस्य चोत्तरपदलोपः । अनुकम्पितो व्यापृग्भिर्नो व्यापृकः । सिद्धकः ।

2039. The affix *kan* (क) comes in the sense of compassion, after a man-name ending in *अजिन*, and this second member is elided before the affix.

The words कन् and मनुष्यनाम्नः are understood in this sūtra. Thus व्याघ्रकः from व्याघ्राजिनः and सिंहकः from सिंहाजिनेः ॥ Vyāghrājina and Sinhājina are names of men.

२०४० । अल्पे । ५ । ३ । ८५ ॥

अल्पं तैल तैलिकम् ॥

2040. The above-mentioned affixes क (V. 3. 70 S. 2025) and the rest come in expressing the small quantity or small number of anything.

Thus अल्पं तैल = तैलिकं 'a little oil.'

२०४१ । ह्रस्वे । ५ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ह्रस्वो वृक्षो वृक्षकः ॥

2041. The above mentioned-affixes (V. 3. 70. S. 2025) come in expressing shortness of length or diminutive.

The ह्रस्व here is opposed to दीर्घ or 'long'. Thus ह्रस्वोवृक्षः = वृक्षकः 'a small tree'.

२०४२ । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ८७ ॥

ह्रस्वहेतुका या संज्ञा वस्त्यां गम्यमानार्थो कन् । पूर्वस्यापवादः । वेशकः । वेशुकः ॥

2042. The affix कन् (क) comes when the short thing is a Name.

Thus वेशकः, वेशुकः ॥ This debars क ॥

२०४३ । कुटीशमीशुण्डाश्वो रः । ५ । ३ । ८८ ॥

ह्रस्व कुटी कुटीरः । शमीरः । शुण्डारः ॥

2043. The affix र comes after the words kutī, śamī and śuṇḍā, when shortness of length is meant

The word ह्रस्व is understood here, but not संज्ञा ॥ This debars क V. 3. 70. S. 2025. Thus ह्रस्व कुटी = कुटीरः, शमीरः and शुण्डारः ॥

Notes:—The derivatives are masculine names; though the primitives are feminine.

२०४४ । कुत्वाडुपच् । ५ । ३ । ८९ ॥

इत्या कृत्ः कुतपः । कृत्ः कृतेः जेष्ठाच्च-इत्या वा कुतपः पुमान् ॥

2044. The affix ḍupach (उप) comes. in expressing diminution, after the word kutū 'a jar'

This debars क ॥ Thus कुतपः, from कृत् the long क being elided owing to र ॥ It means a small leathern vessel for oil. This word is neuter also, as, कुतपम् ॥ See Amarakośha II. 9. 33.

२०४५। कासूनीभ्यां ष्टरच् । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

आयुषविशेषः कासूः । इत्वा सा कासूनी । नीनीतरी ॥

2045. The affix *shṭarach* (त्तरँ with feminine ई IV.

1. 40. S. 497) comes in expressing diminutive, after the words *kāśū* and *gōṇī*.

Thus इत्वा कासूः = कासूनी 'a small lance' ; नीनीतरी 'a small sack'.

२०४६। वत्सोक्षाश्वर्षभेभ्यश्च तनुत्वं । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

वत्सतरः । द्वितीयं वयः प्राप्तः । वज्रतरः । अश्वतरः । ऋषभतरः । प्रवृत्तिमिन्नतनुत्वं एवायम् ॥

2056. The affix *shṭarach* expresses slenderness, after the words *vatsa*, *ukshan*, *aśva*, and *ṛishava*.

The *anuvṛtti* of इत्वं ceases. Thus वत्सतरः 'a weaned calf' becoming slender in reaching the second period of its age. वज्रतरः 'a slender bull': being the third age of a वत्स ॥ अश्वतरः 'a mule': (तस्य तनुत्वन्यविनृक्ता); ऋषभ-तरः 'a slender bull or that cannot draw the load'.

२०४७। कियत्तदोर्निर्धारणे द्वयोरकस्य डतरच् । ५ । ३ । ९२ ॥

अनयोः कतरो वैष्णवः । यतरेः । ततरः । महाविभाषया कः । यः । तः ॥

2047. After the words *kim*, *yad* and *tad*, in determining of the one out of two, comes the affix *ḍatarach* (अतरँ with the elision of the final इम् and अद्) ॥

Note:—This affix comes in the *svārtha* sense. The differentiation of a portion from the whole by means of its peculiar caste, action, attribute or name is called निर्धारण or specification.

Thus अनयोः कतरो वैष्णवः 'amongst these two, who is a Vaishnava'.

Similarly यतरेः 'of the two the one who', ततरः 'of that two—the one'.

The *taddhita* affixes being optional by the Great option of sūtra IV.

. 82. S. 1072 this idea may be expressed by the word कः, यः or तः also. As, को स्वतो वैवश्चतः स सामच्छतु 'who amongst you two is Devadatta, let him come'.

२०४८। वा बहुनां जातिपरिग्रहे डतमच् । ५ । ३ । ९३ ॥

बहुनां मध्ये एकस्य निर्धारणे डतमच् वा स्यात् । जातिपरिग्रह इति प्रत्याख्यानमाकरे । कनयोः मयता कः । यतनः । ततमः वायदयनकर्मणम् । यकः । सकः । महाविभाषया यः सः ॥ किमोपनिषदये डतमाजि * ॥ कनरः ॥

2048. The affix *ḍatamach* (अतमँ with the elision of the last syllable) comes after *kim*, *yat* and *tat*, optionally, when the object is the determining of the one out of many the question being that of *jāti*.

The phrase ' the question being that of caste ' is redundant.

The words कियत्तः and निर्धारणे एकस्य are to be read into the sūtra. Thus कतमो भवतां कटः ' which of you, Sirs, is a Kāṭha Brāhmaṇa ? ' यतमो भवतां कटः सतम आगच्छतु ' that one of you, Sirs, who is a Kāṭha, let him come '. The word वा ' optionally ' indicates that the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71. S. 2026) also comes, as यको भवतां कटः, सकः, आगच्छतु ॥ This idea may be expressed by कः यः and सः also, owing to the महापितामह (IV. 1. 82. S. 1072) : as, को भवतां कटः सोऽभवतां कटः, स आगच्छतु ॥

Vart :—The affix इतरच् has also this force, after the word कियत्तः, as, कतरं भवतां कटः ' which of you, Sirs, is a Kāṭha Brāhmaṇa ? ' As may be inferred from the sūtra. कतरकतमौ जातिपरिमये (II. 1. 63. S. 742).

२०४६ एकाच्च प्राचोम । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

इतरच् इतमच स्यात् । अनयोरेकतरो मेवः । एषामेकतमः ॥

2049. After the word एक, according to the opinion of Eastern grammarians, may be added the affixes ḍatarach and ḍatamach in the above senses.

The च draws in इतरच् ॥ That is इतरच् comes when one out of two is to be specified ; and इतमच् when one out of many is to be specified. The word जातिपरिमय does not govern this sūtra ; it being a general rule. Thus अनयोरेकतरो मेवः । एषामेकतमः ॥

The word प्राचाम् is for pujārtha ; because the word च is already understood in the sūtra.

२०५० । अवक्षेपणे कन् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

व्याकरणकेन गर्वितः । येनेतरः कुस्त्वो लविशेषादहणम् । स्वतः कुस्त्वो तु कुस्त्वित् दस्य ॥

2050. The affix kan (क) comes after a nominal stem, in expressing scoffing.

Thus व्याकरणकः ' Grammar ' used in a derisive sense, when its study produces pride. As व्याकरणकेन नाम त्वं गर्वितः ' thou art proud, because thou hast read *grammar* only '. Here the word व्याकरण is used in a mocking sense. When, however, the derision applies to the person itself, then कन् is added by V. 3. 14. S. 2029 : as देवदत्तकः &c.

So far the governing power of क V. 3. 70 S. 2025.

अथ तद्धित तद्राज प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TADRĀJA AFFIXES.

२०५१ । इवे प्रतिकृतौ । ५ । ३ । २६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । अन् इव प्रतिकृतिः अन्धकः । प्रतिकृतौ किम् । गौरिव गवयः ॥

2051. The affix कन् means also 'like this'; when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed.

The word कन् is understood here. Thus अश्व इवायमश्व प्रतिकृति = अन्धकः 'an imitation of a horse' in wood or clay &c. Why do we say 'imitation?' Observe गौरिव गवयः "The gayal cow".

२०५२ । संज्ञायां च । ५ । ३ । २७ ॥

इत्यर्थे कन् स्यात्समुदायेन श्वेत्संज्ञा गम्यते । अप्रतिकृत्यर्थमारम्भः । अश्वसदृशस्य संज्ञा अन्धकः । वद्वकः ॥

2052. The affix kan comes in the sense of 'like this', when the whole word so formed is a Name.

This applies when imitation is not meant. Thus अश्वसदृशस्य संज्ञा = अन्धकः 'a thing reminding a horse'. वद्वकः ॥

२०५३ । लुप्तानुष्ये (५ । ३ । २८ ॥

संज्ञायां विहितस्य कतो लुप्तानुष्ये वाच्ये । अञ्चा लुप्तमयः पुमान् । अञ्चयेव मनुष्यवाङ्मा । वद्विका ॥

2053. When in the same way a Man is denoted, the affix is elided by lup; the word retaining its number and gender.

Thus अञ्चा (अञ्चयेवमनुष्यः) 'straw-man' i. e. an effigy in straw. So also वाङ्मा &c. For accent see VI. I. 204. S. 3692.

Note:—Why do we say 'a man'? Observe अन्धकः, वद्वकः &c. This sūtra may be considered to be an enlargement of V. S. 100, S. 2055.

२०५४ । जीविकार्ये चापर्ये । ५ । ३ । २९ ॥

जीविकार्ये यद्विकार्यमाणे तस्मिन्वाच्ये कतो लुप्तान् । पाशुदेवः । शिवः । व्याम्दः । देवकानां जीविकार्यास्तु इवप्रतिकृतिविषयः । अपर्ये किम् हस्तिकाम्बिकार्येति ॥

2054. A similar elision of the affix कन् takes place then also, when the figure is made a means of livelihood, it being presumed, that no traffic is driven thereby.

That which is bought and sold is called वप्य; that which is not so dealt with is अवप्यः ॥ The rule applies to the *images* of gods which are made means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmaṇas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door. Thus वासुदेवः 'the idol of Vasudeva': शिवः 'the idol of Siva'. स्कन्दः &c.

Why do we say अवप्ये? Observe, हस्तिकान् विक्रीणीति 'he sells the images of elephants'. मन्त्रकान्, रथकान् ॥

Note:—This rule is also an amplification of V. 3. 100. S. 2055.

२०५५ । देवपथादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०० ॥

कनो लुप्त्यात् । देवपथः । हंसपथः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

Note:—अर्थास्तु पूजनार्थास्तु चित्रकर्मध्वजेषु च ।

इति प्रतिकृती लोचः कनो देवपथादितु ॥

2055. After the words devapatha &c, there is similar elision of the affix कन्, (V. 3. 96 S. 2051 and 97. S. 2052) expressing an image or a Name.

The देवपथ class is आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देवपथः, हंसपथः ॥

1 देवपथ, 2 हंसपथ, 3 वारिषय, 4 रथपथ, 5 स्थलपथ*, 6 करिषय*, 7 भजपथ*, 8 राजपथ, 9 शतपथ* 10 राक्षपथ, 11 सिन्धुपथ (सिंहपथ), 12 सिद्धगति (सिंहगति), 13 वट्टमीव (वट्टमीवा), 14 वायस्वजु (वागस्वजु), 15 वस्त, 16 वन्द, 17 वप्य, 18 वृष, 19 वस्त्र, 20 जलपथ, 21 रज्जु, It is आकृतिगणः ॥

Note:—The affix कन् is elided when the imitation is an image of a god that is worshipped, or a picture, or a design on a flag. As शिवः, विष्णुः are examples of gods, अर्जुनः 'the picture of Arjuna', दुर्योधनः 'the picture of Duryodhana' कृपिः 'the flag having the figure of monkey' गरुडः the eagle-flag.

२०५६ । वस्तेर्देञ् । ५ । ३ । १०१ ॥

दक्षेयदुषर्तव्यम् । प्रतिकृताविति निपुचम् । वस्तिरिय वास्तेयम् । वास्तेयी ॥

2056. The affix dhañ एय comes after vasti, in the sense of 'like this'.

The word दृक् is understood here. The affixes taught hence forward come in a general sense, and are not confined to images. Thus वास्तिरिय = वास्तेयः fem. वास्तेयी 'like the abdomen'.

२०५७ । शिलाया ङः । ५ । ३ । १०२ ॥

शिलाया इति धातुविनाशान्तरपीत्येके । शिलेय शिलेयम् । शिलेयम् ॥

2057. The affix *ḍha* (एय) comes after *ṣilā*, in the sense of 'like this'.

Thus *ḍikheṣ* = *ḍikheṣ* *ḍikhe*: curd, hard as stone. According to some the affix *ḍh* also comes after *ṣilā*, by dividing this sūtra into two : namely (1) *ṣilāya*: "the affix *ḍhan* comes after *ṣilā*". (2) *ḍ*: "So also the affix *ḍha*", as *ḍikheṣ* ॥

२०५८ । शाखादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । ३ । १०३ ॥

शाखेव शाख्यः । मुख्यः । जपनानिव जपन्यः । जपमः । शरण्यः ॥

2058. The affix *yat* comes, in the sense of 'like this', after *śākhā* &c.

Thus *śākhēv* = *śākhay*, *मुख्यः* (VI. 1. 213 S. 3701) *जपन्यः*, *जपमः*, *शरण्यः* ॥

1 शाखा 2 मुख्य, 3 जपन, 4 श्रुत, 5 जप, 6 जपन, 7 शरण, 8 शक्य, 9 स्कन्द 10 उरख, 11 शिरस्, 12 जम, 13 शरण ॥

२०५९ । द्रव्यं च भव्ये । ५ । ३ । १०४ ॥

द्रव्यमर्थं ब्राह्मणः ॥

2059. The word *dravy* is anomalous, meaning beautiful.

The word *dravy* is formed by adding *yat* to the word *drū* ॥ The word *dravy* means 'nice, excellent, proper, fit; having or containing in himself all the desire's requisites'. As *द्रव्यमर्थं ब्राह्मणः* 'how nice is this Brāhmaṇa'.

२०६० । कुशाग्रच्छः । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

कुशामनिव कुशामीवा बुद्धिः ॥

2060. The affix *chha* (इय) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the word *kuśāgra*.

Thus *kuśāmīva* (कुशामनिव बुद्धिस्तथा) बुद्धिः—"Intelligent sharp as the point of the *kuśa* grass". *कुशामीव* वक्ष्य ॥

२०६१ । समासाच्च तद्विषयात् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

इयार्थविषयात्समासाच्छः स्थात् । काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वधः । इह काकतालीयसमागमसदृशयो-
रसमागम इति समासार्थः । तत्त्वमुक्तः काकमरणसदृशस्तु प्रत्ययार्थः । अजाकृपाणीयः । अतार्किकोपपन्न
इति फलितोऽर्थः ॥

2061. The affix *chha* (इय) comes also, only in the sense of 'like this,' after a compound noun which contains in itself the force of 'like this'.

Note:—The word *सदृ* refers to *इय*, and *तद्विषय* means *इयार्थविषय* ॥ A compound which is formed with the force of *इय*, takes the affix *छ*, when a second *इय* is to be

indicated. In the chapter on Compounds, no samāsa is taught with the force of इव; this sūtra, therefore, indicates by implication that such a samāsa of two nouns can be formed, having hidden in it the sense of इव ॥ Such a samāsa will come under the head of सुप् सुप् समासः (II. 1. 4 8 649).

Thus काकतालीयम्, अजाकुवाणीयम्, अन्धकवर्त्तकीयम् ॥

The word काकतालीयम् means 'like the crow and the palm-fruit: the unexpected and sudden fall of a palm-fruit upon the head of a crow so as to kill it, at the very moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree; and is used to denote a very unexpected and accidental occurrence'. Thus Devadatta happens to enter a village, and on that very day, robbers happen to attack the village, and in the fray, Devadatta is killed, this coincidence of the robbers, and Devadatta is called काकतालीयसमागमः, and the killing of Devadatta is like that of the crow by the palm fruit. The first case of समागमः will form the compound, the second case of वधः will give rise to the affixing of छ, as काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वधः (the compound काकताल meaning काकतालसमागमसदृशश्चौर समागमः and the derivative word काकतालीयः meaning काकमरणसदृशः):

Similarly अजाकुवाणीयम् means "like the death of a goat (ajā) by the accidental falling of a sword (kṛpāṇa) as the goat was passing". Similarly अन्धकवर्त्तकीयम् means "like the accidental falling of a quail (vartakā) in to the hands of a blind person who thus captures it". All these are unintentional (atarkita) and curious (chitrikaraṇa) coincidences. In short, these words mean 'accidentally', 'unexpectedly'.

२०६२ । शर्करादिभ्यो ञ् ॥ ५ । ३ । १०७ ॥

शर्करेण शर्करम् ॥

2062. The affix ṇ (ञ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words śarkarā &c.

Thus शर्करेण = शर्करम्,

1 शर्करा, 2 कषाणिका, 3 कषाटिका, 4 कनिष्ठिका (कषाटिका : पिष्टिका, कनिष्ठिक), 5 पुण्डरीक, 6 वसवश्च, 7 गोलानन, 8 लेगम्*, 9 गोपुच्छ, 10 नराची (नरालि), 11 नकुल (गकुल), 12 सिकता ॥

२०६३ । अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ५ । ३ । १०८ ॥

अङ्गुलीय आङ्गुलिकः । भस्मेन भास्विकः ॥

2063. The affix ṭhak (ण्क् or ण्क) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words aṅgulī &c.

Thus अङ्गुलीयः (= अङ्गुलीय) भास्विकः ॥

1 अङ्गुलि (अङ्गुली), 2 भस्म, 3 धु, 4 वसु, 5 मण्डर, 6 मण्डल, 7 शम्भुनी (शम्भुल), 8 हरिः, 9 कवि, 10 पुगि*, 11 दह*, 12 खट*, 13 दशभिद, 14 गोपी, 15 दाम्, 16 कुलिश, 17 शिला ॥

२०६४ । एकशालायाग्रजन्म्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

एकशालायाग्रजन्म्यतरस्याम् । एकशालेव एकशालिकः । एकशालिकः ॥

2064. The affix *thach* (ईक) also comes optionally after the word *ekasālā*, with the force of 'like this',

Thus ए कशालिकः by *thach* or ऐकशालिकः by इक् ॥

२०६५ । कर्कलोहितादीकम् । ५ । ३ । ११० ॥

कर्कः शुक्लोऽश्वः स इव कार्कोकः । लोहितीकः स्फटिकः ॥

2065. The affix ईक comes in the sense of 'like this' after *karka* and *lohita*.

Thus कार्कोकः 'like कर्क or white horse'. लोहितीकः स्फटिकः 'a crystal though not itself red, appears red, owing to the reflection of some thing behind it'.

२०६६ । वृगाञ्ज् ज्योऽग्रामणीपूर्वात् । ५ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इषावर्गो निवृत्तः । नानाजातीया जगियन्तवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः वृगास्तद्वाचकात्त्वार्थे ज्य स्यात् । लोहितध्वज्यः ॥

2066. The affix *nya* (य) is added without changing the connotation, to a word denoting a horde, but not when the word is derived from the name of their leader.

The *anuvṛtti* of इव ceases. The word *vṛga* means a crowd of men of various castes, having no fixed livelihood, connected together with the object of acquiring wealth &c. Thus लोहितध्वज्यः 'the red bannered horde'. *duat* लोहितध्वज्यो, pl. लोहितध्वजाः ॥ Similarly, शैव्यः, शैव्यो, शिव्यः, चातव्यः, चातक्यो, चातकाः ॥ In the plural, the affix is elided by II. 4. 62. S. 1193.

Note :—Why do we say *अग्रामणीपूर्वात्* ? Observe देवदत्तकाः (V. 2. 78, S. 1878) 'a horde whose leader is Devadatta'. From this sūtra, commence the तद्राज affixes &c, the affixes that have the sense of 'King thereof'. The affix ज्य, therefore, has this meaning also viz. 'the leader of the horde'. Here we repeat V. 3. 113, S. 1100 owing to the context.

२०६६ । क ॥ मातृकफजोरस्त्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

मातृ । कापोतपाक्यः । कफम् । कौञ्जपायनः । माध्वायनः ॥

2066. A. The affix *nya* comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in *chphañ* (आघर्ष IV. 1. 98. S. 1049) without change of sense ; but not in the feminine.

A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence are called *matṛ* or 'wild band'. Thus कापोतपाक्यः

'a wild band living on pigeons', d. कौञ्जायन्यौ and pl. कपोतपाकाः ॥ So with words ending in च्छम्, as कौञ्जायन्यः, d. कौञ्जायन्यौ, pl. कौञ्जायनाः, ब्राह्मणन्यः d. ब्राह्मणन्यौ pl. ब्राह्मणनाः ॥

Note :—Why do we say "not in the Feminine"? Observe कपोतपाकी व्रीहिपती, कौञ्जायनी, ब्राह्मयनी ॥

२०६७। आयुधजीविसङ्घाब्ज्यद्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् । ५ । ३ । ११४ ॥

बाहीकेषु य् आयुधजीविसङ्घाब्ज्यद्वाहिनः स्वार्थे ञ्यद् । औद्रक्यः । मालन्यः । टिस्वाण्डीप् । औद्रकी । आयुधेति किम् । मलाः । सहेति किम् । सत्राद् । बाहीकेषु किम् । शकराः । अब्राह्मणेति किम् । गोपालकाः । शालङ्कायनाः । ब्राह्मणे सहिषेपमहणम् । राजन्ये स्वस्वपदहणम् ॥

2067. To a name expressing a multitude living by the trade of arms, is added the affix *ñyaṭ* (य् with the fem. in ई), when it is the name among the Vāhikas; but not when it is the name of a Brāhmaṇa, nor when the word is Rājanya.

The anuvṛtti of चङ्खियाम् does not govern this sūtra. Thus कौण्डीवृत्त्यः, कौण्डीवृत्त्यौ pl. कौण्डीवृत्ताः, fem. कौण्डीवृत्ती, औद्रक्यः, औद्रक्यौ, pl. छुद्रकाः fem. औद्रकी, मालन्यः, मालन्यौ pl. मालनाः fem. मालनी ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? Observe मलाः ॥ Why do we say 'a multitude'? Observe सत्राद् ॥ Why do we say 'amongst the Vāhikas'? Observe शकराः ॥ Why do we say "not a Brāhmaṇa or the word-form Rājanya"? Observe गोपालका ब्राह्मणाः, the Brāhmaṇa cow-herds. शालङ्कायना राजन्याः ॥ In the case of a Brahmana the rule applies to a word that is *qualified* by the word Brāhmaṇa; while in the case of राजन्य, the sūtra teaches that the very word-form 'rājanya' should be taken.

२०६८। वृकाद्वेण्यम् । ५ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घापापकास्वार्थे । वार्हेण्यः । आयुधेति किम् । जातिवृत्तान्ता मूलम् ॥

2068. The affix *ṣenyaṇ* (एण्य) with the fem. in ई, comes after the word *Vṛika*, a class of persons living by trade of arms.

Thus वार्हेण्यः (वार्हेण्यौ, pl. वृका, fem. वार्हेणी) ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? The affix will not come when वृक means 'a wolf'. As कामकोपी वृकप्यानां स्वादिशते वृकाविष ॥

२०६९। दामन्यादिभिरागर्तपञ्चाक्षः । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

दामन्यादिभिरागर्तपञ्चाक्षः वृकशीविषहृदयानिभ्यः स्वार्थे ञ् । त्यात् । विगतः पक्षो दानो देवां ने विगतपक्षः ॥

आहृष्टिगर्तदहंस्तु कोण्डेपरपशुपद्वी ॥

अहृष्टिगर्तदहंस्तु ब्रह्मगुप्तोदय गणपतिः ॥ १ ॥

रागशील । दामनीयो । दामन्य । भोर्गर्त । वीर्योदः । विगतः । कोण्डेपरपीय । शपद्वीय ॥

2069. The affix *chha* (ईय) comes without changing the sense, after *dāntini* &c, and after the six warrior-stocks called *Traigarta śhaṣṭba*.

The following are the six warrior races, of *Trigartat*-कौण्डोपरयः, दाण्डकिः, कौण्डकिः,

जालननिः, ब्रह्मरुतः and जालकिः ॥

Thus दाननीयः, दामनीयौ, pl. दामनयः । औलपीयः, औलपीयौ, pl. उलपयः । कौण्डोपरधीयः

pl. कौण्डोपरयाः । दाण्डकीयः pl. दाण्डकयः,

1 दाननि, 2 औलपि, 3 वैजवपि*, 4 औलकी (भौतकि औलकि) 5 औलङ्कि*, 6 अच्युनन्ति,

(अच्युनन्ति), 7 आच्युतवन्ति* (आच्युतवन्ति) 8 शाकुन्तकि*, 9 आकिदन्ति, 10 औडपि*, 11 काक-

वन्तकि (काकवन्ति), 12 शार्ङ्गनि, 13 शार्ङ्गसेनि, 14 बिन्दु, 15 वेन्दवि*, 16 तुलन, 17 मोञ्जावन,

18 काकान्दि, 19 सावित्रीपुत्र, 20 काकरन्ति 21 देववापि 22 अपच्युतको, 23 कर्क, 24 बिण्ड ॥

२०७० । पश्वादि यौधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ । ५ । ३ । ११७ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्गवाचिभ्य एभ्यः क्तावयञौ स्तः स्वार्थे । पार्श्वः । पार्श्वी । पश्चः । यौधेयः । यौधेयौ । यौधेयः ॥

2070. The affix *an* (अ) comes after *parśn* &c, and the affix *añ* (अ) comes after *yaudheya* &c, without changing the sense : when these words denote warrior classes.

Thus पार्श्वः, d. पार्श्वौ pl. पश्चः । यौधेयः d. यौधेयौ pl. यौधेयः ॥

1 पशु, 2 अक्षर, 3 रक्ष, 4 शहीक (शालीक), 5 वदस्, 6 वसु, 7 मरु, 8 सप्त, 9 वेशा 10 पिशाच, 11 अश्वनि 12 कार्पाण ॥

1 यौधेय, 2 कौशेय, 3 यौकेय, 4 यौधेय, 5 पार्श्व, 6 पार्श्व 7 यथायथेय (यथायथेय), 8 विगत, 9 भरत, 10 उशीर 11 कौशेय, 12 पार्श्व ॥ See IV. 1. 178.

२०७१ । अभिजिह्विदभृच्छालावच्छिन्नावच्छमीवदूर्णावच्छुमदणो यञ् ।

५ । ३ । ११८ ॥

अभिजिह्विदभ्योऽणन्तेभ्यः स्वार्थे यञ्स्यात् । अभिजितोऽपत्यमाभिजित्यः । वैश्यः । शालावयः । शैलावयः । शमीवयः । शौर्यावयः । शौनवः ॥

2071. The affix *yañ* (अ) comes without changing the sense, after the words *abhijit*, *bidabhr̥it*, *śālāvat*, *śikhāvat*, *śamīvat*, *ūrpāvat*, and *śrumat*, when those word-end in the Patronymic affix अञ् ॥

The *anurūpiti* of आयुधजीविसङ्गवात् *causes*. Thus अभिजितोऽपत्यम् = अभिजित, add यञ् to this, अभिजित्यः, pl. अभिजिताः, वैश्यः pl. वैश्याः, शालावयः pl. शालावयाः, शैलावयः pl. शैलावयाः, शामावयः pl. शामीवयाः, शौनवयः, शौर्यावयः, शौनवः and शौनवाः ॥

Note :—The यञ् here is Patronymic. Otherwise अभिजितो हृत्तः and अभिजितः स्थायीवयः, the affix here is यञ् of नद्यधेय पुरतः शाकः IV. 2. 3 S. 1201 and of सप्तवैश्यः IV. 2. 24 S. 1226 respectively.

२०७२ । ज्यादयस्तद्राजाः । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

पूगाञ्जय इत्याख्य उक्ता एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः । केनास्त्रियां षेडुषु लुक् । कौशित्थवजः । कपोतपाकाः । कौञ्जायनाः । ब्रध्नायना इत्यादि ॥

2072. The affixes *nya* &c, (V. 3. 112 &c 2066) are called *tadrāja*.

The illustrations of *Tadrāja* affixes have been given above. The word *तद्राजा* occurs in *Sūtra* II. 4. 62 S. 1193.

Being *tadrāja*, the affix is elided in the plural number of non feminine words. As कौशित्थवजाः (S. 2066), कपोतपाकाः (S. 2066 A), कौञ्जायनाः (S. 2066- A), ब्रध्नायनाः (S. 2066 A) &c.

२०७३ । पादशतस्य संख्योदेर्वीप्सायां वुन् लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । १ ॥

लोपवचनपरिमितिकत्वार्यम् । यतो न स्थानिवत् । पादः पत् । वद्वितार्थ इति सप्तति छत्वे प्रत्यय । वृद्धन्तं खियामेव । द्वौ द्वौ पादौ दद्याति द्विषदिकाम् ॥ द्विषादिकाम् ॥

पादशतमदणमनर्थकमप्यत्रापि दर्शनात् * ॥ द्विषेददिकाम् ॥

2073. The affix *vun* (अफ) comes after the words *pāda* and *śata* when preceded by a numeral, the sense being that of distributive relation ; and the final of the stem is elided.

Prātipadikas preceded by a numeral and ending in the words *पाद* or *शत* take the affix *वुन्* when a distributive sense (वीप्सा) is to be expressed : and by the addition of this, the final is elided.

By VI. 4. 14§ the final *य* of *pāda* and *śata* would have been elided before the *taddhita* affix *vun* ; even if such elision was not taught in this rule. The repetition of the word *लोप* in this rule, therefore, indicates that the elision ordained here is not one *caused* by the affix. For if the elision had been *caused* by the affix, then by I. 1. 57, such *लोपादेश* or "substitute" would be equivalent to the principal (*sthānivat*) ; and would thus debar the application of the rule VI. 4. 130 by which *पाद्* *pād* (and *not Pāda*) is changed into *पद्* ॥ In other words, the *lopa* taught by *यस्येति य* is *परिमितिक* or caused by some thing which is subsequent, namely, by a *taddhita* affix or by *द्* or *र्* affix ; therefore, this *lopa* would be *sthāni-vat* for the purposes of the rule which would apply to something preceding it (I. 1. 57 S. 50). Therefore, *pād* becomes *sthāni-vat* to *pād*. Therefore, the *anga* or base ending with 'pāda' will be called *य*, and not the base ending with 'pād', and therefore VI. 4. 130 which applies to *य* bases will not apply, and there will be no substitution of *पद्* for *पाद्*, as there is not in the form *पद्मय* ॥ But we want such substitution and hence the employment of word, ' the final of the stem is elided.' *

Thus द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति "he gives two quarters to each" = द्विपादिकां ददाति (द्विपाद् + दुन् = द्विपाद् + दुन् = द्विपद् + दुन् VI. 4. 130 = द्विपादिका VII. 3. 44 S. 463 by which अ of अक is changed into इ). Similarly द्वे द्वे दत्ते ददाति = द्विदत्तिकां ददाति ॥

The compounds above formed are taddhitārtha Tatpuruṣa compounds, viz. compounds containing the sense of a taddhita affix, by rule II. 1. 51 S. 728. After the compound is formed, then the affix दुन् is added. Thus first we have द्विपाद् and द्विदत्त compounded by II. 1. 51 S. 728 then the affix is added. The words पाद् and दत्त when not so compounded, take दुन् affix only in the feminine.

Notes:—Why do we say "of the words पाद् and दत्त"? Observe द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति, no affixing. Why do we say "preceded by a numeral"? Observe पादौ पादौ ददाति ॥ Why do we say "in a distributive sense"? Observe द्वौपादौ ददाति "He gives two quarters:" द्वे दत्ते ददाति ॥

Vdt:—The enumeration of पाद् and दत्त is useless, as the affix is found after other words also. As, द्विमोक्षिकां ददाति "he gives two cakes to each". द्विमोक्षिका ददाति ॥

२०७४. दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च । १ । ४ । २ ॥

दुन् दद्यात् । अशीष्कार्यनिदम् । द्वौपादौ इण्डितः द्विपादिकाम्, द्विदत्तिकाम्, व्यवसृजति दशतीत्यर्थः ॥

2074. Also when the sense is of a punishment or a donation.

The word दण्ड means "punishment", and व्यवसर्ग means "gift or donation". The prātīpadikas पाद् and दत्त preceded by a numeral, and conveying the sense of punishment or donation, take the affix दुन्, and the final अ is elided. This sūtra is begun to show that the "distributive sense" does not apply here. Thus द्वौ पादौ इण्डितः = द्विपादिकान् इण्डितः "punished with the infliction of a fine of two Padas (a quarter coin)". द्वौ पादौ व्यवसृजति = द्विपादिकां व्यवसृजति "he makes a gift of two Padas". Similarly द्विदत्तिकां इण्डितः "punished with a fine of two hundreds". द्विदत्तिकां व्यवसृजति ॥ &c.

२०७५ । स्थूलदिभ्यः प्रकारवचने कन् । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

आतीत्यारोपवादः । स्थूलकः । अशुक्लः ॥ अन्वयदृष्टोत्पत्त्यसंख्यानम् * ॥ अन्वयकः । गृहकः ॥

असाय अहो * ॥ असायार्थोऽहोः अहः ॥

2075. The affix कन् क comes in the sense of "like that or specialty", after the words sthūla &c.

This debars the affix आतीत्य (V. 3. 69 S. 204). Thus स्थूलप्रकारः = अशुक्लः "bulky". So also अशुक्लः, अशुक्लः ॥

Vdt:—The words अशुक्ल and अशुक्ल should be included in the list of sthūlādi words. As, अशुक्लः, अशुक्लः ॥ According to one version the words are

यथा and वृद्धा and not चंचल् and वृहत् ॥ So the derivatives will be बृहकः and चंचकः the words that end in long vowels वा, ई or ऊ, shorten their vowels before this affix, by VII. 4. 13 S. 834.

Gaṇa-sūtra—The word कृष्ण takes कन् when tila is meant; as कृष्णप्रकाश-
स्तिला = कृष्णकः ॥

Gaṇa-sūtra :—यव takes कन् when meaning व्रीहि, as यवकः ॥

Gaṇa-sūtra :—इक्षु, तिल, पाथ, काल, and अवदात take this affix when wine is meant, a पाथिका, कालिका, अवदातिका "a kind of wine".

Gaṇa-sūtra :—गोमूत्र takes this affix when meaning a covering, as गोमूत्रकः 'a covering of the colour of cow's urine, or गो-मूत्रा may mean a certain arrangement of colours such as white and black'.

Gaṇa-sūtra :—सुरा takes कन् when meaning a snake, as सुरकः (VII. 4. 13 S. 834) "a kind of snake of the color of wine",

Note :—As सुरा + कन् = सुरकः "snake-like".

Gaṇa sūtra :—जीर्ण takes the affix कन् when meaning sālī grain, as जीर्णकः = जीर्णकन्ना सालयः ॥ The following is a list of Schulādi words.

1 स्थूल, 2 अणु, 3 माष, 4 इषु, 5 कृष्ण विज्ञेयु 6 यव व्रीहिषु, 7 इक्षु तिलपाथकालवदाताः
सुरायाव, 8 गोमूत्र चाष्टादशे, 9 सुरा अक्षी, 10 जीर्ण सालिषु, 11 पञ्चदशे समस्तव्यस्ते, 12 कुमारीषुषु,
13 कुमारीषुषु (कुमारी, अश्वर), 14 मणि. ॥

२०७६ । अनत्यन्तगतौ क्तात् । ५ । ४ । ४ ॥

द्विभक्तम् । त्रिभक्तम् । अत्रिभक्तम् ॥

2076. After a participle ending in kta, comes the affix kan, when the meaning is something not yet wholly completed.

The word अत्यन्तगति means "an act which has been fully accomplished"; अत्यन्तगति therefore, means, "an act which has not been fully accomplished". Thus भिन्न + कन् = भिन्नकम् "not yet wholly divided" So also द्विभक्तम् &c.

Note :—Why do we say "something not wholly completed" ? Observe भिन्नम् "totally divided", द्विभक्तम् "totally cut".

२०७७ । न सामिवचने । ५ । ४ । ५ ॥

सामिवचने उपपदे कान्ताय कन् । सामिद्वयम् । सामिद्वयम् । सामिद्वयगतेरिह मङ्गलैवाभिधाना-
न्तरेण कन् न प्रातः । इतिह विविधव्यवस्थान्तराधिक्यवि कन् शेषवति । अन्तरकम् ॥

2077. Not so, when a word in the sense of "half", precedes such participle.

When the word सार्ध or any other word having this sense, is compounded, with a participle in क्ता the affix कन् is not added to denote the sense of incompleteness. Thus सार्धवृक्षम्, सार्धमूलम् &c (II. 1. 27 S. 632) The word सार्धवृक्षम् is that the "synonyms of सार्ध are also to be taken. Thus सार्धवृक्षम् ।

*Note:—Objection:—*It is redundant to have prohibited कन् after a word preceded by 'half', because the word "half" itself shows that the action has not been completed.

*Note:—Answer:—*The prohibition contained in this sūtra does not refer to the कन् of the last sūtra where it has the sense of "incompleteness". It refers to that कन् which comes after a word, without changing the sense of that word (स्वार्थकम्) ॥ Thus the words निम्नतर and निम्नतम (the comparative and superlative degrees of निम्न) show by the very fact of their comparison, that the action denoted by them is not complete. These words निम्नतर and निम्नतम also take the affix कन् without change of sense. As निम्नतरकः and निम्नतमकः and बहुतरकः &c. as used by Pāṇjali himself in the following sentences:—एवं हि सूक्ष्मनिम्नतरकं भवति. एतेहि बहुतरकं व्याचष्टे ॥ This कन् is also prohibited in the case of compounds with सानि ॥

In fact, the prohibition of this sūtra teaches by implication (Jāpaka) that कन् comes also in the sense of svārtha. As बहुतरकम् ॥

२०७८. बृहत्या आच्छादने । ५ । ४ । ६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । द्वौ प्राचरोचरासहो सगौ बृहतीका तथा ॥ आच्छादने किय् । बृहती कन्ः ॥

2078. The affix kan comes after the word brihati when it means "an article of dress"

The word कन् is to be read into this sūtra and not its prohibition. The force of this कन् is *nil*, or it is an example of स्वार्थे कन् ॥ Thus बृहति + कन् = बृहतीका (प्राचरः) (VII. 4. 13 S. 834, by which long vowel is shortened) "an upper garment or mantle". see Amarakosha II. 9. 117.

Why do we say "when it means dress"? Observe बृहतीकन्ः "the metre called Brihatt".

२०७९. अषाढकशाशितखलकुर्मालंपुरुषाभ्युत्तरपदात्तः । ५ । ४ । ७ ॥

स्वार्थे । अषाढकीणा मन्त्रः । द्वाभ्यामिव कृत इत्यर्थः । आशिता प्राचोऽग्निमित्याशितकृत्तमिनर पदम् । निषातनाभ्युत्तरस्य पुमः । अलं कर्मण्ये अलंकर्मीणः । अलंपुरुषीयः । ईश्वरापीनः । निर्योऽयं लः । अलंरूपे विभाषापदगतात् ॥ अन्त्येऽपि केचित्स्वार्थिकाः प्रत्यया नित्यनिष्पद्यन्ते । तन्मादयः प्राचीनः । आदयः प्राच्यः । आमादयः प्राच्यमयः । बृहती आशान्तः समः (सन्तापेति) ॥

2079. The affix kha (ईन्) comes after the words aṣhaḍkṣha, āsitāṅgu, alaṅkarma, alampuruṣha, and after a stem ending with adhi.

The force of ल is स्वार्थे i. e. it does not change the sense of the word.

*Note:—*The word अषाढक means "that which has not six eyes". अषाढ is compounded from षड् + षादित् by adding षन् V. 4. 113 S. 832 "having six eyes". The affix ल is to be added to this word already ending in the affix aṣhaḍ.

Thus अषाढकीणा मन्त्रः "a secret not having six eyes". i. e. "a secret

known or determined by two persons (four eyes) only, to the exclusion of a third". Similarly आसितेगवीने अरण्यम् = अस्मिन्ना गावोऽस्मिन्नरण्ये = प्रमृजययसे "a forest where formerly cattle had grazed". The augment वृम् is added to आसित् by nipātana, or irregularly. So also बलं कर्मणि = बले समर्थः कर्मणे पर्याप्तः = competent to do any act, clever. So बलं वृक्षीणः = बले समर्थः वृक्षपात्र = प्रतिमत्साहिः = fit for a man.

A word ending with क्षप्ति, will be a Tatpurusha compound, by 11. 1. 40, as the word क्षप्ति belongs to Śaundādī class. As ईश्वराधीनः ॥

The affix kha in the case of these words is invariable (nitya); because the word विमदा occurs in the next sūtra; (and it is a maxim of interpretation that a rule occurring between two optional rules is nitya).

According to others the above words always occur with this affix and never without it while in the case of other words taught hereafter this affix comes optionally.

There are other affixes also which are *Sudrthika* and *nitya*.

Such as तन्म् &c up to the affix क्ख (V. 3, 55 to 95).

व्य &c upto वृत्, (V. 3, 112 to V. 4, 1.)

आम् &c. upto मन्त्, (V. 4, 11 to 21).

And affixes taught from V. 4, 6 i. e. क्ख to V. 4, 9, (ख). ending in क्षप्ति ॥

And all Samāsānta affixes.

२०८० । विमदाप्तेरादिक् क्षियाम् । ५ । ४ । ८ ॥

अदिक्सीदृशेरन्त्यन्ताभ्यातिविमदाब्धः । एयाद्वा स्थायै । प्राक्, प्राचीनम् । प्रत्यक्, पश्चीनम् । अयाक्, अयाचीनम् । निरुहपतिप्रहारेरेकयाभ्यायमापमाः । अयन्तमन्त्यसीति अयाक्, अयाचीनम् । अतिकक्षिर्वा किम् । प्राची दिक् । पश्चीविद् । विमदर्थे किम् । प्राचीनां प्राचीनी । सीमदर्थे किम् । प्राचीनं प्राचाराधः ॥

2080. The affix kha (ईन्) may optionally be added without change of sense to a stem ending in añch (अञ्च्), when it does not mean a point of the compass used in the feminine gender.

Thus प्राक् or प्राचीनम् "old", प्रत्यक् or पश्चीनम्, अयाक्, or अयाचीनम् "new".

Why do we say "when not denoting a direction in the feminine?" Observe प्राची दिक् "eastern region", पश्ची दिक् "western region". Why do we say "a point of the compass"? Other words in the feminine will take this affix. A प्राचीनां प्राचीनी ॥ Why do we say "in the feminine"? A direction or (ईन्) used in any other gender will take this affix. As प्राचीनं प्राचाराधः ॥

२०८१ । जात्यन्तावत् मन्त्युति । ५ । ४ । ९ ॥

ब्राह्मणजातीयः । वस्तुनि किम् । ब्राह्मणजातिः शोभना । अतिशयोक्त्या ज्ञाप्यं वस्तु ॥

2081. The affix *chha* (ह्य) is added without change of sense, to a stem ending in the word *जाति*, when it means appropriateness.

Note:—The word *वस्तु* means the substance or substratum in which *jāti* or generic quality adheres or any thing by which a thing is regulated and individualised, (*वस्तुनि नियमं भवे स्वसम्बन्धी किञ्चित्*) ॥

Thus *ब्राह्मणजातीयः* "appropriate to a *Brāhmaṇa*". *अद्विचनजातीयः* *वैश्यजातीयः* &c.

Why do we say "when meaning appropriateness". Observe *ब्राह्मणजातिः शोभना*, "the *Brāhmaṇa* caste is beautiful".

वस्तु means that substance by which the genus *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kshatriya* &c is distinguished.

२०८२ स्थानान्तर्हिमादा स्वस्थानेनेति चेत् । ५ । ४ । १० ॥

स्वस्थानेन दुस्येन चेत् स्थानान्तर्धनवित्तर्यः । वितृस्थानीयः । वितृस्थानः । स्वस्थानेन दिव्यः । गोः स्थानम् ॥

2082. The affix *chha* (ह्य) is optionally added to a stem ending in *स्थान*, if it is compounded with something with which another is made to take an equal place.

The word *स्वस्थान* means समानं स्थानमस्य 'whose place is the same' or दुस्य or equal. Thus *विद्या दुस्यः*—*वितृस्थानीयः* or *वितृस्थानः* (*वितृरपि स्थानमस्य* whose place is that of a father).

Why do we say "when it means equal to". Observe *गोस्थायव* "cowshed".

Note:—The word *इति* in *स्वस्थानेनेति* is for the sake of distinctness. The word *स्वस्थान* as a *Bahuvrīhi* compound is the appropriate word to be taken here, and not when it is taken as a *Tatpuruṣa* compound like समानं च वस्तु स्थानं च ॥ The word *चेत्* "when" is a conjunction : and joins the two meanings.

The rule S. 2081 occurring between this rule and S. 2080 both of which are optional must be a *nitya* rule, as explained above. *द्वौर्विना* *अधोर्विना* विधयः ॥

२०८३ । अनुगादिनष्टम् । ५ । ४ । १६ ॥

अनुगादीत्यनुगादी । स एव आनुगादिकः ॥

2083. The affix *thak* comes after the word *anugādin*, without changing its sense

Thus आनुगाहिकः " repeater or who echoes back ".

२०८४ । विसारिणो मत्स्ये । ५ । ४ । १६ ॥

अण् स्यात् । विसारिणः । मत्स्येति किन् । विसारी देवदत्तः ॥

2084. The affix *an* is added to the word विसारिन् when a word expressing " fish " is to be made.

Thus विसारिणः " a fish ". Why do we say " when it means a fish " ? Observe विसारी देवदत्तः " Devadatta who is gliding out ".

२०८५ । संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच् । ५ । ४ । १७ ॥

अभ्यावृत्तिर्नन् । क्रियाजन्यमभ्यवृत्तेः संख्यायदात्तार्थे कृत्वसुच् स्यात् । पञ्चकृत्यो ह्यङ्के । संख्यायाः क्रिप् । मृरितारान्मुङ्के ॥

2085. The affix *kṛitvasuch* (कृत्वस्) is added to a Numeral, when the repetition of an action is to be counted.

This is also a *svārtha* affix. The word अभ्यावृत्तिः means " again and again or repetition ". The counting of actions belonging to the same class and having the same agent, which occur again and again is called कृत्वभ्यावृत्ति-गणनम् ॥ Thus पंचवारान् मुङ्के = पंचकृत्योमुङ्के " he eats five times ".

Why do we say " after a Numeral " ? Observe मृतीन् दातान् मुङ्के " he eats many times ".

२०८६ । द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् । ५ । ४ । १८ ॥

कृत्वसुचोऽपवादः । द्विर्मुङ्के । त्रिः । चतस्रम् । चतुः ॥

2086. The affix " *sueh* " (स्) is added to the numeral *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*, in the same sense of counting the repetition of an action.

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ Thus द्वि—द्विस्, त्रि—त्रिस्, चतुर्—चतुस् in द्विर्मुङ्के, त्रिर्मुङ्के, चतुर्मुङ्के ॥ The स् in the last example is elided by VIII. 2. 24 S. 280.

Note.—But चतुस् meaning " four ", and चतुर् " four-times ", are differently accented : the च् of सुच् indicating that the accent udatta falls on the last syllable. Thus चतुर् (चतुश्चतुर् Un V. 58, being formed with the affix ' *uran* ' added to चतुस्), and चतुर्द्वि (with सुच्) ॥

२०८७ । एकस्य सकृद्य् । ५ । ४ । १९ ॥

सकृदिमादेशः स्यादाद्युच् । सकृद्मुङ्के । सोमेयान्मयेति युषो सोमः । यत्तु इत्यप्यविति । सोमेयीदित्यत्र विभ ह्य युषोऽपि तस्येयान् ॥

2087. The word सकृन् is substituted for एक before the affix सुच्, when an action is to be counted.

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ The ' repetition ' being impossible, the action

alone is counted: so the anuvṛtti of क्तिव only runs into this sūtra and not of सम्भाक्तिः ॥ Thus सङ्गृह्णते "he eats once" सङ्गृह्णीते ॥ The व् of सृच् is elided by VIII. 2. 23 S. 54 and not by VI. 1, 68. S. 252; because the सु of that sūtra refers to the सु of सृच् and not to the सु of सृच्; as the सि of that sūtra refers to सिच् and not to सिच् as in इमेस्तीन् (See page 128). But not here in एकः पाकः as being against usage.

२०८८ । विभाषा बहुधा विप्रकृतकाले । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

अविप्रकृत आसन्नः । बहुधा विप्रस्य भुङ्क्ते । आसन्नकाले क्तिव । बहुकालो मासश्च भुङ्क्ते ॥

2088. The affix चाँ is optionally added to the numeral बहु, to count the repetition of an action occurring in a not distant period of time.

This-debar्य कृत्वसृच् which comes in the alternative. The word अविप्रकृत "not remote", qualifies क्तिवभाक्तिः; i. e. when the recurring of the action takes place within a short time, it is अविप्रकृतकाल ॥ Thus बहुधा or बहुकाल विप्रस्य भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times a day". But when a remote time is denoted then चाँ does not apply. Thus बहुकालो मासश्च भुङ्क्ते 'he eats many times in a month, not daily owing to poverty &c.'

२०८९ । तत्प्रकृतवचने मयद् । ५ । ४ । २१ ॥

मात्रेण प्रस्तुतं प्रकृतं तस्य वचनं प्रतिपादयन् । मातृप्रकरणे वा स्याद् । भावे गुण-
वत्प्रत्ययस्य । अप्रत्ययस्य । यथायुग्यी । द्वितीये सप्तम्यो वक्षः । अप्रत्ययस्य पूर्व ॥

2089. The affix mayat (मय with the feminine in grave ई) is added to a word in first case in construction, when the sense is "made thereof", or "subsisting therein", (or 'made abundantly')

Note:—The translation of the sūtra given above is according to the rendering of Prof. Bobhtlingk. According to Kāśikā:—मय् signifies that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case, (IV. 1, 82) the word प्रकृतवचने means "happening to be in abundance". So that according to this interpretation the sūtra should be translated, as done by Dr. Ballantyne. "The affix mayat may be employed after a word denoting some substance, when we require an expression for it as abundant." Thus भानं प्रकृतम् = भानमयम् "abundance of food". अप्रत्ययम् "abundance of cake". According to others that in which there is abundance of the thing signified by the word to which the affix मयद् is added, is denoted by the whole word. Then भानं प्रकृतमस्तिव = भानमयो वक्षः "a feast in which there is abundance of food". अप्रत्ययस्य पूर्व, वदकमयोवाचा ॥ Both senses are possible, as the sūtra is constructed.

The word prakṛita is made up of pra and kṛita, pra has the force of abund-

ently and *kr̥ita* means made. *Prakṛita* therefore means "made in abundance". That which expresses (*vachana*) this is called *prakṛita vachana*.

The word *पचन* in the *sūtra* has two senses. It being made by the affix *सुच्* conveys the force both of the *nature* (III. 3. 114) and the *sita*. In the former case, (taking *सत् प्रकृतपचन* to mean "the mention of that as abundantly made"), we have *अन्नमयः* "abundance of grain". *अपूपमयः, कषापूपमः* ॥ But in the second case, (taking it to mean "that in which something is spoken of as abundant"), we have *अन्नमये यज्ञः* "a sacrifice at which food is abundant" so also. *अपूपमये पर्वः* ॥

२०१० । समूहवच्च बहुषु । ५ । ४ । २२ ॥

सामूहिकाः प्रत्यया अतिदिश्यन्ते आत्मनः । मोदकाः प्रकृताः नौशक्तिकम् । मोदकमयम्, चापकुलिकम् । चापकुलीमयम् । द्वितीयार्थे । नौशक्तिको यज्ञः । मोदकमयः ॥

2090. When that, whereof something is made or subsists in, is a multitude, then the affixes expressing a great quantity (IV. 2. 37 & S: 1243) may also be employed to denote 'made thereof, subsisting therein'.

The *च* shows that *मय* also comes in the same sense. Thus *मोदकाः प्रकृताः प्राप्नुय्य प्रसृताः* = *नौशक्तिकम्* (IV. 2. 47 S. 1256) or *मोदकमयम्*; so also *चापकुलिकम्* or *चापकुलीमयम्* ॥ In the second sense we have, *मोदकाः प्रकृताः अस्मिन् यज्ञे* = *नौशक्तिको* or *मोदकमयो यज्ञः*; *चापकुलिकः* or *चापकुलीमयः* ॥

२०११ । अमन्तावसथेतिहभेषजाब् द्वयः । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अमन्त एवावन्त्यम् । आवसथ्य एवावसथ्यम् । इतिहेति निवाससद्वसायः, ऐतिह्यम् । नपक्नेव भेषजम् ॥

2091. The affix *hya* (*य*) comes, without changing the sense, after the words *ananta*, *āvasatha*, *itih* and *bheshaja*.

Thus *आमन्तार्* = *अमन्तः*, *आवसथ्यम्* = *आवसथः* 'a dwelling place, a sanctuary for sacred fire'. *ऐतिह्यम्* = *इति ह* 'traditional account', the affix here is added to a word which is not a *prātipadika*. The word *इति ह* means tradition, as *इति ह* *अतीतावस्थाः* *नपक्नेव* ॥ *भेषजम्* = *भेषजम्* ॥

Note—It is optional to add this affix, owing to the general optional nature of all taladhate affixes. See IV. 1 82. S. 1072.

२०१२ । द्युपतन्तात्तादर्थ्ये यत् । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

तदर्थ एव तादर्थ्यम् । तादर्थ्यं यत् । अतिदिश्यन्ति इदम् अतिदिश्यम् । विशुद्धम् ॥

2092. After a stem ending in the word *देयता*, being in the fourth case in construction, comes the affix *यत्*, in the

sense of "appointed for it".

The word वात्सर्जन has the same meaning as तर्प्य "for the sake of that" (II. I. 36. S. 698). Thus अग्निदेवतायेऽर्प्य = अग्निदेवतस्य "offering &c, sacred to Agni". So also विद्देवतम् ॥

२०९३। पादार्थमुक्तं च । ५। ४। २५ ॥

पादार्थमुक्तं पादम् । अर्ज्यम् ॥ नवस्य नृमदिषाः अन्तर्गतस्य प्रत्यया वक्तव्याः * ॥ नृमन् । नृमन् । नवीनम् । नृम पुत्राणि प्रादु * ॥ पुत्रणाम्यै वर्तमानात्मनस्तदावो वक्तव्यः । आत्पूर्वोक्ताः । प्रणम् । प्रमन् । मतनम् । प्रीणम् । भाग्यप्रदानायो धेयः ॥ भागधेयम् । रूपधेयम् । नामधेयम् ॥ आग्नीध्रसाधारण्यम् * ॥ आग्नीध्रम् । साधारण्यम् । धियां ङीप् । आग्नीध्री । साधारणी ॥

2093. The affix यत् comes after the words पाद and अर्ज्य, being in the fourth case in construction, when the meaning is 'for the purpose of that'.

The word वात्सर्ज्य is understood here also. Thus पादार्थमुक्तं = पादम् "water meant for washing the feet". So also अर्ज्यम् ॥ The accent of these words is governed by VI. I. 213, S. 370 the udatta being on the first syllable.

Note 1.—The च in the sūtra implies the inclusion of words other than पाद and अर्ज्य, not mentioned here. The affix यत् applies to other words also, as एव दे

सम्प्रदात्तर वक्तव्यस्य प्रकाशितः । So also वद्, जयत्, शोक, कवि, क्षेम, उदक, वर्चस्, निष्ठावत्, वक्ष्य, जन, पूर्व, नव, सूर, गर्त, वधिष्ठ ॥ These words take यत् in the Vedas. Thus वसुधा, अयस्यः, शोकस्यः, कल्पः, क्षेम्यः, उदकस्यः, वर्चस्यः, निष्ठावत्यम्, वक्ष्यः, जन्यः, पूर्व्यः, नव्यः, सूर्यः, गर्त्यः and वधिष्ठस्यः in अग्निरीशेवस्तवस्य । अयस्यो वसनाः (द्वितीयाद्वचनस्यानुक्तं अपो वसना इत्यर्थः) इत्यन्ये । कव्योक्ति । क्षेप्तस्य वसति । वायुर्वर्चस्यः ॥ निष्कैवत्यं संसति । उदक्यं संसति । अन्येनाग्निः । पूर्व्यं विषाः । स्तोत्रैर्नमयामि नव्यम् । सूर्यः । गर्तः । वधिष्ठः ॥ So also the words आह्वयवाच्य and आह्वयपुष्टिका ॥

Vart :—य् is the substitute of नव, and the affixes जय्, मतन् and यत् are added to it; as, जयन्, मतन्, नवीनम् ॥

Vart :—To the word म meaning 'old', the affix न् is added as well as the affixes य्, तन and ख e. g. प्रणम्, and प्रमन्, मतनम् and प्रीणम् ॥

Vart :—The affix धेय is added to the words भाग, रूप and नाम e. g. भागधेयम्, रूपधेयम्, नामधेयम् ॥

Vart :—The affix अग्न् comes after आग्नीध्रा and साधारण्य, as, आग्नीध्रम्, साधारण्यम् ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीप् as, आग्नीध्री, साधारणी ॥

Note :—All these are illustrations of the option allowed by IV. I. 82, S. 1072 so that sometimes these affixes do not apply as आग्नीध्रा राज्ञा साधारणा यः ॥

२०९४। अतिथेऽर्ज्यः । ५। ४। २६ ॥

वात्सर्ज्ये इत्येव । अतिथये इत्यनातिथये ॥

2094. The affix **या** (य) comes after **अतिथि** in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of “for the purpose of that”

The word **सायम्** is understood here also. Thus **अतिथये दयम् = अतिथयम्** ॥

२०९५ । देवात्तज्ज । ५ । ४ । २७ ॥

देव एव देवता ॥

2095. The affix **तञ्** comes after **देव**, without change of sense.

The anuvṛtti of **सायम्** does not apply here and ceases. Thus **देवतम् = देवः** ॥

Note :—This word is always in the feminine, another example of the rule that a word derived by a *svāthika* affix does not always follow the gender of its primitive.

२०९६ । अयेः कः । ५ । ४ । २८ ॥

अतिरेषाधिकः ॥

2096. The affix **क** comes after **अवि**, without change of sense.

Thus **अविकः = अविः** ॥

. २०९७ । यावादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । ४ । २९ ॥

याव एव यावकः । मणिकः ॥

2097. The affix **कन्** comes after the words **याव** &c, without changing their sense.

Thus **यावकः = यावः**, **मणिकः = मणिः** ॥

1 याव. 2 मणि. 3 अवि. 4 ताञ्, 5 जाट्, 6 लान्, 7 पीत, 8 स्तम्भ (पीतस्तम्भ पीतस्तम्भ), 9 दन्ताद्वयपीत. 10 यतो लुप्तविषयि (विषयि), 11 अष्टाद्विषये, 12 पुन कृषिभे, 13 ज्ञान वेदमार्ग. 14 अन्त रित्, 15 दान कुम्भिते, 16 तद्दु खदे, 17 ईयत्त (ऐयत्त), 18 ज्ञात, 19 अज्ञात, 20 कुन्तारीकीडनकानि च 21 अण्ड ॥

२०९८ । लोहितान्मणी । ५ । ४ । ३० ॥

लोहित एव मणिर्लोहितकः ॥

2098. The affix कन् comes, without changing the sense, after the word लोहित, when it means a precious stone.

Thus लोहितकः=लोहितः "Ruby".

Note:—Why do we say 'when it means a precious stone?' Observe, लोहितः red.

२०९९ । वर्णे चानित्ये । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

लोहितकः कोपेन ॥ लोहितक्षिप्रबाधनं वा * ॥ लोहितिका लोहितिका कोपेन ॥

2099. The affix कन् comes after लोहित, when it means color which is not permanent.

Thus लोहितकः कोपेन "red with anger". लोहितकः पीडयेन ॥

Note:—Why do we say "not permanent," Observe लोहितो गौः "a red cow", लोहितं रश्मिर् "the red blood".

Vart:—The derivative of लोहित may not take the gender of the primitive, as लोहितिका or लोहितिका कोपेन ॥

२१०० । रक्ते । ५ । ४ । ३२ ॥

लाभादिना रक्ते ये लोहितवशास्तस्मात्कन्स्यात् । क्षिप्रबाधनं वेत्येव । लोहितिका लोहितिका शायी ॥

2100. The affix कन् comes after the word लोहित meaning a substance dyed red.

As लोहितकः कम्बलः or पटः "a blanket or cloth colored red with shellac &c". The vartika of the preceding sūtra applies here also. Similarly लोहितिका or लोहितिका शायी ॥

२१०१ । कालाश्व । ५ । ४ । ३३ ॥

वर्णे चानित्ये रक्ते इति द्वयमुपवर्तते । कालकं मुखं वैलक्ष्येण । कालकः पटः । कालिका शायी ॥

2101. The affix कन् is added to the word काल, when it means a passing color, or dyed with color.

The word वर्णे च चानित्ये and रक्ते are both understood here. Thus कालकं मुखं वैलक्ष्येण "the face black with shame or confusion". कालकः पटः 'a cloth dyed blue-black'. कालिका शायी ॥

२१०२ । विनयादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

विनय एव वैनयिकः । मानयिकः ॥ उपायो ह्यस्य च * ॥ औपयिकः ॥

2102. The affix ठक् (कँ or हँ) comes without changing the sense after the word विनय and the rest.

Thus वेनयिकः=विनयः, सामयिकः ॥

Gana sūtra :—The आ of उपाय is shortened, as, औपायिकः ॥ The word अकस्माद् should be read as अकस्माद् in order to apply इक् and not क्, as आकस्मिकः ॥ The टि is elided, because it is an Avyaya. See VI. 4, 149, S. 499 The affix is optional by IV. 1, 82, S. 1072.

1 विनयः, 2 समयः, 3 उपायो (उपायाद्) इत्यन्तं च (औपायिकः), 4 संप्रति, 5 संवत्, 6 कथं-
चित्, 7 अकस्मात्, 8 समाचारः, 9 उपचारः, 10 समवाचारः, 11 व्यवहारः, 12 सम्प्रदानः, 13 संश्लेषः,
14 समूहः, 15 विशेषः, 16 अवयवः, 17 अस्ति, 18 कथय ॥

२१०३ वाचोव्याहृतार्थायान् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

संदिष्टार्थां वाचि विद्यमानाह्वयकृष्णस्त्यर्थे उक् स्यात् । संशेषवाग् वाचिकं स्यात् ॥

2103. The affix उक् comes after वाच् when it means the purport of the message spoken by another.

Note :—The word व्याहृत means 'declared, expressed'. That which was spoken formerly by another, and which is carried by a third party as a 'tiding' or 'news', is called व्याहृतार्थः ॥ Thus वाचिकं कथयति 'he relates the verbal message'. वाचिकं ग्रन्थे ॥ Some say it applies to written message also.

Thus वाचिकम्=सन्देशवाक् ॥ See Amarakosha I. 6, 17.

Note :—Why do we say 'when it means a verbal message?' . Observe मधुरा वाक् देवदत्तस्य 'the speech of Devadatta is sweet'.

२१०४ । तथुक्तात्कर्मणोऽण् । ५ । ४ । ३५ ॥

कर्मणः कार्यणम् । वाचिकं सुत्वा क्रियमाणं कर्मण्यर्थः ॥

2104. The affix अण् comes after the word कर्मन् 'occupation' when it occurs in connection therewith (i. e. when it is the result of an oral message or commission).

Thus कर्मणम्=कर्म 'an occupation of a commission agent (?)'. i. e. when an act is done in pursuance to or on hearing of a verbal message or commission.

२१०५ । औपधेरजातौ । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

स्वार्थेऽण् । औपधं विरतिः । अजातौ क्षिपः । औपधयः क्षेत्रे कृताः ॥

2105. The affix अण् comes after औपधि when it does not mean a species.

Thus औपधं विरतिः "he drinks medicine". Why do we say "when not meaning a जाति or species". Observe, औपधयः क्षेत्रे कृता भवन्ति "the herbs are growing in the field".

२१०६ । प्रधादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । ३७ ॥

अथ एव प्राज्ञः । प्राज्ञी स्त्री । वेदतः । बान्धवः ॥

2106. The affix **अण्** comes after the words **प्रज्ञ** &c. (the words retaining their sense).

Thus **प्रज्ञः** = **प्रज्ञः** "a wise person", feminine **प्रज्ञा** so also **द्वैतः**, **ब्रह्मणः** ॥

Note :—While **प्रज्ञः** "a man possessed of wisdom" with feminine **प्रज्ञा** comes from **प्रज्ञा** "wisdom" by the affix **ण्** having the sense of **मनुष्य** ("being possessed of"), taught in V. 2. 101. S. 1908. The **प्रज्ञ** of this sūtra comes from the root **प्रजानाति** = **प्रज्ञः** "he who knows fully".

The word **विद्वन्** occurs in the list of **प्रज्ञादि** words. It is formed by the addition of the affix **चतृ** (III. 2. 124 S. 3100) to the root, as, **विद्** + **चतृ** = **विद्वन्** nom. s. **विद्वन्** ॥ The very fact that we have such a form **विद्वन्** shows that the substitution of **चतृ** after the word **विद्** taught in VII. 1. 36 S. 3105 (by which we get **विद्वान्**) is an optional substitution, the word "optionally" being drawn in from Sūtra VII. 1. 35. S. 2197.

The word **श्रोत्र** takes **अण्** when meaning 'body', as **श्रोत्रम्**; otherwise **श्रोत्रम्** 'the sense of hearing', **शुक्लन्** takes **अण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as **शुक्लः** ॥ The word **कृष्ण** takes **अण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as, **कृष्णः** ॥

1 **प्रज्ञ**, 2 **वशिज्**, 3 **वशिज्**, 4 **वशिज्** (**वशिज्** **वशिज्**), 5 **प्रत्यक्ष**, 6 **विद्वन्**, 7 **विद्वन्**, 8 **श्रोत्र**, 9 **विद्या**, 10 **मनस्**, 11 **श्रोत्र** शरीरे, 12 **शुक्लन्**, 13 **कृष्ण** मृगं, 14 **विभीषन्**, 15 **श्रोत्र**, 16 **शुक्ल** (शक), 17 **शुक्ल**, 18 **चक्षुस्** (चक्षुस्), 19 **वह्नु** (वह्नु!), 20 **एनस्** (एनस्!), 21 **महन्**, 22 **कुम्भ** (कुम्भ), 23 **सत्त्वन्** (सत्त्वन्, सत्त्वन्), 24 **दक्षार्ह**, 25 **वयस्**, 26 **व्याकृत**, 27 **वायुर** (वायुर!), 28 **रक्षस्**, 29 **विद्यान्**, 30 **अश्विन**, 31 **कर्षापण** (का), 32 **देवता**, 33 **कण्डु**, 34 **शोडश**, 35 **घूर्त**, 36 **सज्ज** ॥

२१०७ । मुदोस्तकन् । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

दृढेन वृत्तिका ॥

2107. The affix **तिक्** comes after **मुद्** (the word retaining its sense).

Thus **वृत्तिका** = **वृद्** 'mud'.

Note :—Of course, this is also an optional affix not a *nitya* affix like many of the *svārthika* affixes enumerated in V. 4. 7. S. 2079.

२१०८ । सस्त्री प्रशंसायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४० ॥

कृषोऽपवादः । प्रशस्ता वृत्तः । वृत्ता । सस्त्रीप्रशंसायाम् । वृत्ता । सस्त्रीप्रशंसायाम् । वृत्ता ।

2108. The affix **स** and **ञ** comes after **मुद्** when it means 'excellence'.

This debars the affix **कृष**, V. 3. 66. S. 2021. Thus **प्रशस्ता वृद्** = **वृत्ता** for **वृत्ता** ॥ These two affixes are *nitya* or invariable, i. e. whenever superiority is to be expressed we *must* add these affixes. The reason for our calling it *nitya* is that the word **अवतरस्याम्** 'optionally' follows it in V. 4. 42. S. 2109. so that this affix is not optional. cf. V. 4. 7. 10. &c.

२१०६ । बहुलपार्थस्कारकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । ४२ ॥

बहुनि ददाति बहुशः । अल्पानि अल्पशः ॥ बहुलपार्थमङ्गलामङ्गलवचनम् * ॥ नैष्ठ बहुनि ददातिनिष्ठेषु । अल्पं ददात्याभ्युदयिकेषु ॥

2109. After a word signifying much or little, comes the affix **अस्** optionally, when the word stands in agreement with a verb (as a *kāraka*).

No especial *कारक* being mentioned, all cases such as accusative &c are to be taken. Thus बहुनि ददाति = बहुशो ददाति, बहुभिर्ददाति = बहुशो ददाति ॥ So also बहुभ्य आगच्छति or बहुष आगच्छति &c. Similarly अल्पशो ददानि = अल्पं or अल्पेन &c.

Why do we say "signifying much or little"? Observe मां ददाति, अर्थं ददाति ॥

Why do we say "when it is a *kāraka*"? Observe बहुर्नास्त्वानी "lord of many". Here the words are in genitive case and a genitive or 6th case is not a *कारक* or case, dependent or related to a verb: and so the affix is not applied here.

Vart:—By the word *signifying* the synonyms of बहु and अल्प are also included. Thus मुरिशो ददाति, स्तोकशो ददाति ॥

Vart:—This affix is to be applied to bahu and alpa only when the action refers to an auspicious or inauspicious act respectively. Thus बहुशो ददाति = अभ्युदयिकेषु कर्मसु । अल्पशो ददानि = अग्निष्टेषु कर्मसु ॥ Thus बहुशो देहि "Give much on auspicious occasions as sacrifices &c". अल्पशो देहि "give a little on inauspicious occasions as funeral feasts &c". But not here बहुनि ददाति (अग्निष्टेषु), or अल्पं ददाति (आभ्युदयिकेषु).

२११० । संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४३ ॥

द्वौ द्वौ ददाति द्विशः । मापं मापं नावशः । प्रत्यशः । परिमाणशब्दा वप्ता कार्या एव । संख्यैकवचनात्किम् । पदं पदं ददाति । वीप्सायां किम् । द्वौ ददाति । कारकादित्येव । दूयोर्द्वयोः आनी ॥

2110. The affix **श्** comes optionally after crude forms denoting numbers, and words denoting units of a coin in the singular number, when a distributive sense is to be expressed (and the word is a *kāraka*).

Thus द्वौ द्वौ मोदकौ ददाति = द्विशो मोदकौ ददाति "He gives two sweet-meats to each". So also त्रिषः ॥ Similarly after words in the singular number an *कार्वाणशो* ददाति "he gives a Karshāpāṇa coin to each". So also मापशः, पापशः प्रत्यशः ॥ That by which the sense of unit is expressed is called *eka-vachana*. The words *kārshāpāṇa* &c denote quantity, but their function in the sentence is to denote one-ness i.e. one to each, though in fact many are given

Why do we say "after Numerals and units of coin"? Observe *पदे पदे ददाति* "he gives a pot to each". Why do we say "when a distributive sense is meant"? Observe *द्वे ददाति* "He gives two". *कार्षापणम् ददाति* "he gives a *kārshāpaṇa*".

This rule, of course, applies when the word is in relation with a verb viz. when it is a *kāraka*, and not when it is in the genitive case governing another noun. As *द्वयोर्द्वयोः स्वामी* "Lord of two each". *कार्षापणस्य कार्षापणस्य स्वामी* "Possessor of a *kārshāpaṇas* each". In fact the work "*kārakāt*" of the last sūtra is understood here also. This sūtra is exception to VIII. 1. 4.

२१११। प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसिः । ५ । ४ । ४४ ॥

प्रतिना कर्मप्रयत्ननीयेन योगे वा पञ्चमी विहिता तदन्तात्तसिः स्यात् । प्रयुग्मः कृष्णतः प्राति ॥ आत्मादिभ्यः उपसंख्यानम् ॥ आक्षेपादितः मध्यतः । पृष्ठतः । पार्श्वतः । भाकृतिगणोऽयम् । स्वरेण स्वरतः । वर्णतः ॥

2111. The affix *तसि* comes after that Ablative case which is ordained owing to the union with the Karma-prava-chañfiya word *प्रति* ॥

This Ablative case is ordained by Sūtra II. 3. 11. S. 600. Thus *प्रयुग्मः कृष्णतः प्रति* ॥ The anuvṛtti of वा "optionally" runs here also: thus it is an optional rule; we have the regular forms *कृष्णान्* &c. also.

Vart:—The affix *तसि* comes after the word *प्राति* &c: as, *आक्षिप्तः*, *मध्यतः*, *अन्ततः*, *पार्श्वतः*, *पृष्ठतः* &c. This is an *ākṛitigana*, no complete list being given; so we have *स्वरतः* or *स्वरेण*; *वर्णतः* &c.

२११२। अपादानि चाऽर्ह्यरुहोः । ५ । ४ । ४५ ॥

अपादानि वा पञ्चमी तदन्तात्तसिः स्यात् । भागदानच्छति । भागतः । अहीवरुहोः किम् । स्वर्गां वीर्यतः । पर्वतादवरोहति ॥

2112. The affix *तसि* comes after that Ablative case which has the force of an Apādāna Kāraka, except when this apādāna relation arises owing to the union with the verbs *हीय* (passive of *हृ*) and *रुह* ॥

Thus *भागत भागच्छति* or *भागान्* ॥ See Sūtra I. 4. 24, 25, and 26 &c. Why do we say "excepting *hiya* and *ruha*"? Not so when the verbs *हीय* and *रुह* govern the ablative: as *स्वर्गाद् वीर्यते पर्वताद् अवरोहति* ॥

Note:—The form *हीय* is given in the sūtra to indicate that the verb *हृ* whose present is *जहाति* is to be taken, and not *जिहीति* ॥ Thus we have *युजित सजिजहीने* or *भूतिस्जिजहीति* ॥ How do you explain the use of "*tasi*" in the following well-known verse: "नक्षत्रो हीनः स्वर्गो वर्णतो वा"? The words here are not in the ablative, but in the instrumental case i. e. *स्वरेण वर्णेन वा हीनः* ॥

२११३ । अतिग्रहाऽव्ययनक्षेपेष्वकर्तरि तृतीयायाः । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अकर्तरि तृतीयान्ताद्वा तसिः स्यात् । अतिक्रम्य महोऽतिग्रहः । चारित्र्येणातिगृह्यते । चारित्र्यतोऽतिगृह्यते । चारित्र्येणात्यन्तिक्रम्य यतस्त इत्यर्थः । अव्ययनमचलनम् । वृत्तेन न व्ययते । वृत्ततो न व्ययते । वृत्तेन न चलतीत्यर्थः । दोषो वृत्तेन क्षिप्तः । वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः । वृत्तेन निम्बित इत्यर्थः । अकर्तरीति किम् । देववृत्तेन क्षिप्तः ॥

2113. The affix tasi comes after that Instrumental case which does not denote an agent, and is governed by a verb having the sense of "to excel", "not to give way", and "to blame",

Thus चारित्र्येण or चारित्र्यतोऽतिगृह्यते ॥ This means when a person of good conduct surpasses others through his conduct he is said "to have excelled through his conduct and character". So also वृत्तेन or वृत्ततो न व्ययते ; similarly चारित्र्येन or चारित्र्यतो &c, the sense being he does not succumb or is not moved owing to his strength of conduct or character. Similarly वृत्तेन or वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः, चारित्र्येण or चारित्र्यतः क्षिप्तः "blamed owing to his bad conduct",

Why do we say "when not denoting an agent"? Observe देववृत्तेन क्षिप्तः "blamed by Devadatta".

२११४ । ह्रीयमानपापयोगाच्च । ५ । ४ । ४७ ॥

ह्रीयमानपापपुक्तादकर्तरि तृतीयान्ताद्वा तसिः । वृत्तेन ह्रीयते । वृत्तेन पापः । वृत्ततः । क्षेपस्याविशयायानिदम् । क्षेपे तु पूर्वेषु सिद्धम् । अकर्तरि किम् । देववृत्तेन ह्रीयते ॥

2114. And the affix tasi comes optionally after a word ending in the third case-affix, when such word is joined to the verb "hriya", or the noun "pāpa"; not denoting an agent.

The words अकर्तरि and तृतीयायाः are understood in this aphorism. Thus वृत्तेन ह्रीयते or वृत्ततो ह्रीयते ॥ चारित्र्येण ह्रीयते or चारित्र्यतो ह्रीयते ॥ So also in construction with the word पाप, as, वृत्तेन पापः or वृत्ततः पापः ॥ चारित्र्येण पापः or चारित्र्यतः पापः ॥ This use of the affix is in places other than those where censure is meant: in other words, it comes where no censure is implied, but a simple fact is mentioned. Where censure is implied, the affix tasi would come by force of the preceding aphorism V. 4. 46. S. 2113.

The word अकर्तरि being understood here also, the affix does not come when the 3rd case-affix has the force of an agent: as देववृत्तेन ह्रीयते ॥

२११५ । यदुक्ता व्याख्येये । ५ । ४ । ४८ ॥

यदुक्ताद्वा तसिः स्वार्थानापवादायधने । देवा यदुक्तादुभयम् । चारित्र्याः कर्णतोऽभयम् । यदुक्तादुभय इत्यर्थः । व्याख्येये किम् दूतादय माला ॥

2115. The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word ending in the sixth case, when the sense is that of a party name or faction.

Taking sides with one faction or another is called *व्यापन्नः* ॥ Thus देवाभ्युत्थस्य पक्षेऽभवत्—देवा भ्युत्थतोऽभवत् ॥ 'The Devas became Arjunites'. So also आदित्याः पक्षतोऽभवत् 'The Adityas became Karṇāites'.

Why do we say "when it denotes a Party-name?" Observe वृक्षस्य शाखा "the branch of the tree".

२११६। रोगाद्यापनयने । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

रोगाद्याधिनः पटपन्ताहा तस्मिन्निक्षिप्तायाम् । प्रवाहिकातः कुरु । प्रतीकारमत्याः कुर्वित्यर्थः । अपनयने किम् । प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनं करोति ॥

2116 The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word denoting a disease, ending in the sixth case, when the healing of the same is denoted.

The words *रोग* means 'disease', and *अपनयन* means 'healing', 'curing'.

Thus प्रवाहिकायाः प्रतीकारे कुरु—प्रवाहिकातः कुरु ॥

Why do we say 'when healing is meant?' Observe प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनंकुरु ॥

२११७ । कृश्वस्तियोने संपन्नकर्तरि चिवः । ५ । ४ । ५० ॥

अभूततन्नाय इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ विकारात्मनां प्राप्नुवत्यां प्रकृतौ वर्तमानादिकारणव्याख्यायै चिवर्वा त्याक्तरात्वाविभिवोने ॥

2117. The affix *chvi* comes after a word, when the agent has attained to the new state expressed by the word, what the thing previously was not, and when the verbs *kṛi* 'to make', *भू* 'to be', and *अस्* 'to be' are conjoined with it.

Vārtika :—When something or somebody has become that which is expressed by the stem, when it was not that previously, then this affix *chvi* is added. When the cause of a thing arrives at the state of being that very thing so produced, it is said to be *abhūtatadbhāva*—"the state of that what it was not". The agent of the action of attaining is called *sampadya kartā*.

२११८ । अस्य चवी । ७ । ४ । ३२ ॥

आकर्षणस्य ईदृशस्यान् चवी । जेलोपः । अन्तरवचन्यस्यम् । आकर्षणः कृष्णः संवसते तं करोति कृष्णीकरोति । अङ्गीभवति । गङ्गीकरोति । अव्ययस्य चवावीरव्यं नेति वाच्यम् ॥ ॥ दोषाशुभमदः । विनाशुता रोनिः । इत्यान्वयीनाथनेति सूत्रे भाष्यवक्तव्यम् ॥

2118. Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix चिञ्

The चि being aprikta is elided. The chvi ending word is an Indeclinable. Thus अकृष्णः कृष्णं संपद्यते ते करोति = कृष्णीकरोति "He blackens"; when some one who is not black becomes black i. e. some one makes him so. Similarly ब्रह्मी भवति । ब्रह्मी स्यात् ॥

Vat:—The final अ of an indeclinable is not changed to long ई before chvi. Thus दोषाभुतमहः दिवाभुता रात्रिः ॥ This is enunciated by Patanjali in his gloss on I. 1. 41. S. 451,

२११६। अयच्छयोश्च । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

इतः परस्यापत्यकारस्य लोपः स्यात् क्ये चो च परतः । मार्गीभवति ॥

2119. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य and the adverbial affix चिञ् ॥

Thus मार्गीभवति = मार्गीयति or मार्गीयते ॥

२१२०। चो च । ७ । ४ । २४ ॥

चो चोऽपूर्वस्य वीथं स्यात् । शुचीभवति । पट् स्यात् । अग्नयस्य दीर्घस्य चेति केचित्तन्निर्मूलम् । स्वास्ति स्यादिति तु नरादिभाषया अस्त्वस्तिद्वय । एवस्ति स्यादित्यपि पट् स्यादिति चेद्वत् । यदि गेप्यते तर्हि नमिधानात् चिवेव गोतप्यते इत्यस्तु । पीकृतः । नाचीकरोति ॥

2120. A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Adverbial affix चिञ् (V. 4. 50, S 2117).

As शुची भवति, चो ई स्यात् ॥ Some say the final vowel of an indeclinable is never lengthened. This is without authority. The non-lengthening in स्वास्ति स्यात् can be explained by the non application of chvi under the great option of IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. and as there is no चिञ् added, so there is no lengthening.

Obj. As the great option IV. 1. 82 S. 1072 declares an option only, so in the alternative there will be affixing of चिञ्, and then if we do not make the above exception about indeclinables, there will be lengthening and we shall get एवस्ति स्यात् ॥ Ans. Let it be so; where is the harm?

Obj. But this is not desired for we never find it in usage.

Ans. Then let us say that chvi never comes after स्वास्ति, so there is no difficulty, and, we have come to our former point that under the great option no chvi is ever added to स्वास्ति.

By VII. 4. 27 S. 1234. the final अ is changed to ण before chvi Thus नाची करोति ॥

२१२१ । अरुमनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोऽसां लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । ५१ ॥

एषां लोपः स्यात् चिद्व । अरुमनोति । उन्ननीत्यात् । चक्षुश्चेति । चिच्छितीकरोति । चिरहीकरोति । चिरजीकरोति ॥

2121. The affix *chvi* comes after the words *arus*, *manas*, *chakshus*, *chetas*, *rahas*, and *rajas*, and there is elision of their final consonant.

The affix *चि* would have come after these words by force of the sūtra V. 4. 50. S. 2117. which is of universal application: the present sūtra is made in order to teach the elision of the consonant. Thus अरुमनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोऽसां लोपश्च, ते करोति = अरुमनोति, अरु भवति अरु स्यात् ॥ So also उन्ननी करोति, भवति, or स्यात्, so also चक्षुश्च, चिच्छिती, चिरही, and चिरजी करोति or भवति or स्यात् ॥ The short *उ* of अरु and चक्षु is lengthened by VII. 4. 26, S. 2120 and the *उ* of the other words is changed into *ई* by VII. 4. 32. S. 2118.

२१२२ । विभाषा साति कात्स्न्ये । ५ । ४ । ५२ ॥

चिद्विषये सातिर्ग स्यात्सात्कन्ये ॥

2122. The affix *sāti* may be employed optionally in the sense of *chvi*, when something is changed in all its parts into something else.

The whole phrase "when the agent has attained to a state it previously had not and the verbs *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti* are in conjunction", is understood here.

२१२३ । सारपदायोः । ८ । ३ । १११ ॥

सर्वं पदं न स्यात् । इधित्तिञ्चति । कृत्वां शस्त्रमग्निः संपद्यतेऽग्निसाहवति । जग्मीभवति । महाविभाषया वाच्यमपि । कात्स्न्ये किम् । एकदेशेन सुद्धीभवति पदः ॥

2123. The *प* substitution does not take place in the affix *सात्* and for that *स* which stands at the beginning of a word.

Thus *सा* here is the affix ordained by V. 4. 52. S. 2122 and it would have been changed to *प* by VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. The present sūtra prevents that. The *Padādi* *स* refers to those verbs which in the *Dhātupāṭha* are taught with a *स*, and for which a *स* is substituted. This also is exception to VIII. 3. 59. S. 212. Thus अग्निसाह । दधिसाह । मधुसाह ॥ So also with *Padādi* *स* as इधित्तिञ्चति, मधु तिञ्चति ॥

The affix *साति* is employed when the original is changed in its totality (*कृत्वा*). Thus अग्निसाह भवति शस्त्रम् "the whole weapon is in a blaze—has become fire". We may also say जग्मी भवति शस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say "in its totality"? Observe एकदेशेन पटः शुद्धी भवति "the cloth whitens in part".

The word "optionally" shows that the affix *chvi* also comes in the same sense. While the optional affixing of these terminations *chvi*, *sāti* &c is governed by the *Mahā-vibhāṣhā* of *sūtra* IV. 1. 82. S. 1072. (see V. 3. 1).

२१२४ । अभि विधौ संपदा च । ५ । ४ । ५३ ॥

संपदा कृष्णस्तिमितयोरे सातिर्वा स्याद्वाप्ती । पक्षे कृष्णस्तिमितयोरे चिवः । संपदा तु वाक्यनेष । अप्रिस्तास्त्वपक्षे अप्रिस्ताऽभवति शब्दम् । अप्रीभवति । जलसांस्त्वपक्षे जलीभवति जलम् । एकस्या व्यक्तेः सर्वव्यवयवच्छेदेनान्यथामावः कास्त्वम् । बहुना व्यक्तीनां किंचिद्व्यवयवच्छेदेनान्यथात्वं त्वभिर्विधः ॥

2124. The affix *sāti* comes after a word in the sense of *chvi*, when it is in construction with the verb *sam-pad*, and the meaning is that all things of a kind are changed into some thing else, though partially.

The word *अभिविधिः* means 'pervasion'. The force of the word च in the *sūtra* is that the same is expressed when the verbs कृ, भू and अस are in construction as well. By drawing the *anuvṛtti* of the word *vibhāṣhā* into this *sūtra*, we may, in the alternative, employ the affix च्चि in the same sense of *abhividhi*: but then it must be followed by the verbs कृ, भू and अस् only and not by the verb संपद् ॥

Thus अप्रिस्तात् संपद्यते or अप्रिस्तात् भवति; उदकसात् संपद्यते or भवति &c. Or ज्वरी भवति or ज्वरी भवति ॥

What is the difference between the words *abhividhi* and *kārtsnya* of these two *sūtras*? Where all things of similar origin get changed, though it be partially only, it is called *abhividhivikāra*. As, अस्त्रां सेनायाम् वृत्पत्तेन सर्वम् शब्दम् अप्रिस्तात् सम्पद्यते or यथास्तु सर्वम् लयनम् उदकसात् सम्पद्यते ॥ Here सर्व has the force of प्रकार कालम्ब, namely, all things belonging to the kind of weapons such as swords, lances &c. and all things of the nature of salt, but not these things individually in its totality. While the word *kārtsnya* means that one thing in all its parts assumes the form of another thing. In short, the difference between these two words is this: when one object is changed in all its parts, it is *kārtsnya* change, when many objects are changed in some of their parts, it is *abhividhi* change.

२१२५ । तद्वर्तनयने । ५ । ४ । ५४ ॥

तानि आगन्तव्यनिर्वाहं संपदा च संनि । तद्वर्तनयने । तद्वर्तनयने । तद्वर्तनयने । तद्वर्तनयने ।

2125. The affix *sāti* comes after a word expressing a master or lord, in the sense of 'dependent upon this'.

when it is in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhū*, *asti*, and *saṃ-pad*.

The *anuvṛitti* of *अनुवृत्ति* ceases here, as a different sense altogether is assigned to the affix. The *anuvṛitti* of the four verbs *kṛi* &c, however, runs into the *sūtra*. The word *सदधीनि* means 'under the supremacy or control of that', 'under the proprietorship of that'. The proprietor in general and the object of rulership in general are indicated by the word *tadadhina*. Thus *राजधानी करोति* = *राजसत्ता करोति* "he (a king) brings it (a kingdom) under his dominion". Similarly *राजसत्ता स्वाद्धा* or *भवति* or *संपद्यते* ॥ So also *ब्राह्मणसत्ता भवति* *करोति*, *स्वाद्धा* or *संपद्यते* ॥

२१२६ । देये वा च । ५ । ४ । ५५ ॥

सदधीनि देये वा *स्वास्वतन्त्रि* कृत्वादियोगे । विप्राधीनं देयं करोति विप्रसत्ता करोति । विप्रसत्तं पद्यते । पक्षे विप्रसत्ता करोति । देये किम् । राजसत्ता भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

2126. The affix *trā* comes in the sense of 'to be given to that', as well as the affix *sāti*, in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhū*, *asti* and *sampad*.

The phrase "dependent upon that," is understood here also. The word *देय* qualifies the above phrase. When a thing which is known as a proper gift for the *Brahmanas*, is put under their control by offering it to them, then the affix *trā* is employed. Thus *ब्राह्मणाधीनं देयं करोति* = *ब्राह्मणसत्ता* or *ब्राह्मणसत्ता करोति* ॥ "He gives it to the *Brahmana*, as it is an object which ought to be given to them". *ब्राह्मणसत्ता भवति* "it becomes given to the *Brahmana*". So also with *स्वाद्धा* and *संपद्यते* ॥ Why do we say, "when the sense is that of to be given"? Observe *राजसत्ता भवति राष्ट्रम्* ॥

२१२७ । देवमनुष्यपुरुषपुरुषमर्त्येभ्यो द्वितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । ५ । ४ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीयान्तेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यश्च वा स्वाद्धा । देवता वन्दे रणे वा । बहुलोक्तेरन्त्यपि । बहुवी जीवतो मयः ॥

2127. After the words *deva*, *manushya*, *purusha*, *purn* and *martya* ending in the 2nd or 7th case, the affix *trā* is diversely employed, having the force of the accusative or locative case.

The *anuvṛitti* of *sāti* ceases, that of *trā* continues. The verbs *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti* also have no scope here. This is a general *sūtra*. Thus *देवान् पश्यति* = *देवता पश्यति*, *देवेषु वसति* = *देवता वसति* ॥ So also *मनुष्यान् पश्यति*, *पुरुषान् पश्यति*, *पुरुषा मर्त्येभ्यः* ॥ *देवता वन्दे रणे वा* ॥

By using the word 'diversely' in the aphorism it is intended that the affix comes in this sense after other words also; as *बहुवी जीवतो मयः* ॥

२१२८ । अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् ह्यजवरार्धादिति डाच् । ५ । ४ । ५७ ॥

ह्यच् अवर्गं न्यूनं न तु ततो न्यूनम् अनकाञ्चति यावत् । सादृशमर्थं यस्य तस्मादाच् स्यात्कृत्यस्ति-
भिर्योमे ॥ डाचि विवक्षिते द्वे बहुलम् * ॥ नित्यमाश्रिते डाचीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ डाच्परं यवसिद्धिं
तस्मिन्परं पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णयोः पररूपं स्यात् । इति तकारपकारयोः पकारः । पटपटाकरोति । गत्यन्तानुकर-
णादिकम् । ईदृशकरोति । ह्यजवरार्धादिकम् । अश्वकरोति । अवरोति किम् । खटखटाकरोति । जपटजपटा-
करोति । अनेकाश्च इत्येव सूत्रमित्युच्यते । एवं हि डाचीति पक्षसम्येव हिते मुखध्वन्यधेयम् । अगितौ
किम् । पठिति करोति ॥

2128. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the half of a word denoting an imitation of an inarticulate sound, when such half consists of at least two syllables, and when it is not followed by the quotation-word 'iti'.

The sound in which the letters *ज* *घ* &c. are not distinctly expressed is called *avyakta* 'unmanifest' or 'inarticulate'. The imitation of such a sound is called *avyaktā-anukaraṇa*. That whose half consists of at least two syllables is called *dvyajavarārdha*, that is a polysyllabic word of four syllables or more when doubled, the smallest number of whose vowels are two, not less, when halved. The phrase "when joined with *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti*" is understood here. The affix comes after that word which when reduplicated is such that its half (*ardha*) is at least (*avara*) of two syllables (*dvyach*).

Vartika:—When the affix *डाच्* is to be added there is diversely the reduplication of the word. That is, first the word is reduplicated and then the affix is added. The force of the locative in *डाचि* is that of *विपश्चरणी* and not *परस्परणी* ॥ Had it been the latter then there would be the fallacy of *petitio principii*. By adding *ḍach* and doubling we must see whether the half is at least of two syllables. If it is, then *ḍach* is to be added. Thus *पटन्* is a sound imitation word. By reduplication it becomes *पटन् पटन्* ॥

Now applies the following *Vartika*:—

Vartika:—Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix *डा* is added which causes the elision of the final *न्*, for the final *न्* of the first member and the initial consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus *पटन् पटन्* = *पटप् पटन्* = *पट पटन्*, with *डाच्* = *पटपट* ॥

The final *न्* of the first word is changed in to the form of the next letter *प*, and then for two *प*'s one is substituted by this *vartika*. Thus *पटपटन्* करोति = *पटपटा करोति* "he makes a sound like *paṭat paṭat*". So also with *जघनि* and *घाघन्* ॥ So also *दण्डना करोति*, *भगति* or *ग्यान्* ॥ The final *न्* of *पटपटन्* is elided by VI. 4. 143 S. 316 before the affix *डाच्* having an indicatory *र* the real affix being *डा* ॥

Why do we say "when it is name of an imitative sound"? Observe *रपन् करोति*, 'it makes or turns to stone'. Why do we say "after that half which consists of at least two vowels"? Observe *स्रत् करोति* 'he utters the exclamation srat'. Why do we say "at least"? Observe *सरदस्रदा करोति* where the half consists of more than two syllables and the rule still applies. But had the sūtra been "अत्रार्धत् half two syllables" then it would not have applied here as the half consists of *three* syllables. So also *चपदपदा करोति* ॥

The sūtra ought to have used the word *अनेकाक्षः* "after a word of more than one syllable" instead of *dyajavarārdhāt*. Thus before the affix *डाच्* the doubling takes place by reason of the affix which is exhibited in the seventh case (*अचि* in the *vārtika*) this doubling being caused by something which follows. Why do we say "when इति does not follow"? Observe *वदिति करोति* (VI. 1. 98. S. 81). The *च्* of *डाच्* is for the sake of accent, it prevents the circumflex (*swarita*) accent. Thus, *पदपदाँ + कैति* ॥ Here first the *दा* of *कैति* which was *udatta*, becomes *anudatta* by VIII. 1. 28. S. 3935. Then by VIII. 2. 5. S. 3658 *दाँ* of *दा* and *अ* of *कैति* coalesce into an *udatta* *दा*, as *पदपदाँति* ॥ But then comes in rule VIII. 2. 6. S. 3659 which would make this *दा* optionally *svarita*, the indicatory *च्* prevents it. Some read *दुद्यवसर्पदाँत्*, the *च्* however does not change the sense.

२१२६। कृषो द्वितीयसूत्रीयशम्बवीजात्कृषी। ५। ४। ५८ ॥

द्वितीयादिभ्यो डाच् स्वाकृम एव योगे कर्षणेऽर्थे। बहुलान्तेर्यन्तादुकारवाक्यस्य डाचि न द्वित्वम्। द्वितीयं तृतीयं कर्षणं करोति द्वितीयाकरोति। तृतीयाकरोति। शम्बशब्दः प्रविशति। वायुलोभं कृष्टं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रतिशोभं कर्षति शम्बाकरोति। बीजेव सह कर्षति बीजाकरोति ॥

2129. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the words *dvitīya*, *tritīya*, *śamba*, and *bīja* when connected with the verb *kṛi*, and meaning "to plough in such a way"

By force of the word *diversely* in the *vārtika* under the last sūtra, there is doubling only when inarticulate sound is imitated and nowhere else.

The repetition of the word *कृ* in this sūtra indicates that the *च्* and *कश्चि* are not to be taken. Thus *द्वितीया करोति* = *द्वितीयं कर्षं (=विशेषणं)* करोति 'he makes the second ploughing of the field'. So also *तृतीया करोति*, *शम्बा करोति* 'he makes the field ploughed contrariwise to what it was ploughed before' = *वायुलोभं कृष्टं क्षेत्रं पुनः प्रतिशोभं कृषति* ॥ So also *बीजा करोति* = *सहक्षेत्रेन विशेषणं करोति* ॥

Note: कृ Why do we say when meaning "to plough"? Observe *द्वितीयं करोति* पदम् ॥

२१३०। संख्यायाश्च शुणान्तायाः। ५। ४। ५९ ॥

कृषो योगे कृषो डाच् एवाच्। द्वितीयाकरोति क्षेत्रम्। क्षेत्रकर्म ह द्विगुणं कर्षणं करोतीत्यर्थः ॥

2130. The affix *ḍāch* comes after a Numeral followed by the word *guṇa*, the sense being to plough so many times'.

The word कृ is understood here. Thus द्वियुगा or त्रियुगा करोति क्षेत्रम् "he ploughs the field twice or thrice" = द्वियुगं विस्तेजनं करोति क्षेत्रस्य ॥

Why do we say "when meaning to plough"? Observe द्वियुगां करोति रज्जुम् "he doubles the rope".

२१३१ । समयाच्च यापनायाम् । ५ । ४ । ६० ॥

कृपायिति निवृत्तम् । कृञो योने ङाच् स्यात् । समयाकरोति । कालं यापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2131. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the word *samaya* when कृ follows, and the sense is that of 'neglecting'.

The word कृ is understood here also. The anuvṛtiti of कृप ceases. The getting of leisure from the duties is called समय or 'time'; the neglect or loss of such time is meant by the word यापना ॥ Thus समया करोति = कालक्षेपं करोति (अथ मे पारवश्यं, अहं परमो वास्य समय इत्येवं यो बहुषु दिवसेषु अतिवर्तते, स एवमुच्यते) 'who procrastinates'.

Note:—Why do we say when the sense is that "neglecting"? Observe समयं करोति "he makes time".

२१३२ । सपत्रनिष्पन्नादतिव्यथने । ५ । ४ । ६१ ॥

सपत्राकरोति घृणम् । सपुङ्गवमवेष्टनेन सपत्रं करोतीत्यर्थः । निष्पन्नाकरोति । सपुङ्गवस्य छत्रस्याऽपराधेन निर्गमनान्निर्यथं करोतीत्यर्थः । अनिव्यथने किम् । सपत्रं निष्पन्नं वा करोति भूतलम् ॥

2132. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the words *sapatra*, and *nishpatra* followed by the verb कृ, when the sense is that of causing intense pain.

The word कृ is understood here also. The word *ati-vyathana* means "violent pain". Thus सपत्रा करोति घृणं व्याधः = सपत्रं शरस्य शरीरे प्रवेष्टयति "the hunter pierces the stag with the arrow so violently that the feathered part of the arrow also enters the body". So also निष्पन्ना करोति = शरीरात् छत्रमपराधेन निष्पन्नमिति "he pierces so violently that the arrow entering one side comes out of the other with its feathers". Why do we say "when meaning to cause violent pain"? Observe सपत्रं or निष्पन्नं करोति भूतलम् ॥

२१३३ । निष्कुलान्निष्क्रोषणे । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

निष्कुलाकरोति शक्तिम् । निर्गतं कुलग्नस्य यथा सगृहीतं शम्भायति तद्व्रीहिर्दात्र ॥

2133. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the words *nishkula* followed by the verb कृ, when the sense is 'to disembowel'.

The verb कृ should be read into the sūtra. The word निष्कृण्वन् means to bring the inner organs out or to eviscerate. निष्कृण्वन् करोति शङ्खिम् "he takes out the kernel or seeds of the pomegranate".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to disembowel or take out the kernel"? Observe निष्कृण्वन् करोति शङ्खम् "he makes the enemies family-less".

२१३४ । सुखप्रियादानुत्तम्ये । ५ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सुखाकरोति । प्रियाकरोति सुखम् । अनुत्तम्यन्तेऽप्येवमन्वयवर्तीत्यर्थः ॥

2134. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the words *sukha* and *priya*, followed by *kṛi*, when the meaning is ('to concede' 'gratify') 'to go with the grain'.

The word *मादुलोभ्य* means 'agreeability', 'to conform to the wishes of the object of adoration'. Thus सुखा करोति, प्रिया करोति सुखम्—स्वाम्यादीर्धर्मसमापद्यति "tries to please the heart of the master &c".

Note:—This affix comes when, while doing a pleasant or agreeable thing, the idea is to please another by such an act. Otherwise observe: सुखं करोति or प्रियं करोति औषधपानम् "the drinking of medicines gives pleasure &c".

२१३५ । दुःखात्प्रतिलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६४ ॥

दुःखाकरोति । स्वादिनम् पीदयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2135. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the word *duḥkha* followed by *kṛi*, when meaning to do something against the grain or "to contravene".

The verb कृ is understood and *prātilomya* means 'to oppose' or "to act against another's wishes", "to pain the heart of one's master &c". As दुःखा करोति शूयः स्वादिनम् "the servant pains the master".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to go against the grain"? Observe दुःखं करोति कदम्बम् ॥

२१३६ । श्लाघवाके । ५ । ४ । ६५ ॥

श्लाघकरोति मांसम् । श्लेघेन वपतीत्यर्थः ॥

2136. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the word *śla* followed by *kṛi*, when the sense is that of "roasting".

Thus श्लेघे वपति—श्लाघ करोति मांसम् "he roasts the meat on a spit".

Note:—Why do we say "when meaning to roast"? Observe श्लेघं करोति कदम्बम् "the bad food causes colic".

२१३७ । सत्त्वाद्वापये । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

सत्त्वाकरोति माण्डं दण्डम् । क्लेशव्यगिति तप्यं करोतीत्यर्थः । वापये तु सत्त्वं करोति विपः ॥

2137. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the word *satya*, followed by *kṛi*, when not meaning to swear.

The word *सत्य* means 'truth' as opposed to 'falsehood'. Sometimes it means 'to swear', as in the sentence "सत्येन वापदेद् दिवम्" ॥ This latter sense is prohibited. Thus *सत्या करोति वणिक् भाषयन्* "the merchant concludes the bargain of the goods i. e. he settles that he will purchase these wares". Why do we say 'when not meaning to swear'? Observe *सत्य करोति विप्रः* "the Brahmana swears".

२१३८ । मद्रात्परिवापणे । ५ । ४ । ३७ ॥

मद्रश्चो मङ्गलार्थः । परिवापणं मुण्डनम् । मद्राकरोति माङ्गल्यमुण्डनम् संस्क्रोतीत्यर्थः । मद्रापेक्षं वक्तव्यम् ० ॥ मद्राकरोति । मङ्गलार्थः प्राप्तवन् । परिवापणं किम् ॥ मङ्गं करोति । मद्रं करोति ॥

2138. The affix *ḍāch* comes after the word *madra* followed by *kṛi*, in the sense of 'to shave'.

The word *परिवापय* means 'to shave' 'to raze'. The word *मद्र* means 'auspicious'. Thus *मङ्गलं मुण्डनं करोति = मद्रा करोति* ॥

Vart:—So also after the word *मद्र* : as *मद्रा करोति नाभिः कुमारं* "the barber shaves the hair of the boy on the auspicious occasion".

Why do we say when meaning 'to shave'. Observe *मद्रं* or *मद्रं करोति* ॥

Here end the Taddhitas.

अथ द्विरुक्त प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XL.

ON REITERATION.

२१३६ । सर्वस्य द्वे । ८ । १ । १ ॥

इत्यपिह्यम् ॥

2139. From here upto VIII. 1. 15. S. 2150 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated".

Note:—This is an *adhikāra* sūtra. Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पचस्य (VIII. 1. 16 S. 401) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VIII. 1. 4 S. 2140 teaches "when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each'". Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. "The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*". What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both. Thus one पचति becomes two, as, पचति पचति 'he always cooks'. Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'.

The sūtra 'sarvasya dvo', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word-form *sarva* is doubled'. For then rules like VI. 1. 99, S. 82 and VI. 1. 100 S. 2128 will find no scope. The word *sarva* has several meanings: (1) the totality of things (द्रव्यः) as सर्वस्ववदादि (2) the totality of modes (प्रकारः) सर्वार्थानामिच्छुः=सर्वप्रकार-मज्ञं भवत्यति; (3) the totality of members (अवयवः), as सर्वः पदेवद्यः ॥ In the present sūtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense: namely *all* the members of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted. The force of the genitive case in *sarvasya*, is that of *sthāna*, i. e. in the room of the whole of the words like पति &c there is doubling. So one meaning of the sūtra is, that in the room of the one word, two are substituted. In making such substitution, we must have regard to the rule of nearness.

Another meaning of the sūtra, however is, that it does not teach substitution but repetition or employment, not *ādeśa*, but *prayoga*. That is to say, one word is employed twice. In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute. The very word-form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i. e. is repeated twice or pronounced twice.

The word *sarvasya* is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness only. Otherwise one may double only the last letter of a word by the rule of *अलोऽन्त्यस्य*, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases.

Obj. The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to 'Samāsa (compound), to taddhitas, and to vākyas (sentences). Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टावक्षः ॥ Here there is the sense of vīpśā with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves. There ought to have been doubling; but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism. Similarly द्विपक्षिकां ददाति, here also the sense is that of vīpśā, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix. So also in माने माने पानीयम् the sentence माने पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya. So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra. Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII. 1, 16 S. 401

Ans. We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted. Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling; for सप्तपर्णः means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves, पर्वणि पर्वणि सप्तपर्णानि वक्ष्यः, so that the sense of vīpśā is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna. In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the force of vīpśā is there denoted by the taddhita affix itself, and so doubling is not necessary. Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vīpśā can take place with regard to a word, and not a sentence. Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sūtra.

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies. We could not have उपसर्गानि उपचक्षति : for उपसर्ग being considered as a separate pada, only चक्षति would be doubled, and उप would not. So also, we have two forms श्लोका and श्लोकाः ॥ Here लृच् is added to the root श्लु, and लृच् is optionally changed to च by VIII. 2, 77, S. 354 and in the other alternative there is श्लु ॥ As च and श्लु are both asiddha (VIII. 2, 1, S. 12) the doubling would take place without making this च or श्लु substitution. So that having first doubled the word (something as श्लोकाः श्लोकाः) then optional च or श्लु change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like श्लोका श्लोका, श्लोका श्लोका, and not the hybrid doubling as given above. Hence the necessity of the vārtika पूर्वभासिद्धीयमहिर्द्वये (See VIII. 2, 3 S. 433 last vārtika).

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by क्त्वा affix of गर्हणाद्यच् meaning 'सर्वं कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति सविं सर्वं, तस्य द्वे वचनः ॥ That is, all operations having been first performed, then the word is doubled; so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled.

२१४० । नित्यधीप्सयोः । ८ । १ । ४ ॥

आभीक्ष्ण्ये धीप्सायां च लोके पदस्य द्विर्द्वयं स्यात् । आभीक्ष्ण्यं निष्ठान्तेऽप्ययत्तककृद्गन्तेषु च । पक्षतिपक्षतिः । भुक्षताभुक्षता । धीप्सायाश्च, वृक्षवृक्षे सिध्यति । माने माने रमणीयः ॥

2140. 'The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'.

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by *kṛit* affixes. What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action. That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya". So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III. 4. 22. S. 3343). Thus पचति पचति, he cooks continually'. भुङ्क्ते भुङ्क्ते or भोजं भोजं भुङ्क्ते 'each one, when he has eaten goes away'. See III. 4. 22. S. 3343. कुनीहि कुनीह्येषां कुनानि (See III. 4. 2. S. 2825).

Note :—The words formed by affixes *ktvā* and *paṃsa* and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated. While the words formed with the affix *यङ्* (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition. Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापचयते । And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated; as पापचयते पापचयते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of *nitya*, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable *kṛit* words like भुङ्क्ते, and like भोजं ॥

Note :—Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words). As finite verbs (सिङ्) express *nitya*, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express *vipsā* or a distributive sense. What is meant by the word *vipsā*? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (*vyāptum icchā*) an object through and through with a certain quality or action. That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is *vipsā*. Thus वृक्षं वृक्षं सिञ्चति "He waters every tree". मादो मादो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'. So also अनपको अनपको रमणीयः, वृक्षः वृक्षो विषमवृक्षेति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of *nityatā*; and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to *vipsā*, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated; as मादयस्तरमादयस्तरमादय ॥

२१४१ । परेर्वञ्जे । ८ । १ । ५ ॥

परिपरि वङ्गेभ्यो वृद्धो देवः । वङ्गान्वसिद्धोऽयं ॥ परेर्वञ्जे वा वचनम् ॥ ० ॥ परिर्वङ्गेभ्यः ॥

2141. The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'.

As परि परि वङ्गेभ्यो वृद्धो देवः (I. 4. 88. and II. 3. 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Banga'.

Note :—Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe भोवनं परिदिश्यति ।

Vart :—Optionally परि meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound as परिपरि वङ्गं = परि वङ्गेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as, परिदिश्यते वृद्धो देवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here; in fact, the whole compound word denotes the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone.

Note :—The word परि is here a Kaimaprovachaniya (I, 4, 88 S. 536). and governs the fifth case by II, 3, 11. In परिपिङ्गति the word is an upasarga.

२१४२ । उपर्यध्यधमः सामीप्ये । ८ । १ । ७ ॥

उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् । ग्रामस्थोपरिधास्त्वमीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥ अध्यधि मुखम् । मुखस्थोपरिधास्त्वमीपे-
धाते दुःखमित्यर्थः । अग्रेऽग्रे लोकम् । लोकस्थाधस्तास्त्वमीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥

2142. उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when they express uninterrupted nearness.

The word *sāmīpya* means 'proximity' whether in time or space. As उपर्युपरि ग्रामम्, "any locality in the immediate vicinity of a village". अध्यधिग्रामम्, अधोऽग्रे लोकम् "a place near a loka". Similarly अध्यधिमुखम् "anything immediately following after pleasure" i. e. pain. Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि पञ्चमाः ॥ Why the word is not repeated here: उपरि शिरसो एव धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below.

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्वे एव दृष्टिनि ।

वर्षाधो वर्षने कस्य महिमा गोपज्जयते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of *vipsā*.

२१४३ । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्याऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनैषु । ८ । १ । ८ ॥

वाक्श्रवणम्, सुन्दरं सुन्दरं वृथा ते लोभ्यम् । समस्तौ देवदेव पद्मोऽसि । क्रोधे, दुर्विनीतदुर्वि-
नीत इत्यर्थे ज्ञास्यासि । कुत्सने, धातुष्कधातुष्क वृथा ते धनुः । भर्त्सने, पीरपीर पातविध्यानि स्यात् ॥

2143. A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence, is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker.

A collocation of words, expressing one idea, is called a sentence or *vākya*. Thus (1) envy :—सुन्दरं सुन्दरं वृथा ते लोभ्यम् "O beauty! O beauty! in vain is thy beauty!!" (2) praise :—देव देव इत्योऽसि "O Deva! O Deva! adorable art thou!" (3) anger :—दुर्विनीतं दुर्विनीतं इदानीं ज्ञास्यासि; "O arrogant! O arrogant! now thou shalt know" (4) blame :—धातुष्क धातुष्क वृथा ते धनुः "O archer! O archer! in vain is thy bow". (5) Threat—पीरपीर १ पातविध्यानि स्यात्. वन्धयिष्यामि त्वा "O thief O thief I shall kill thee". The first word becomes *pluta* as well as gets *svarita* accent, by VIII. 2. 103, in the case of the first four; in the case of 'threat', the second word or the *Amṛēdita* becomes *pluta* by VIII. 2. 95. S. 3614. Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभना खलपति नागवक्त्रः ॥ Why do we say of Vocative? Observe दशदिग्दिग्दत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'? Observe देवदत्त नागवाक्त्रं शृङ्गाय ॥

In some books, the *vākya* is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकविह् पदसमूहो वाक्यः) ॥

२१४४ । एकं बहुव्रीहिवत् । ८ । १ । २ ॥

विभक्त एकशब्दो बहुव्रीहिवत्स्यात् । तेन मुख्यपुंवङ्गावौ । एकैकपक्षरप । इह द्वयोरपि सुषालुकि कृते बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वादेव प्रातिपदिकत्वात्समुदायश्च । एकैकयाहुया । इह पूर्वभागे पुंवङ्गावद्वयमह विरोधः । न बहुव्रीहवित्त्वन पुनर्बहुव्रीहिसङ्गं मुख्यबहुव्रीहिलभार्थः । तेनानिनिपद्यतुश्रीहो सर्वनामवाक्येवेति प्राज्ज्ञः । यस्तुतस्तु भाष्यमते मत्वाख्यातमेव । सचमतेऽपि बहुव्रीहयैऽन्ताधिके विभङ्गे निषेधकं न तु बहुव्रीहवित्तीहानिःशङ्क्य नास्ति । एकैकस्मै देहि ॥

2144. When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound.

The making it a Bahuvrīhi is for the sake of eliding the case-affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine. Thus एकैकपक्षरं पठति (not एकैकस्मै). Here the case affixes after both words being elided they assume the form एकैक and being treated as a Bahuvrīhi they become a prātipadika or nominal stem and then to this whole as a crude form is added the case-affix. एकैकयाहुया लुप्तेति (not एकैकया). Here the first member has become masculine. The difference is brought out when analysing namely, it will be एक + एकया and not एका + एकया ॥ The accent is regulated by VI. 2. 1. the case affix is elided by II. 4. 71. and masculinising by VI. 3. 34.

Note :—According to the Kāśikā this double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrīhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I. 1. 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrīhi compound. The word एकैक however is declined like a pronoun, as एकैकस्मै देहि ॥ For sūtra I. 1. 29 applies to a compound which is really a Bahuvrīhi, and not to a word-form which is treated like a Bahuvrīhi. The repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi in that sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was understood from the preceding one, indicates this (2) The application of the rule of accent. Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed. Thus न न करोति. सुमुखागमि ॥ This double-word is treated like a Bahuvrīhi, but not for the purposes of record. For by VI. 2. 172 a Bahuvrīhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves:—1st, VII. 223 S. 3784 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd, VI. 2. 1. the first member retaining its accent, 3rd, VI. 2. 172 S. 3906 already mentioned, 4th VIII. 1. 3. S 3670. by which the second member becomes anudāta. The rule VI. 2. 1, however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three. (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrīhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samāntata affixing. Thus लङ् लङ् लङ् (doubled by VIII. 1. 10 S. 2145) do not get the samāntata affix ल by V. 4. 74.

"In the sūtra न न करोति (I. 1. 29 S. 222), the repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi, when its anuvṛitti was current from the preceding sūtra I. 1. 28.

S. 292, is for the sake of making that rule applicable to the Primary Bahuvrīhi, (and not to *analogical* Bahuvrīhi like that of this sūtra VIII. 1. 9. S. 2144). Therefore in the case of words which are Pseudo-Bahuvrīhis or analogical-Bahuvrīhis, the prohibition of S. 222 does not apply, and the word remains a Sarvanāman, and is declined as such." This is the opinion of the ancients. But as a matter of fact, this whole sūtra I. 1. 29 has been overruled by the opinion of the Bhāṣya-author Patanjali. Even in the opinion of the sūtra-author Pāṇini, the prohibition of I. 1. 29 S. 222 applies to the stage of grammatical analysis of a Bahuvrīhi compound and not to the Bahuvrīhi compound as such. That is to say, a sarvanāman is not to be declined as such, if it is going to form the member of a Bahuvrīhi compound. So that in the analytical stage *before* composition, the word will not be declined as a pronoun. *After* composition, of course, the word loses its pronominal character by the vārtika under I. 1. 29. S. 222. So there can be no question of that sūtra applying to an analogical Bahuvrīhi, for such a Bahuvrīhi can never be grammatically analysed like the primary and true Bahuvrīhis. Therefore, we have एकैकस्मै वेदि and not एकैकाय वेदि ॥

२१४५। आवाधेयम् । ८ । १ । १० ॥

पीडयां श्लेष्टार्या द्वे स्तो बहुव्रीहिवचः । मतगतः । विरहात्पीडयमानस्येवमन्तिः । बहुव्रीहिवचो-
पप्लव्णम् । मतगतः । इदं पुंवञ्चायः ॥

2145. A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrīhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed.

Thus मत्तगतः 'gone, gone to my affliction', नर्तनदः, पतितपतितः, in the masculine. Here the case affix is elided after the first word by treating it as a Bahuvrīhi, and मतगतः, नदनदः, पतितपतितः in the Feminine; here the first term becomes masculine and (not मतगतः for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism). The accent is governed by VI. 2. 1. S. 3735.

२१४६। कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु । ८ । १ । ११ ॥

इत उत्तरेषु द्विपदेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यम् । यद्येकं मुखोपप्लव्णायान्तांशोऽन्तायान्ति ॥

2146. In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound.

The reason for making it a Karmadhāraya is to elide the case-affix (II. 4. 71 S. 650), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI. 3. 42 S. 746), and to regulate the accent by making the final acute VI. 2. 23. S. 3757, or S. 3734.

Note :—The word उत्तरेषु is for the sake of distinctness, the sūtra being an adhikāra one, would have applied to the subsequent aphorisms, without even the word uttarashu.

२१४७ । प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य । ८ । १ । १२ ॥

सादृश्ये शब्दे गुणवचनस्य हे स्तस्त्वा कर्मधारयवत् । कर्मधारयवदुत्तरं न्वित्यधिकारात् । तेन पूर्वं भागत्य पुंस्त्रयाः । समासस्थेत्वंतोवाचत्वं च । पदपद्वी । पदपद्वी । पदपद्वी । ईपत्पद्वीति वाच्यम् । शुभोपसर्जनद्वयवाचिनः केवलगुणवाचिनश्चेत् गृह्यन्ते । शुक्रशुक्लं रूपम् । शुक्रशुक्लः पदः ॥

भानुपूर्व्यं हे वाच्यम् ॥ मूलमूलं स्थूलम् ॥

संज्ञेन प्रवृत्तौ व्येष्टमेनेकथा प्रयोगो न्यायसिद्धः ॥ सर्वः सर्वः बुध्यस्व २ । सर्वः ३ बुध्यस्व ४ ॥ क्रियासमभिहारे च * ॥ सुमीदितुनीहीजेवावं लुनाति । नित्यवीप्स्योरीति सिद्धं भूरावं हित्वा

निष्पद्य । पौनः पुन्येऽपि लोवा सट सङ्घटित्य द्योतकर्ता लब्धुं वा ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनामो हे वाच्यं समासवत् बहुलम् * ॥ बहुलमद्वयादन्यपरयोर्न समासवत् । इतरस्यदस्य तु नित्यम् ॥

असमासवद्भावे पूर्वपदस्य सुपः सुर्वकथ्यः * ॥ अन्योन्यं विभः समन्ति । अ योन्यौ । अन्योन्याम् । अन्योन्येन कृतम् । अन्योन्यस्यै दत्तमित्यादि । अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरामृशन्त इति भाष्यः । एवं परस्परम् ।

अथ कस्कादित्वाहिसर्गस्य सः । इतरेतरम् इतरेतरेणेत्यादि ॥

स्त्रीपुंसकयोश्चरपरपदस्याया विभक्तेरम्भावो वा वक्तव्यः * ॥ अन्योन्याम् । अन्योन्यम् । परस्परम् । इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरं वा इमे ब्राह्मण्योक्तुं वा भोजयतः । अथ केचित् आभावेऽपि द्वितीयाया

पुं । भाष्यादौ तथैवोक्तत्वात् । तेन स्त्रीपुंसकयोरेव तृतीयादिषु पुंस्त्रेव रूपमित्याहुः । अन्योन्या

हरणस्य दिङ्माचस्वास्त्वविभक्तीनामानादेशमाहुः ॥

दत्तद्वये दावभावः क्रीडि पद्विरहः स्वर्गः ॥

समासे सारलुक्त्वेति सिद्धं बाहुलकाश्रयम् ॥ १ ॥

तथादि । अन्योन्यं परस्परमित्यत्र वत्तद्वयेऽपि दाव प्राप्तः । नच सर्वनामो वृत्तिभावे पुंस्त्रयाः । अन्यपरयोस्तमासवद्भावात् । नच द्विर्वचनस्य वृत्तिः । यां प्रां प्रियः प्रेक्षत कान्तया सतित्यादावतिमस-

द्भावात् । अन्योन्यमितरेतरमित्यत्र अद्वयद्वयविभ्य इत्यद्वय प्राप्तः । अन्योन्यसंसक्तमद्वयवानम् । अन्योन्या-

श्रयः । परस्परमितिसादृश्यम् । अद्वयपरस्परित्यादौ सारलुक्प्र. प्राप्तः । सर्वे बाहुलकेन समाधेयम् । प्रकृतवा-

तिकनाम्योदाहरणं स्त्रियामिति सूत्रे अन्योन्यसंभवत्वेति भाष्यं आन प्रमाणमिति ॥

2147. An attribute is repeated, when it is meant

to express that the said attribute belongs to a thing only to a limited degree, and the double word is treated like a

Karmadhāraya.

Thus पदपद्वी, पदपद्वी where the first member has lost the case-affix,

पदपद्वी, पदपद्वी where the first member is a masculine, even when there is a

क in the penultimate as कालकालिका (See VI. 3. 37 and 42); पदपद्वी, पदपद्वी, the accent falls on the final, for the rule VI. 1. 223. S. 3734 was debarred by

VIII. 1. 3. but the present rule re-instates VI. 1. 223.

The word being treated as a Karmadhāraya there is masculinisation of the first member and the final takes the acute under VI. 1. 223. S. 3734.

The word प्रकार means both 'difference', and 'resemblance'. It means 'resemblance' here : i. e. the person or thing *resembles*, but is not *fully like*, the thing expressing the attribute. Thus षडुषडुः, 'tolerably sharp', षडुषडुी "she who is tolerably sharp." षडुषडुः "pretty soft". पण्डितपण्डितः &c. The sense is that the attribute is not *fully* possessed by the person. The affix ज्ञातीय् (V. 3. 69. S. 2024) also expressing प्रकार, is not debarred by this sūtra. Thus षडुज्ञातीयः, षडुज्ञातीयः ॥

The doubling takes place both where the adjective is a secondary member qualifying a substance, and where it is an attribute pure and simple, in the abstract, without any particular substance. As शुक्लशुक्लः पटः "tolerably white or whitish cloth." शुक्लशुक्लं "whitish".

Why do we say prakāre "when denoting some what like it"? Observe षडुर्देवदत्तः 'the clever Devadatta'. Why do we say 'an attributive or adjective word'? Observe अग्निर्गौशयकः, 'a fiery boy', गौर्बाहीकः 'a cow-like Bahika'. Here 'agni' and 'gau' are not naturally adjective words, though employed here like adjectives.

Vārt:—An adjective is repeated, when denoting that persons or things possessing that attribute are to be taken in their due order. Thus मूले मूले स्थूलः "it is thick in all its roots one after another." अग्ने अग्ने सङ्गमा, अग्ने अग्ने मेषपायः ॥

Note:—A word denoting more than one is repeated without change of sense, when it denotes the limit or extent of the thing. Thus कर्शपात्रं कार्षपात्रादिद्वयभक्षणं माषं माषं देहि 'give a māsha, a māsha, out of this kārshāpāṇa to you two i. e. give only *two* masha one to each'. A kārshāpāṇa contains many māshas, out of them, the extent of gift is *limited* to two only. This therefore is distinguishable from the distributive double (vipśā). The word माषं माषं देहि = द्वौदेहि, the माष does not take the dual case here. Why do we say 'when it expresses the limit'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षपात्रादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि, द्वौमाषौ देहि. अस्मात् माषात् देहि. Here the word माष itself does not express limit but the qualifying words एकं, द्वौ, षीन् &c. Why do we say 'denoting more than one'? Observe अस्मात् कार्षपात्रादिह भवद्भ्यां माषमेकं देहि ॥

Vārt:—In expressing perplexity or alarm, a word may be repeated twice or as many times as one likes, so long as the meaning is not manifest to the person addressed. The word संभ्रमण in the vārtika means 'a confused state of mind. As सर्पं सर्पं दुष्यत्स दुष्यत्स "a snake, a snake, beware, beware." It is not a necessary condition that the word should be repeated twice only, but as many times as one likes, so long as his meaning is not manifest. As सर्पं सर्पं सर्पं दुष्यत्स दुष्यत्स दुष्यत्स ॥

Vārt:—When intensity or frequency of an action is denoted, the word is uttered twice: as, लुनीहि लुनीहि इत्येवायं लुनानि ॥ See III. 4. 2. Though the doubling would have taken place under VIII. 1. 4 S. 2140. also yet the present vārtika ordains doubling in the sense of intensity. Or it ordains doubling of the imperative, giving to it the additional meaning of frequency.

Note:—In re-iteration the word is doubled as, धुस्का धुस्का ब्रजति, भोजं भोजं ब्रजति ॥ See III. 4. 22. This has also been illustrated under VIII. 1. 4.

Note:—The word is repeated when the affix डाच् follows; as पटपटा करोति ॥ This doubling takes place when the word denotes an imitation of an inarticulate sound (V. 4. 57). Therefore, not here द्वितीया करोति, तृतीया करोति, where the affix डाच् denotes 'to plough', (V. 4. 58.) Because of this restriction, some read the vārtika as, डाचि बहुलम् ॥

If the rule meant that the half word must be of at least two syllables before doubling, and then दाच् should be added, then it would not apply to words like पठ् &c. Therefore the "half-not-less-than-two-syllables" refers to the *doubled* word, the doubling being caused by दाच्. The above difficulty arises if the locative in डाचि has the force of परस्मिणी ॥ But if we take the locative as विषयस्मिणी then the difficulty is obviated.

Note:—The words पूर्व and प्रथम are repeated when a comparative or superlative sense is to be denoted: as पूर्व पूर्वं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमं प्रथमं पचन्ते ॥ The comparative and superlative affixes are not debarred hereby, as, पूर्वतरं पुष्यन्ति, प्रथमतरं पचन्ते ॥

Note:—The words ending in the affixes क्तर and क्वम comparative and superlative, are doubled when they refer to feminine nouns and are employed in determining or pondering upon the relative condition of the superiority of one out of two or many; as उभाविवामाख्या, कतरा कतरा बन्धोगत्या, "Both these are rich: let us ponder how much is their richness." सर्वे इमे आख्याः, कतना कतना एवासाध्या ॥ This is found in words other than those ending in क्तर and क्वम; as; उभाविवामाख्या, किरुषीकिरुषी बन्धोगत्या ॥ This is also found where the abstract noun denoting condition (as आख्या) is not in the feminine: as, उभाविवामाख्या, कतः कः सौमवोर्विवः "Both these are rich, let us see what is their respective greatness."

Vārt:—In denoting reciprocity of action, the Pronominal is doubled; and diversely it is treated like a compound. Because the word 'diversely' is used in the vārtika, the pronominals *anya*, and *para* are never treated like a compound; while the word *itara* is *invariably* treated as such and never optionally. II. 2. 27 S. 845

Thus, अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति "these Brāhmanas feed one another." अन्योन्यमिमे ब्राह्मणा नृनन्ति ॥ अन्योन्यस्य ब्राह्मणा भोजयन्ति = इतरेतरात् भोजयन्ति ॥ The word अन्य and एर are never treated as a compound, and इतर is *always* so treated. So also अन्योन्यौ, अन्योन्यान् अन्योन्यनृनन्ति. अन्योन्यस्मेदत्तं, अन्योन्येषां पुष्करैरावृणन्ते Māgha. So also परस्परं where the visarga is changed to स because it belongs to Kaskadi class. So also इतरेतरम् । इतरेतरेण &c.

Vart:—In the feminine and neuter, the augment आम् is added optionally to the second term under the above circumstances, as, अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणौ भोजयतः, अन्योऽन्यं भोजयतः, इतरेतरां भोजयतः, इतरेतरं भोजयतः ॥ अन्योऽन्यामिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः, इतरेतरमिमे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयतः ॥ Here some say. The आम् substitution takes the place of the affixes of the accusative only: because the examples given in the Mahābhāṣya &c are of accusative only. Therefore, the feminine and neuter words do not assume the masculine form in the Instrumental and other cases. This is one opinion. Others say, the examples given in the Bhāṣya are merely illustrative, and therefore, the affixes of all cases, are replaced by आम् ॥

Verse.

1. The absence of दाद् in the both members of the doubled word.
2. The replacing of ह्य and च्च by अद् in the Neuter.
3. The non-elision of ह्य in compounds.

These three operations take place by force of the word bāhulaka 'diversely' in the vārtika.

1. Thus in अन्योन्यं and परस्परम् there would have come the Feminine affix दाद् ॥ The form ought to have been अन्य + च्चत्वा = अन्यच्चत्वा ॥ But it is अन्यः + चत्वा = अन्योन्यं ॥ This is prevented by the vārtika. Nor will vārtika under II. 1. 51. S. 728 apply and cause masculinisation.

Note:—That vārtika states the Pronouns become masculine whenever they occur as functions—vṛtiti—of a compound or a taddhita.

Because अन्य and एर in the above are treated as not parts of a compound. Nor is re-iteration a vṛtiti or function of a taddhita. For if re-iteration be considered a vṛtiti as understood in II. 1. 51. S. 728 vārtika then it would apply to the following also. मां मां विप्रः विप्रतः कातवर्षा सा सा &c.

Note:—Patanjali also uses it in this way: thus,

आगतं च यदपि नानात् काकं चैव तु नाफया ।

नाकं चेद् विज्ञानं च मां मां वन्देन मा भेदेत् ॥ Mahābhāṣya. I. 4. 51.

2. The replacing of ह्य and च्च (Nom. and acc. Sg.) by अद् ॥ Thus अन्योन्यं इति ॥ Here by VII. 1. 25 S. 315 the affix दाद् would have come and the form would have been अन्यच्चत्वा and इतरेतरेण ॥ The present vārtika prevents that.

3. The non-elision of सु in compounds,

Thus in अन्योन्यसंसक्तं महिषियामम् । अन्योन्याश्रयः । परस्परशंसितं द्विदयम् । अद्वयपरस्परैः ॥

In all the above examples the सु would have been elided by the above vartika. The word 'diversely' of the vartika prevents it.

The illustration of this vartika, as given by the Mahābhāṣya, is to be found in the sentence अन्योन्यसंसक्तं त्वेतद् भवति, as used by Patanjali in his gloss on IV. 1. 3. (स्त्रियाम्). So the Great Commentary is also an authority here.

२१४८ । अकृच्छ्रे प्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । १ । १३ ॥

प्रियमिच्छेत् इति । प्रियेयं वा । सुखसुखेन इति । सुखेन वा । द्विवचने कर्मधारयवद्भावात् सुखसुखे पुनस्तद्वैव वचनम् । अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्वनायासेन इत्यातीत्यर्थः ॥

2148 The words 'priya' and 'sukha' are repeated optionally, when they mean "easily, without any difficulty".

The words अकृच्छ् means 'difficulty and sorrow', अकृच्छ् means 'without difficulty or sorrow, i. e. pleasantly'. Thus प्रियमिच्छेत् इति, सुखसुखेन इति, or प्रियेयं इति, सुखेन इति = अतिप्रियमपि वस्त्वनायासेन इति ॥ That is, he gives with pleasure, without feeling it as a trouble. In reiteration the word is treated as a Karmadhāraya and so there is elision of the case-affix as already mentioned above.

Note :—Why do we say "then meaning easily" Observe प्रियः पुत्रः "beloved son". सुखी सः ॥

२१४९ । यथास्वे यथायथम् । ८ । १ । १४ ॥

यथास्वमिति वीप्सायामव्ययीभावः । योऽयमात्मा यथास्वीयं सकायात्मम् । तस्मिन्वयाशब्दस्य वृत्तिरित्येव च निपातते । यथायथं ज्ञाता यथास्वभावमित्यर्थः । यथास्वीयमिति वा ॥

2149 The word यथायथम् is irregularly formed in the sense of "respectively, fitly, properly".

The word yathāśvam is an Avyayībhāva with the force of vīpsā. Whatever is this self and whatever belongs to this self all that is denoted by yathāśvam.

What is one's own nature, and whatever is natural to one, that is called यथास्व ॥ In this sense is formed यथायथम् there being doubling and neuter gender. It is an Indeclinable. As ज्ञाताः सर्वे परार्था यथायथम् = यथास्वभावम् "all objects have been known according to their respective nature". सर्वे परा यथायथम् = यथास्वीयम् ॥

२१५० । द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादाद्यवनव्युत्क्रमण्यरूपावप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु । ८ ।

१ । १५ ॥

द्वित्वस्य द्विवचनं पूर्वपदवाक्यावोदत्तं योऽस्यपदस्य नपुंसकत्वं च निपातने एवमर्थेषु । सह रहस्यं द्वन्द्वस्य द्वन्द्वम् । इदमेतद्विषयमनाः । अर्थो मन्त्रयते । रहस्यमित्यर्थः । महाशक्तिव्यवहारः ।

आप्तुरं हीमे पशवी हन्द् मिथुनायन्ते । माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति । पीत्रेण प्रपौत्रेणापीत्यर्थः । व्युत्क्रमणं पृथगवस्थायाम् । हन्द् व्युत्क्रान्ताः द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः । हन्द् यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति । वन्दं संकर्मणामुद्देशैः । अभिव्यक्तौ सादृश्यहेतुव्यर्थः । योगविभागादभ्यवापि हन्द् अभिव्यक्ते ॥

2150. The word "dvandvam" is irregularly formed, in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a 'limit', 'a separation', 'employing in a sacrificial vessel', and 'manifestation'.

The word हन्द् is formed from द्वि by doubling it, changing the first into अच्, and the second इ into अ and making it a Neuter. The word हन्द् itself means रहस्य or secret; while it marks 'limit' नर्थादृश् &c only secondarily, by context of the sentence. Thus हन्द्-गन्तयन्ते 'they are consulting some secret'. Limit or नर्थादावचना, as, आप्तुरं हीमे पशवी हन्द् मिथुनायन्ते "upto the fourth degree, these cattle copulate with each other." माता पुत्रेण मिथुनं गच्छति, पीत्रेण, तत्पुत्रेणापि ॥ (See Maitr. S. I. 7. 3 Sākh. Br. III. 97). Separation of व्युत्क्रमणः—हन्द् व्युत्क्रान्ताः = द्विवर्गसम्बन्धेन पृथगवस्थिताः ॥ Vyutkramana means bheda or separation, placing at a different place. Employment with regard to a sacrificial vessel (यज्ञपात्रप्रयोगः) as—हन्द् यज्ञपात्राणि प्रयुनक्तिवीरः (See I. 3. 64), अभिव्यक्तिः or manifestation: as—हन्द् गारुपर्वती, हन्द् संकर्मणं धामुद्देशैः = द्वावप्यभिव्यक्तौ द्वावप्येव ॥

The word हन्द् is found employed in connection with other senses also: as, हन्द् युद्धं वर्त्तते, हन्दाणि सदन्तेधीरः, आर्ये हन्द्ः &c.

Here ends the chapter on Reiteration.

HERE ENDS THE VOLUME ONE OF THE SIDDHANTA KAUMUDI

By BHATTOJI DIKSHITA.

